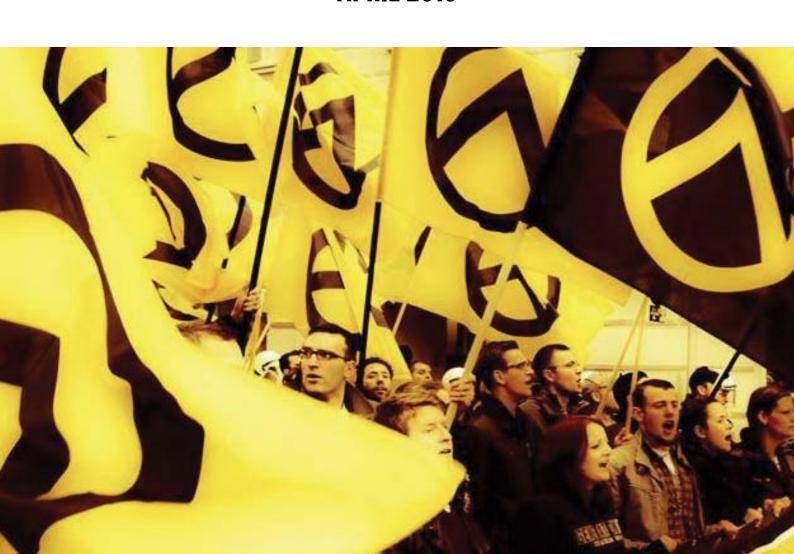
# ANEW THREAT?

# GENERATION IDENTITY UNITED KINGDOM AND IRELAND

A HOPE NOT HATE MINI REPORT



**APRIL 2018** 



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## INTRODUCTION

n the last 10 months, a new far-right threat has emerged in the UK and Ireland. Generation Identity United Kingdom and Ireland (GI UK and Ireland) is the domestic branch of an expanding far-right network, active in 13 countries across Europe and now in North America. The movement is best known for the dangerous Defend Europe mission, which sought to block refugee rescue ships in the Mediterranean in the summer of 2017.

As a movement they have a long history of racism and extreme anti-Muslim prejudice and push ideas such as racial separatism and repatriation.

Known for its headline grabbing stunts and bold iconography, GI UK and Ireland is young, organised, tech-savvy and very active, all of which belies its extreme ideology.

GI's current crop of activists have been drawn from organisations across the British far right, ranging from the now proscribed neo-nazi terrorist organisation National Action, to London's Traditional Britain Group, all the way to elected UKIP officials.

This HOPE not hate mini-report explores this new organisation in the UK and Ireland, explaining what it believes, how it operates and who is involved.

### THE THREAT IN PERSPECTIVE

It is important to keep the threat posed by GI UK and Ireland in perspective. Though unwise to judge impact purely on size, the group has, so far, mobilised just a handful of committed activists. Its first major demonstration, held in Hyde Park last month, attracted just 40 people. Across GI UK and Ireland's social media accounts it has just 7,445 followers on Twitter.



GI UK and Ireland activists Jordan Diamond (left) and Tore Rasmussen (centre) at Speakers' Corner.



At present, the UK operation remains a pale imitation of its more established continental operations in France, Italy, Germany and Austria, which have dozens of active branches and a significant infrastructure - including gyms and bars - in place.

While leading figures such as Martin Sellner of GI Austria have dedicated considerable time and effort to getting things moving here - seeing the UK as the movement's gateway to the Anglosphere - Britain has proved a difficult place for GI to operate, facing organised and concerted opposition at every turn.

The official launch of the UK branch in October 2017 proved to be something of a disaster; it's banner drop at Westminster received only cursory media coverage, and shortly after came the revelation that the small group had been infiltrated by an ITV documentary crew, with the help of HOPE not hate, meaning we had known all their plans from the off.

The exposé, which showed Sellner using a racist epithet, subsequently saw the then-UK co-leaders Jordan Diamond and Sebastian Seccombe panic and distance themselves from GI, an act that has seen them sidelined ever since.

Two cancelled speaking engagements with UKIP's youth wing, the government's decision to refuse Sellner entry into the UK, HOPE not hate's recent exposé that a GI activist had been a member of the banned neo-Nazi terrorist organisation National Action, and evidence of tensions and emerging splits in the Irish GI branch, are all further evidence that the British Isles is proving a hard place for GI to do business.

### **HIGHLY ACTIVE**

However, this is not a call for complacency. GI UK and Ireland does pose a threat that needs to be understood, not least to make sure it fails to grow as their counterparts on the continent have done.

Despite its small numbers, GI has quickly become the most active far-right group in Britain. Since the start of its activities in July 2017 the group has carried out at least ninety two actions and meetings, averaging over two a week. It has been active in London, Manchester, Portsmouth, Luton, Newcastle, Birmingham, the Lake District, Telford, Belfast, Solihull, Oxford, Ely, Wrexham, Belfast, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Greenock, Falkirk, Dublin, Balbriggan and Lisdoonvarna.

