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Hate Across the Waters: The Role of American Extremists in Fostering an International White Consciousness

Heidi Beirich

In the summer of 2011, Norwegian Anders Behring Breivik decided that he had had enough. A 32-year-old right-wing extremist who had consumed a steady diet of rabid anti-Islamic propaganda about Muslim hordes reoccupying European Christendom, Breivik concluded that, according to his 1,500-page manifesto, '2083: A European Declaration of Independence' (Breivik 2011), what was needed was the formation of a revived Christian army. He called for a new Knights Templar to wage 'guerrilla warfare against the Multiculturalist Alliance through a constant campaign of shock attacks'. His manifesto predicted a coming war that would kill or injure more than a million people as he and his small group of warriors seized 'political and military control of Western European countries' and forcibly put into place 'a cultural conservative political agenda'. Deciding to take matters into his own hands and start that war, on the morning of 22 July, Breivik bombed a government building in central Oslo and then shot to death dozens of children of Labour Party officials, whom he blamed for Muslim immigration and whose children he feared would further that policy. A million were not killed that day, but 77 people died in the horrific bloodbath.

While Breivik acted on his own, the ideology that fuelled his shooting spree derived from a number of racist and anti-Islamic sources. Norway has long had an extremist scene, with neo-Nazis and other white supremacists promoting their racist and antisemitic beliefs. Breivik had made his way through Norway's extremist scene, joining the anti-immigrant Progress Party and participating in the racist Web forum Nordisk where a favourite topic was the race-war novel *The Turner Diaries* (Ridgeway 2011). Breivik was also influenced by European anti-Muslim ideologues and greatly admired Stop Islamization of Europe (SIOE), which he suggested people join. SIOE, which has a Norwegian chapter, has been calling for an end to Muslim immigration into the continent. In addition, Breivik expressed support for the English Defence League (EDL), which has held violent protests involving soccer hooligans and racists against mosques in England (Warner 2010). Breivik claimed he had contact with senior

members of the EDL and that a Norwegian version of the group was 'in the process of gaining strength' (Breivik 2011: 1435).

But the primary sources for the anti-Muslim propaganda that had helped give voice to Breivik's manifesto were American. The anti-Muslim author Robert Spencer, who runs the Jihad Watch website, was cited by Breivik 64 times in his manifesto and excerpted extensively. 'About Islam I recommend essentially everything written by Robert Spencer', Breivik wrote, adding that Spencer should be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize (Lenz 2011). Along with Spencer, Breivik also drew inspiration from anti-Muslim American blogger and close Spencer ally Pam Geller. She, along with Spencer, established Stop Islamization of America (SIOA), which is closely allied with SIOE. Geller calls the head of SIOE, Anders Gravers, her 'colleague' (Geller 2011). On 11 September 2011, Geller brought Gravers to New York to speak at a rally where she gathered anti-Muslim extremists from Europe, the United States and Canada to mark the ten-year anniversary of the terrorist attacks (*ibid.*). Geller has spoken glowingly about the EDL and invited members of the group to New York, to one of her protests.

The relationships between Breivik, Spencer, Geller, the EDL, SIOA, etc. reveal a thickening web of connections between individuals and groups on the extreme right in the United States and Europe. In the decades after the Second World War, these links were at first tenuous, involving a handful of German ex-Nazis and their fascist American allies. For the most part, such connections between American extremists have been among small groups or isolated individuals reaching out to Europeans, not organized party politics. The American two-party political system has made the organizing of extremist political entities almost impossible and attempts at far-right parties, such as the Populist Party or the relatively recent American Third Position party, have garnered very few votes. Few American political figures with extremist racial views have made it into high political offices since the end of segregation.

But in the last two decades, the connections between American extremists and Europeans have grown precipitously, as racists and extremists of all persuasions find solace and compatriots, not in their backyards necessarily, but in places where extremists may share the belief that whites are facing a diminution of demographic power. This is as true among anti-Muslim thinkers as in other racist movements, as indicated by the frequent meetings between American white nationalists and members of extremist European political parties such as the British National Party (BNP) and the German National Democratic Party (NPD). The concept of forming alliances across borders with other whites is dubbed 'pan-Aryanism' in neo-Nazi circles and indicates a unifying ideology and common world view that emphasizes the need to create a worldwide white political space (Southern Poverty Law Center 2001d). These various forms of extremism are now a transnational phenomenon, an unsurprising development in the era of the internet and cheap air travel, as extremists find more common cause with others abroad who share their views.

