

Hate Beyond Borders:

The Internationalization of White Supremacy



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Our Mission:

To stop the defamation of the Jewish people
and to secure justice and fair treatment to all.

ADL CENTER ON EXTREMISM

ADL's Center on Extremism (COE) is a foremost authority on extremism, terrorism and all forms of hate. The COE investigates and disrupts emerging threats online and on the ground—work that is bolstered by ADL's civil rights history, our unparalleled partnerships with law enforcement and our commitment to combating anti-Semitism and any type of bigotry.

ADL INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ADL's International Affairs (IA) pursues ADL's mission around the globe, fighting anti-Semitism and hate, supporting the security of Jewish communities worldwide and working for a safe and democratic State of Israel at peace with her neighbors. The IA staff helps raise these international issues with the U.S. and foreign governments and works with partners around the world to provide research and analysis, programs and resources to fight anti-Semitism, extremism, hate crimes and cyberhate.

This report is a collaboration between ADL and researchers at Amadeu Antonio Foundation, Community Security Trust, Expo Foundation, Observatoire des Radicalités Politiques, Fondation Jean Jaurès, and Never Again Association.



ADL (Anti-Defamation League) fights anti-Semitism and promotes justice for all. Join ADL to give a voice to those without one and to protect our civil rights.

Learn more: [adl.org](https://www.adl.org)

Cover: An FBI agent stands behind a police cordon outside the Tree of Life Synagogue after a shooting there left 11 people dead in the Squirrel Hill neighborhood of Pittsburgh. Photo: Brendan Smialowski/Getty Images

Left: ADL New England mourns the victims of the Tree of Life Synagogue tragedy.

Hate Beyond Borders:

The Internationalization of White Supremacy

The internationalization of white supremacy is strengthening a hateful and dangerous ideology.

White supremacists around the world are meeting online and in person at conferences, capitalizing on the digitalization of information, which has in turn accelerated the international exchange of ideas. These virtual and actual gatherings provide key opportunities for white supremacists to share ideas and tactics and recruit new followers.

Meanwhile, over the past decade, we have seen surging violence in the United States and Europe motivated by right-wing extremism. The perpetrators are connected by an extremist ideology that continues to gain international followers.

This report exposes the mutual influence of white supremacists in the United States, Canada and Europe and highlights the danger of these connections. "Hate Beyond Borders" was produced through a collaboration between researchers at ADL's Center on Extremism in the U.S. and European extremism researchers at the Amadeu Antonio Foundation (Germany), Community Security Trust (UK), Expo Foundation (Sweden), Observatoire des Radicalités Politiques, Fondation Jean Jaurès, (France) and Never Again Association (Poland).

Transatlantic cooperation among extremists must be addressed, and threats of violence must be actively countered. We hope this report contributes to that effort.



Hate Beyond Borders: The Internationalization of White Supremacy

KEY FINDINGS:

- We are witnessing the internationalization of the white supremacist movement.
- Over the past decade, we have seen surging violence in the United States, Europe and beyond motivated by elements of white supremacy from Anders Breivik in Norway to Brenton Tarrant in New Zealand to Patrick Crusius in El Paso, Texas. These killers influence and inspire one another.
- European and American adherents are learning from each other, supporting each other and reaching new audiences.
- They feel empowered and emboldened because they perceive that they are influencing the political climate and reaching disaffected white people.
- Global access to white supremacist ideology, and its easy dissemination across borders via various social media platforms, means many of the ideas promoted by the white supremacist movement — curtailing of non-white immigration, attacks on globalization and the accompanying conspiracies about elitist globalists — are increasingly part of mainstream political and social rhetoric.
- Exposing and understanding the connections among white supremacists and the paths by which they spread their hate are the first steps toward countering them. This report lays the groundwork, but continued vigilance and urgent action are necessary.
- Political leaders, law enforcement, social media companies, and educators have important roles to play and responsibilities to uphold.

Read the Full Report online:

<https://www.adl.org/resources/reports/hate-beyond-borders-the-internationalization-of-white-supremacy>







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Sozialismus

Sozialismus

Sozialismus

Introduction

In 2011, Anders Breivik killed 77 people in Norway, after leaving a hate-filled manifesto railing against immigrants and Muslims. Four years later in the U.S., white supremacist [Dylann Roof](#) killed nine black parishioners in South Carolina in 2015. Both Breivik and Roof influenced [Brenton Tarrant](#), an Australian white supremacist who killed 51 Muslims in attacks on two New Zealand mosques in March 2019. Tarrant mentioned both men in his manifesto, titled “The Great Replacement”—named after the white supremacist theory that whites are being replaced by non-white people. Tarrant, in turn, influenced [John Earnest](#), who killed one woman and injured others at a synagogue in Poway, California one month later and cited Tarrant as an inspiration in the statement he posted before carrying out his attack. [Patrick Crusius](#), who murdered 22 people in El Paso, Texas, and was targeting Mexicans, also cited Tarrant’s “The Great Replacement” in his own manifesto. One week later, a Norwegian gunman, who had referenced “Saint Tarrant” on a message board, was overpowered as he attempted to shoot people at a mosque in Oslo.