The West's anti-Muslim network

In the summer of 2010, a furore erupted in the New York City area over the planned establishment of an Islamic Community Center in lower Manhattan called the 'Park

51 Project'. Anti-Muslim activists Pam Geller and Robert Spencer led a crusade against the planned building, calling it a 'Victory Mosque' that did not deserve to be placed within a few blocks of Ground Zero, the site of the 9/11 attacks. The attack by Geller began in May 2010 when Geller's group, SIOA, launched its 'Campaign Offensive: Stop the 911 Mosque!' (Spencer serves as SIOA's associate director). Geller posted the names and contact information for the mayor and members of a community board involved in sanctioning the project. Within days, the board chair reported getting 'hundreds and hundreds' of calls and e-mails from around the world (Elliott 2010).

Geller's protests, which were self-financed by the wealthy Long Islander, went viral when they were picked up by prominent public figures. By June 2010, former New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani had called the mosque a 'desecration'. And former vice-presidential candidate Sarah Palin had tweeted 'peaceful Muslims, pls refudiate [sic]' the project. Former Republican House Speaker Newt Gingrich may have been the most extreme of all, comparing the backers of the project to 'Nazis' (DeLong 2010). The furore brought a new strain of anti-Muslim hatred to the public's consciousness, raising the profile of anti-Muslim Americans whose work, even though it started in the months after 9/11, had hitherto been obscure.

The movement that seemed to spring up around the New York protests was not a case of spontaneous public-opinion combustion. In the decade since 9/11, a coterie of core activists – most importantly, hard liners Spencer, Geller and other Americans, most notably Brigitte Gabriel, Frank Gaffney, David Horowitz and David Yerushalmi, along with the more moderate Daniel Pipes and Steve Emerson – had been warning that an Islamic sky was falling (Steinback 2011a). These activists have been backed by a handful of right-wing foundations, most importantly the Richard Mellon Scaife foundations, the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, the Newton D. & Rochelle F. Becker Foundation and the Russell Berrie Foundation. According to the Center for American Progress, 'Just seven charitable groups provided \$42.6m. to Islamophobia think tanks between 2001 and 2009 – funding that supports the scholars and experts . . . as well as some of the grassroots groups' (Ali et al. 2011). In December 2010, Max Blumenthal, a journalist with *The Nation* and an expert in American extremism, called it 'the Great Islamophobic Crusade'. 'It's the fruit of an organized, long-term campaign by a tight confederation of right-wing activists and operatives who first focused on Islamophobia soon after the September 11th attacks, but only attained critical mass during the Obama era', Blumenthal opined. 'This network is obsessively fixated on the supposed spread of Muslim influence in America' (Blumenthal 2010).

What is interesting about this attack on the Muslim community is that in the United States, Muslims are quite well-integrated into American life and not very likely to be interested in radical politics. They are also a small community that is extremely diverse, including persons from several different countries and faiths (Gallup 2009). About a quarter of the Muslim population consists of converts, many are African Americans. Polling has also shown that Muslim Americans are more likely than other faith groups to reject attacks on civilians, a quite different picture of that community than that presented by Geller and her allies (Naurath 2011).

Paying the reality of the Muslim American community no heed, the anti-Muslim movement in the 2000s was intent upon demonizing this population. The movement relies heavily on two key tactics. The first is arguing that the most radical

Muslims – men like Osama bin Laden – are properly interpreting the Koran, while peaceful moderate Muslims either do not understand their own holy book or are strategically faking their moderation. The second key tactic is relentlessly to attack individuals and organizations that purport to represent moderate Islam in America, painting them as secret operatives in the grand Muslim scheme (typically attributed to a conspiracy led by the Egypt-based Muslim Brotherhood) to destroy the West. The attack on the Park 51 Project was of this kind. The mosque's leader, Imam Feisal Abdul Rauf, had long been seen as a moderate voice arguing against radical Islam (Ghosh 2010). At their most extreme, far-right activists, particularly in Europe, go so far as to argue, as did Breivik, that immigrants and asylum seekers are 'pioneers in a Muslim army of conquest' (Merkl & Weinberg 2003: 294).

The primary architect of these anti-Islamic tactics is SIOA co-founder Robert Spencer. An entirely self-taught 'expert' in the study of modern Islam and the Koran, he often takes the Koran literally, as an innately extremist and violent text – something typical of anti-Muslim writers (Marranci 2004: 107). 'As I have pointed out many times', Spencer wrote in 2006, 'traditional Islam itself is not moderate or peaceful. It is the only major world religion with a developed doctrine and tradition of warfare against unbelievers' (Steinback 2011b). Critics charge that Spencer ignores other passages and centuries of interpretive scholarship that mitigate the Koran's occasional violent verses (Armstrong 2007). Former Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto accused Spencer of 'falsely constructing a divide between Islam and the West' and providing what was a 'skewed, one-sided, and inflammatory story that only helps to sow the seed of civilizational conflict' (Bhutto 2008: 245–6). Some also point out that the many violent admonitions of other holy books, including the Bible, are not usually taken literally by believers (Soharwardy 2010). Scholars believe this anti-Muslim bias 'is of increasing sociological and political importance' (Miles & Brown 2003: 163).

Geller's views of Islam, published on her website Atlas Shrugs, are simply defamatory. She has posted (and later removed) a video implying that Muslims practised bestiality with goats and a cartoon depicting the Muslim prophet Mohammad with a pig's face (observant Muslims do not eat pork). Geller has denied the genocide of Bosnian Muslims by Serbian forces in Srebrenica – calling it the 'Srebrenica Genocide Myth', even though the Serbian government itself issued a state apology for the massacre. This is akin to Holocaust denial in that Geller, due to her anti-Muslim bias, refuses to accept that Muslims can be victims of genocide in the same manner that neo-Nazis and others refused to accept the slaughter of Jews in Germany by their heroes as possible (Beirich 2009). Geller wrote, 'Westerners are admitting to their role in something that didn't happen, and digging their own graves' (Southern Poverty Law Center 2012b).

The anti-Muslim network built in the 2000s is not confined to the United States; Geller has significant overseas connections, proving that fears of a possible coming 'Eurabia' do not only exist in Europe (Bat 2005). In 2009, Geller was invited to address the German far-right organization Pro Köln, described as a successor group to the neo-fascist German League for People and Homeland. As of early 2011, Pro Köln was officially deemed a right-wing extremist group by the German authorities (Schlatter 2011a). Geller and the EDL have worked hand-in-glove on this issue, and members

of the EDL joined her 11 September 2010 protest in Manhattan, sporting flags (and ski masks) bearing a St. George's Cross. White with red crossbars, the mediaeval flag is most famous for its use by British Crusaders (Zaitchik 2010). In February 2010, Geller wrote admiringly of the EDL on her blog. 'I share the E.D.L.'s goals' she said. 'We need to encourage rational, reasonable groups that oppose the Islamisation of the West' (Southern Poverty Law Center 2012b).

A big fan of anti-Muslim Dutch politician Geert Wilders, Geller, in March 2010, glowingly advertised an upcoming EDL protest that was to feature him (Geller 2010). She invited Wilders to speak at a June 2010 'Ground Zero Mosque' rally. On the tenth anniversary of the 9/11 attacks, Geller and Spencer held a rally in Manhattan that featured a 'Who's Who' of anti-Muslim activists from the United States, Canada and Europe. Among those attending were René Stadtkewitz, a right-wing German Parliament member from the anti-Islamic Freedom Party and Ezra Levant, a Canadian lawyer and founder of the libertarian-conservative news source *The Western Standard* (Schlatter 2011b).