Even as violent white supremacists grab headlines, there are influential ideologues operating behind the scenes to spread hateful white supremacist rhetoric and ideas to eager audiences around the world.

While some influential ideologues may take an academic approach to what they perceive as a danger to “white civilization,” their words can impel violence in those who believe that only violent interventions will save what they term “white European culture.” For example, Renaud Camus, the French author of a book entitled *The Great Replacement*, does not condone violence, but his words influenced Tarrant and Crusius.

Before the rise of the Internet, white supremacists in the U.S. and Europe did not have the opportunity to connect with each other with the speed and frequency they do today, using various online platforms to disseminate their hateful ideas. The globalization of violent white supremacy has been accelerated by social networking sites like Twitter, Gab, Minds, Telegram and message boards like 8chan, 4chan and Reddit, which have created an echo chamber where racist and anti-Semitic ideologies are seen, repeated and reinforced by like-minded people.

Blogs, online publications, Internet radio and podcasts allow white supremacists to influence both the ideas and actions of others across the globe more directly and more quickly. This networking online and in person emboldens them and gives them the impression that the white supremacist movement is thriving. This, in turn, encourages white supremacists to believe they have widespread credibility and support, while creating an international marketplace for their hateful ideas. Breivik, Roof and Tarrant posted their white supremacist manifestos online. They – and their words – are worshipped by untold numbers of individuals around the world who share their bigoted, murderous views.

On both sides of the Atlantic, white supremacy has gained new adherents due to a focus on changing demographics and increasing non-white people immigration to Europe and the U.S. Some of their racist and xenophobic views are now seeping into mainstream discourse, including political parties that promote the idea that immigrants and non-whites generally are a threat to society. The normalization of hate allows white supremacists to bolster their belief that they are part of a global movement to “save the white race.”

This normalization also means politicians and pundits feel free to openly express these views without fear of being marginalized. In June 2018, Rep. Steve King (R-IA) retweeted British neo-Nazi Mark Collett's anti-immigrant tweet about young Italians opposing mass immigration: "Europe is waking up." King added, "Europe is waking up...Will America...in time?" When King was told that he retweeted a neo-Nazi, he said he wasn't sorry for unintentionally retweeting him and refused to delete the tweet. King has also promoted "the great replacement" theory in an interview with a publication from the far-right Austrian Freedom Party in September 2018. Following a public uproar over his comments, King was removed from his committee assignments in the U.S. House, and has been criticized widely by fellow Republicans. Fox News host Laura Ingraham has also retweeted Collett's tweets about immigration and racism against whites.

The mainstreaming of white supremacist ideologies in Europe and the U. S. is manifested in part in a rise in hate crimes and anti-Semitism. Minority communities, including Jews, Muslims and immigrants, feel increasingly fearful and threatened by racism, anti-Semitism, xenophobia and nativism.

As white supremacy grows, normalizes, and connects across borders, it has become imperative to better understand the networks and influencers, so that appropriate measures can be developed to counteract this dangerous hate.

This report profiles white supremacists and individuals on the far right of the political spectrum in Europe, the United States and Canada, who have had a profound effect on one another and online through their writings and ideas, and by attending each other's events and conferences.

The "far right" is an umbrella term used to refer to a variety of extreme movements with historical, intellectual, cultural, ideological and other connections to right-wing causes. The far right is not a monolith but a convoluted landscape encompassing an array of movements and causes. White supremacy is an important feature of that landscape, but hardly the only one.

White supremacists share a hateful ideology and the belief that demographic changes in Europe and the United States, due to increased non-white immigration is diluting their cultures and destroying their countries. They focus on the themes of "white replacement" and "white genocide" to stir fear, hate and resentment.

Many of them blame Jews for non-white immigration and accuse Jews of undermining "white European culture." They also express hatred of Muslims for "polluting" that culture. Most also oppose globalization, which they see as the method by which multiculturalism is advanced around the world. Some far-right and right-wing parties in Europe and the U.S. have used these themes to promote their nativist political agendas.

The influence of ideologues flows in both directions.