These close working relationships show that this anti-Muslim network is now transnational in nature. Besides Breivik, these anti-Muslim activists have drawn the admiration of white nationalist and even neo-Nazi proponents on the extreme right – a rather remarkable feat, considering Geller is proudly Jewish and very pro-Israel, something that is anathema to anti-Semites. Geller has also been the subject of positive postings on racist American websites such as Stormfront, VDARE, American Renaissance and the neo-Confederate League of the South (Southern Poverty Law Center 2012b). But anti-Muslim extremists have been quite willing to set aside parts of their ideology for the greater cause. This has been true of Nick Griffin, the head of the BNP and a man convicted of Holocaust denial, who began in the mid-2000s to reach out to the British Jewish community on the basis of his anti-Muslim platform. At a 2006 meeting of the white nationalist group American Renaissance, that included prominent anti-Semites in the audience including former Klansman David Duke, Griffin denounced those who see behind every evil some kind of 'world-Jewish conspiracy' and claimed that Jews are a natural ally in the battle against Islam (Beirich 2006).

Hardcore racists

Another world that Breivik frequented was that of neo-Nazis and other hardcore extremists. In the wake of his attacks, Breivik reportedly sent his manifesto to more than 1,000 contacts, including anti-immigrant political activists from the EDL and the Vlaams Belang, a Belgian party that was banned for 'xenophobia and racism' in its former incarnation, but also Combat 18, a neo-Nazi skinhead group with affiliates in the United Kingdom and the United States (Taylor 2011). This was not his only contact with hardcore extremists. Breivik frequently posted to a Web forum whose major topic of conversation was, reportedly, *The Turner Diaries*, a race-war novel penned by American neo-Nazi William Pierce (the book served as a blueprint for Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh) (Kay 2011).

That a Norwegian racist would spend time on forums devoted to an American race-war novel is not all that surprising. Since the Second World War, a significant and growing number of American right-wing extremists have worked for or advocated a transnational approach to revolutionary politics. While these budding internationalists have included Klansmen and many other types of radical rightists, the most important have been neo-Nazis – men who believe in the rehabilitation of some form of German National Socialism, but with a far more global scope than that espoused by Adolf Hitler. The shared movement grew slowly, as neo-Nazism and Holocaust denial became more common in the United States as memories of the war faded.

By the 1990s, shared contacts were quite common among neo-Nazis and other hardcore racists, such as racist skinheads, street toughs known for engaging in hate crimes. This is partly because of the rise of ‘pan-Aryanism’, a white supremacist philosophy that emphasizes the idea that white revolutionaries must adopt a global strategy to succeed. In the words of American neo-Nazi William Pierce, leader of the National Alliance (NA), ‘We must understand that we are in a planet-wide race war, and survival of our race depends on our winning this war’ (Southern Poverty Law Center 2001a).

Interchanges between leaders of neo-Nazi and similar groups have been common in the last few decades. During the 1990s, Pierce, who died in 2002, travelled regularly to Europe, speaking to neo-fascist groups like the BNP (he was banned from the United Kingdom after a 1997 speech to the BNP), Greece’s neo-Nazi Golden Dawn and Germany’s racist and antisemitic NPD (Southern Poverty Law Center 2001a). In 1999, Pierce summed up his views to an NPD audience, saying, ‘It is essential – not just helpful, but necessary – for genuine nationalist groups everywhere to increase their degree of collaboration across national borders . . . The National Alliance is really unique in that it . . . define[s] nationality in terms of race, not geography.’ Pierce concluded: ‘our destinies are linked’ (Southern Poverty Law Center 2001b).

Over the years, many other extremist leaders have made the trek to Europe to find like-minded extremists. In September 1991, Dennis Mahon, the then Oklahoma leader of the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, took a nine-day tour of reunified Germany. The trip peaked with a Klan-style cross burning, organized by the neo-Nazi Nationalist Front (Nationalistische Front) and led by Mahon in a German forest near Berlin. In August 1998, an American delegation from the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens, including top leaders Gordon Lee Baum and Tom Dover, participated in a National Front festival in France (Southern Poverty Law Center 2001a). David Duke, perhaps America’s best-known racist political figure and a former state senator from Louisiana, has long had a major international presence. He has travelled widely in Europe, selling his antisemitic autobiography, *My Awakening: A Path to Racial Understanding*. Duke began visiting Russia at the turn of the millennium and made his second trip to Russia in the summer of 2000 at the invitation of Alexander Prokhanov, editor of the ultranationalist newspaper *Zavtra*, and Konstantin Kasimovsky, head of an antisemitic outfit called Russian Action. In the early 2000s, Duke resided in Moscow, Russia, while he was being sought by authorities in the United States for fraud (Lee 2003, Southern Poverty Law Center 2012a). He spent time promoting his last book, *The Ultimate Supremacism: My Awakening on the Jewish Question*, which was

for years openly offered in the lobby of the Russian Congress. Boris Mironov, who was once press secretary to former president Boris Yeltsin, wrote the preface to Duke's book (Duke 2003).

The other area of long-standing, tight racial collaboration between Americans and Europeans is in the realm of white power music, which began in Britain but soon spread to the rest of Europe and then America. As Anton Shekhovtsov has pointed out:

Extreme-right political parties and groups have produced their own music scene which is known as White Power music, or White Noise . . . It [was] originated in Britain in 1978 by two Leeds-based bands, the Ventz and the Dentists . . . From 1979 onward, [these] ideas were taken up by the main publication of the Young Nation Front, *Bulldog*, edited by Joe Pearce. It was not, however, until the early 1980s, that the far right musical scene began to flourish . . . During the 1980s, White Power music rapidly spread all over Europe. The French far-right music label Rebelles Européens was set up in 1987 by Bodilis Gael, who was active in the youth wing of the French National Front, Third Way, and, afterwards, the French and European Nationalist Party. Socialist Europe was not left behind either. At the end of the 1980s, sympathisers of the National Rebirth of Poland party formed the far-right band Legion that helped the organisation recruit skinheads for the political cause. By the mid-1990s, the far-right scene appeared in Russia, where the band Russkoe Getto, later renamed Kolovrat, was formed and rapidly reached cult status amongst Russian neo-Nazis. (Shekhovtsov forthcoming)

White power music, which is often illegal in Europe and thus mainly produced and distributed in and from the United States, has acted as a unifying element among racist skinheads. It has allowed for connections to develop between American distributors, in terms of websites and various hate groups, and European and American bands. Hate music bands travel frequently to the United States and vice versa to spread their message. As Shekhovtsov notes, 'The 1990s were undoubtedly the heyday of the White Power music scene in Europe. [These networks] played a crucial role in the rise of the scene that also became increasingly profitable' (forthcoming).

The growing white power music industry, valued at millions of dollars in annual sales and in the early 2000s estimated by Interpol to be worth more than the Hashish trade, is not just the largest source of money and recruits for the Western world's most dynamic racist revolutionaries (Southern Poverty Law Center 2001d). It is also astonishingly international. Through websites and cheaper travel, racist music has spread over the last quarter of a century from Britain to the rest of Europe and on to the United States. In many ways, this remarkably violent music is accomplishing for the radical right what decades of racist theorizing did not: It has given skinheads and many other extremists around the world a common language and a unifying ideology – an ideology that replaces old-fashioned state-based nativism with the concept of 'pan-Aryanism'. To this day, skinheads remain remarkably integrated across borders with European racist bands from across the continent playing gigs in the United States and vice versa.

The West's white nationalist network

Breivik's manifesto pointed to a particular ideology, called 'cultural Marxism', as being responsible for Europe allowing in foreign populations and turning its back on the greatness of Western civilization. His manifesto explicitly equates liberalism and multiculturalism with cultural Marxism, something Breivik says is destroying European Christian civilization. The manifesto is literally a call to arms against this evil trend. But Breivik did not learn about cultural Marxism by reading European thinkers; it is an idea created by American thinkers, most of them white nationalists, to explain the rise of political correctness and anti-racist beliefs as well as the advent of multiculturalism. Over time, the idea spread to Europe as racist ideologues on both sides of the Atlantic came to believe that their countries would no longer be healthy functioning societies or democracies once whites were supplanted by other populations (Beirich & Hicks 2009: 109). Many white nationalists see the changes in American society, particularly since the hated decade of the 1960s, as the result of an orchestrated plan by leftist intellectuals, or cultural Marxists, to destroy the American way of life as established by whites.