SPEAK OUT AGAINST WHITE SUPREMACY AND ALL FORMS OF HATE:

Leaders must call out bigotry at every opportunity. The right to free speech is a core value, but the promotion of hate should be vehemently rejected.

IMPROVE PROCEDURE AT LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES FOR RESPONDING TO AND REPORTING HATE CRIMES OF ALL KINDS:

- Data drives policy. We cannot address a problem if we are not effectively tracking and measuring it.
- Governments must allocate resources to address the increased threat of white supremacy – including legislation and executive action to increase coordination, accountability and transparency in understanding, detecting, deterring and investigating acts of white supremacy-inspired terrorism and criminal acts.
- Every nation should enact comprehensive, inclusive hate crime laws. Effective responses to anti-Semitic incidents and hate violence by public officials and law enforcement authorities can play an essential role in deterring and preventing these crimes.
- We must encourage victims and bystanders to report all anti-Semitic incidents and vandalism. If we expect law enforcement officials and community members to take these incidents seriously, we must take them seriously. In addition, political leaders at all levels of government should take steps to ensure that it is efficient and safe for all victims of hate crimes to contact the police. If marginalized or targeted community members – including immigrants, and people who are perceived to be immigrants, people with disabilities, LGBTQ community members, Muslims and people with limited language proficiency – cannot report, or do not feel safe reporting crimes, law enforcement cannot effectively address these crimes, and this jeopardizes the safety of all.



RESPONSIBILITY OF TECHNOLOGY COMPANIES TO ADDRESS ONLINE WHITE SUPREMACY

TERMS OF SERVICE:

Every social media and online game platform must have clear terms of service that address hateful content and harassing behavior and clearly define consequences for violations. These policies should state that the platform will not tolerate hateful content or behavior on the basis of protected characteristics. They should prohibit abusive tactics such as harassment, doxing and swatting. Platforms should also note what the process of appeal is for users who feel their content was flagged as hateful or abusive in error.

RESPONSIBILITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY:

Social media and online game platforms should assume greater responsibility to enforce their policies and to do so accurately at scale. They should improve the complaint process so that it provides a more consistent and speedy resolution for targets. They should lessen the burden of the complaint process for users, and instead proactively, swiftly, and continuously address hateful content using a mix of artificial intelligence and humans who are fluent in the relevant language and knowledgeable in the social and cultural context of the relevant community.

Additionally, given the prevalence of online hate and harassment, platforms should offer far more services and tools for individuals facing or fearing online attack. They should provide greater filtering options that allow individuals to decide for themselves how much they want to see likely hateful comments. They should consider the experience of individuals who are being harassed in a coordinated way, and be able to provide aid to these individuals in meaningful ways. They should allow users to speak to a person as part of the complaint process in certain, clearly defined cases. They should provide user-friendly tools to help targets preserve evidence and report problems to law enforcement and companies.

GOVERNANCE AND TRANSPARENCY:

Perhaps most importantly, social media and online game platforms should adopt robust governance. This should include regularly scheduled external, independent audits so that the public knows the extent of hate and harassment on a given platform. Audits should also allow the public to verify that the company followed through on its stated actions and assess the effectiveness of company efforts over time. Companies should provide information from the audit and elsewhere through more robust transparency reports. Finally, companies should create independent groups of experts from relevant stakeholders, including civil society, academia and journalism, to help provide guidance and oversight of platform policies.

ADL by the numbers | **OUR IMPACT**

EDUCATE

5.2M
STUDENTS



impacted through our Holocaust education program, Echoes & Reflections, since inception in 2005

27k
EDUCATORS



acquired skills to teach anti-bias concepts and support students in using ally behaviors to challenge bias and identity-based bullying

30k
EDUCATORS



receive ADL education updates and curriculum resources

ADVOCATE

46
STATES + D.C.



have enacted Hate Crimes legislation based on, or similar to, the ADL model produced in 1981

MONITOR

2.6M
TWEETS



containing anti-Semitic language were identified in our 2016 report about online harassment of journalists

250
WHITE SUPREMACISTS



who attended the 2017 “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville were identified by ADL in cooperation with local law enforcement

PARTNERS

300+
MAYORS



pledged to join ADL through the Mayors’ Compact to combat hate, extremism and discrimination, a partnership with the U.S. Conference of Mayors

INVESTIGATE

11k 
CASES

in which ADL has provided extremist related information to law enforcement, including critical, up-to-the-minute background on extremist threats

TRAIN

100% 

of all new FBI agents have been trained by ADL since 2001

+150k 

**LAW ENFORCEMENT
PROFESSIONALS**

were trained by ADL in the last ten years, helping them to fight extremism and build trust with the communities they serve

ADL

ADL is a leading anti-hate organization. Founded in 1913 in response to an escalating climate of anti-Semitism and bigotry, its timeless mission is to stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment to all. Today, ADL continues to fight all forms of hate with the same vigor and passion. ADL is the first call when acts of anti-Semitism occur. A global leader in exposing extremism, delivering anti-bias education and fighting hate online, ADL's ultimate goal is a world in which no group or individual suffers from bias, discrimination or hate. More at www.adl.org.