In a nutshell, the cultural Marxism argument posits that the ideas and actions of a tiny group of philosophers – mainly Jews who taught at the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt, Germany, and who fled Germany in the 1930s – dramatically changed American society (Owens 2000: 34, Berkowitz 2003). These men set up shop at Columbia University in New York City and founded the 'Frankfurt School' of philosophy. White nationalists allege they devised an unorthodox form of Marxism that took aim at American culture, rather than its economic system, and worked to undermine the culture by introducing leftist ideas, particularly by extending civil rights to marginalized groups, such as minorities, the lesbian and gay community and women. As social psychology professor Richard Lichtman of the Berkeley-based Wright Institute has pointed out, cultural Marxism is

a convenient target that very few people really know anything about. By grounding their critique in Marxism and using the Frankfurt School, [extremists] make it seem like it's quite foreign to anything American. It takes on a mysterious cast and translates as an incomprehensible, anti-American, foreign movement that is only interested in undermining the U.S. . . . The idea being transmitted is that we are being infected from the outside. (Berkowitz 2003)

Cultural Marxism, a term popularized by William Lind of the Free Congress Foundation and spread through white nationalist circles, largely by a video put out by the white supremacist Council of Conservative Citizens that features Lind, has allegedly had another extremely deleterious effect: these assaults on American culture have made whites unable to form a coherent identity for themselves. White nationalists argue that this has been encouraged to happen among minority groups, who have created their own identities, such as African Americans and Latinos, and their own lobbying groups (Lind 2000, Council of Conservative Citizens 2007). White nationalists allege that a double standard has been put into place, whereby minorities in groups such as

the National Council of La Raza or the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) can celebrate their culture and create institutions to further their interests, but whites cannot (racist activists ignore the fact that these groups are multiracial and open to membership to anyone who agrees with their beliefs). 'Racial pride is fine for blacks and everyone else, but verboten . . . for whites. Not just American whites, mind you, but all whites everywhere' is how Jared Taylor has explained this result of cultural Marxism (Taylor 2004). Because of this, one of the primary political goals of white nationalism is to forge a white identity, which it believes will be the first step to re-establishing white political power. In Taylor's words, 'No group can survive without group identity. This is a law of nature. Deny to whites their identity as a group and you condemn them to obliteration and oblivion. And that, of course, is precisely what we refuse! We are not going quietly' (ibid.).

And what does Taylor fear losing? At its core, the white nationalist movement is defined by its fundamental belief in a biological conception of race. Here is how Taylor put it in a speech to his American Renaissance group's 2004 biannual gathering:

[W]e just want to be left alone. We are the heirs to the magnificent traditions of Europe. We are a biologically distinct group known as white people. We want to be left alone to carry forward our traditions and to pursue our own destiny. It is as simple as that. We wish other groups well, but we cannot welcome them in our midst because they are not us. We have a deep, healthy loyalty to our own kind, and we know populations are not replaceable or interchangeable. We have the right to be us, and only we can be us. (ibid.)

For white nationalists, humankind is made up of a number of naturally occurring racial divisions; each race possesses traits that are the product of genetic inheritance and that serve to characterize it as a distinct human type. Culture is the partner of this inheritance and what binds together members of the same race in a community of common interests, habits and characteristics (Beirich & Hicks 2009: 114). When members of the same race create political organizations, like the nation state, these institutions are necessarily an expression of both the race and culture of their creators. In the case of America, white nationalists see it as an intrinsically white nation, the result of a superior Western European racial and cultural inheritance. As a result, white nationalists believe that whites created the highest level of human civilization: Western civilization.

White nationalists are very concerned about the genetic deterioration of their 'race' and the diminution of its power. White nationalists view the 'interbreeding', to use their word, of the increasingly multicultural societies in the West, particularly the United States, as a disaster that only political alliance among whites can avoid (ibid.: 116). 'Some are more desirable than others' is how Thomas Jackson put it in the October 2011 issue of *American Renaissance*. 'When people with desirable characteristics have more children than those with undesirable characteristics we evolve. When they do not we degenerate' (Jackson 2011: 1). They look for hope to Europe, where the ravages of cultural Marxism are not seen as having been quite so deleterious, at least not yet.

The fact that Europe has several political parties that are organized around either racist or xenophobic anti-immigrant views provides hope to American white nationalists (Mudde 2003, Givens 2005, Norris 2005). This is how Taylor has assessed the situation: 'In just about every white country there is a nationalist political party that stands explicitly for national preservation – sometimes even for nothing less than ethnic or racial preservation – and gets voters because of this' (Taylor 2006: 11). Anti-immigrant right-wing populist parties in Europe, such as the BNP and the anti-immigrant Sweden Democrats, whose 2010 electoral success is celebrated by Taylor's organization, *American Renaissance*, have serious fans and allies in the United States (Widmark 2010). In addition, American white nationalists look to the Swiss People's Party, one of the most successful anti-immigrant parties in Europe. In October 2007, it took 29 per cent of the votes for that nation's lower house, the best result for any Swiss party since 1919, which translated into 62 seats in the nation's 200-seat National Council. The party's campaign was simple and appealing to America's white nationalists: the expulsion of foreign criminals and other immigrants, a continued refusal to join the European Union and tax cuts, which appeal to extremists as they shrink governments that are seen as multicultural and anathema to their goals.

There is a relatively integrated circuit of white nationalists who speak on both sides of the Atlantic, fundraise, share beliefs and repeatedly link to each other's websites (Southern Poverty Law Center 2001b). In the early 2000s, the BNP had an American fundraising arm called the American Friends of the British National Party (AFBNP). The AFBNP brought together dozens of prominent American racists at events held specifically to raise funds for the BNP. Nick Griffin, the BNP's leader, spoke of the need for supporting movements such as his at AFBNP events where a basket was passed around for donations (Southern Poverty Law Center 2001c). Ultimately, the leader of the group, Mark Cotterill, was deported from the United States after it was revealed by the Southern Poverty Law Center that he had never registered as a foreign agent with the US Government (*ibid.*). In June 2000, Taylor travelled to London to address a meeting of supporters of *Right Now!*, an English pseudo-academic 'racialist' publication similar to his own. Taylor, the British anti-fascist magazine *Searchlight* reported, described multiculturalism as 'a conspiracy to destroy white society' (Southern Poverty Law Center 2001a). Leaders of the French National Front have come to the United States to fundraise and speak at extremist events, and in 2007, leaders of the Belgian Vlaams Belang came to the United States to speak to the Robert Taft Club, whose leader attends American Renaissance events, and the Federation for American Immigration Reform (Beirich 2007a, b). Just this past February, the party's leader, Filip Dewinter, spoke at the 2011 American Renaissance conference. The most recent attempt at white nationalist American political action is the establishment of the American Third Position, a political party begun in 2009 by skinheads but now run predominantly by academics and other professionals that calls for the removal of non-whites from the United States. The party relies on European expertise (Beirich 2011). One of its directors, appointed in 2010, is Tomislav Sunic, a graduate of the University of Zagreb who has become an outspoken white nationalist and speaks frequently in Europe (American Third Position 2011).

Conclusion

Breivik was no lone wolf and he did not reach his terrifying conclusions in a vacuum. Breivik was deeply involved online and in Norway in anti-immigrant and racist movements. He learned his hatred of Muslims at the feet of American ideologues and he spread his hatred to extremists in Europe and the United States. The spider's web of hate he functioned in is part and parcel of a growing transnational web of hatred that is available to anyone with an internet connection.

These racist networks are the real world outcome of massive change in terms of globalization and demography, and they are only likely to intensify over the coming years. Growing anxieties on both sides of the Atlantic over factors such as changing demographics, immigration from the developing world and economic disparities brought about by globalization are seen, by certain sectors of the population, as resulting in a precipitous decline in white power. These changes have given rise to a transnational movement that is bringing together various types of extremists, regardless of whether their priorities are anti-Muslim proselytizing, advocating white nationalism or pushing more extreme and often more openly violent racist ideologies such as neo-Nazism.

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