ADL has emerged as one of the most formidable anti-hate organizations because of its ironclad commitment to protecting the rights of all people regardless of their race, religion, national origin, sexual orientation, gender identity or level of ability. Since its inception, ADL has believed that America only would be safe for its Jewish people if it was safe for all its people – and that when it was truly safe for all its people, it also would be safe for its Jewish community. Since its founding, ADL's work has expanded to address anti-Semitism across the globe.

ADL works to protect all marginalized groups from the devastating impacts of extremism, reduce bias in individuals through education, and create an environment of laws and norms where all groups are treated fairly, and hate has no home.

Support

Hate Beyond Borders: The Internationalization of White Supremacy is a project of ADL's Center on Extremism and International Affairs division, in partnership with European extremism researchers at Amadeu Antonio Foundation (Germany), Community Security Trust (UK), Expo Foundation (Sweden), Observatoire des Radicalités Politiques, Fondation Jean Jaurès, (France) and Never Again Association (Poland).

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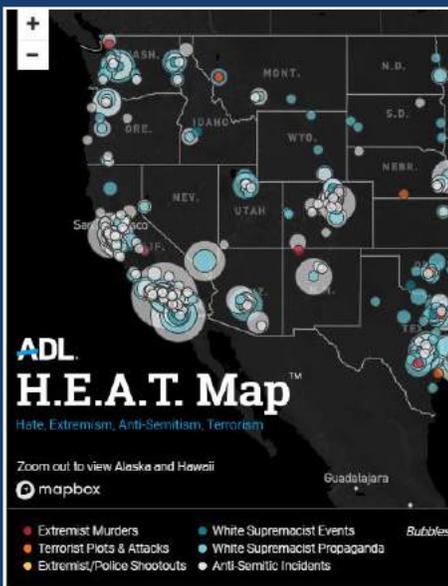
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Take Action

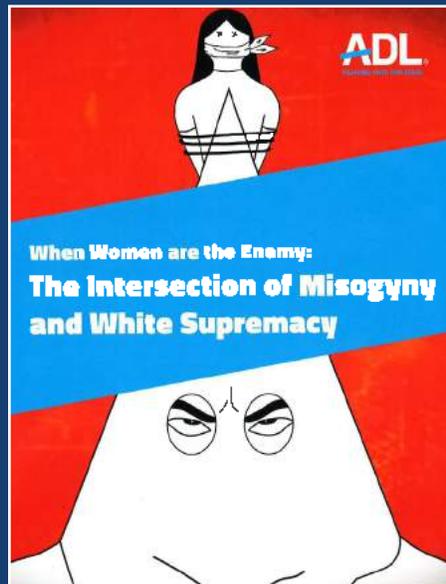
Partner with ADL to fight hate in your community and beyond.

- Sign up at adl.org for our email newsletters to stay informed about events in our world and ADL's response.
- Report hate crimes and bias-related incidents in your area to your regional ADL office.
- Engage in respectful dialogue to build understanding among people with different views.
- Get involved with ADL in your region.

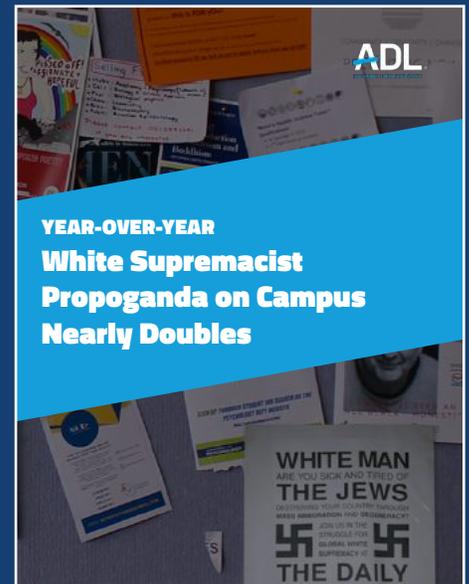
Featured Resources on this topic:



ADL H.E.A.T.™ Map



When Women are the Enemy:
The Intersection of Misogyny
and White Supremacy



White Supremacist Propaganda
Nearly Doubles on Campus in
2017-18 Academic Year

For a database of reports and resources on extremism, cyberhate and more, visit adl.org.