While there was a significant drop in activity following the embarrassing ITV exposé, since the Norwegian Tore Rasmussen took over the UK operation there has been a significant upturn in activity.

Actions have ranged from small stickering and leafletting sessions and delivering letters to officials, to raising GI flags and dropping large banners. GI also holds regular 'study circles' where they discuss key identitarian texts, such as Guillaume Faye's *Why We Fight: Manifesto of the European Resistance*. Faye is a French writer associated with the postwar fascist movement *Nouvelle Droite* (New Right).

GI has also bought its central tactic of staging eye-catching stunts to the UK. In December last year, one activist dressed as London's Muslim mayor Sadiq Khan, accompanied by two people in niqabs, then went to Westminster Abbey and Saint Paul's Cathedral and asked asked people to sign a petition to 'ban Christmas'.

GI has also adopted the controversial tactic, first used by *Bloc Identitaire* (the organisation from which Generation Identity developed out of in France), of handing out 'warm pork suppers' to homeless people with a view to excluding Muslims.



GI UK and Ireland activists handing out 'warm pork suppers' to non-Muslim homeless people. From left to right: Tom Dupre, Gabriel Harrison and Damien McAlinden.

## **IMPACT**

While currently lacking the numbers and quality of activists to make a significant or immediate societal impact, GI UK and Ireland demands close attention. So far the group has displayed a professionalism and discipline not matched by other domestic anti-Muslim movements.

The group consciously seeks to portray an image of normality and respectability, jettisoning the traditional ephemera of previous British anti-Muslim street movements, such as balaclavas and masks, and avoiding the more base and guttural slogans that rang out across town centres during the peak of the English Defence League's (EDL) demonstrations.

Take the recent Hyde Park event organised by former EDL leader Stephen Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson). GI UK and Ireland activists refused to enter the ensuing fracas, instead choosing to leaflet around the edges of the event.

The group produces stickers, leaflets, flags and banners of a high quality. Its website is the most professional yet produced by a far-right group in the UK and Ireland, and is coupled with a slick and expanding social media operation. This has undoubtedly aided GI in attracting younger activists, which has been a significant difficulty for the far right in the UK in recent years. All of this also points to at least a modicum of investment and funding.

Whether GI will be able to tempt the mass of autonomous far-right activists currently active online onto the streets remains to be seen, but of all the options available in the UK and Ireland, they appear the biggest threat at present.

Even if GI does fail to get off the ground properly here in the UK and Ireland, it has the potential to set new expected norms for young far-right activists and standards for branding and professionalism.



GI UK and Ireland activists at Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park. From left to right: Charlie Fox (AKA Charlie Roberts), Sam, Tom Dupre, Benjamin Jones, Jordan Gibbon, Harrison Clewes, Damien McAlinden, Serge.

## A WOLF IN SHEEP'S CLOTHING

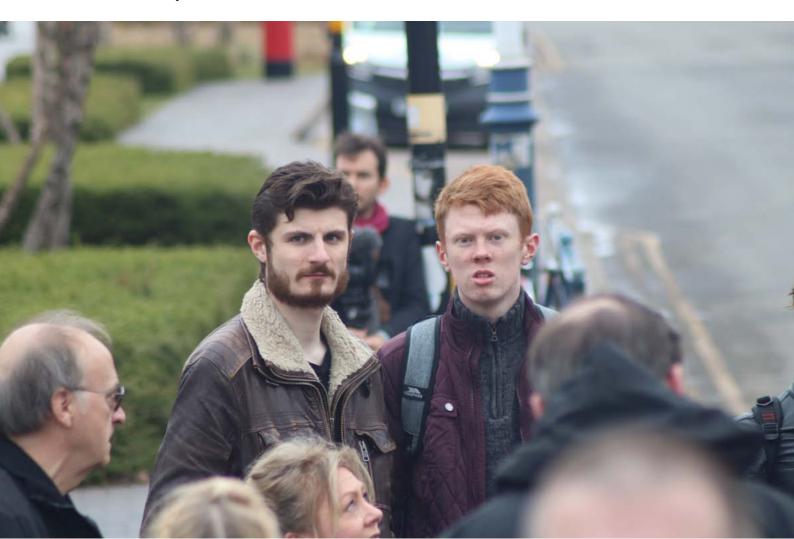
GI's more 'respectable' appearance, slick social media work, distinct iconography and disciplined public face masks an extreme ideology. The core beliefs of GI, such as 'ethnopluralism' and 'remigration', are far more extreme and race-based than anything posited by groups like the English Defence League (EDL).

However, the veiled and eye-catching means by which the group presents its ideas has paid dividends; for example, when Breitbart London took the extraordinary step of printing in full a speech written by Austrian GI leader, Martin Sellner. The danger of GI lies in its potential to normalise an ideology, which has ethnic separatism at its core.

Gi's tactic of leafleting around the edges of Lennon's recent Hyde Park speech and the Football Lads Alliance (FLA) demonstration in Birmingham in March is allegorical of the potential ideological impact of the group. While by-and-large rooted in racism, the UK anti-Muslim movement has ostensibly been more concerned by abstract notions of 'culture', rather than the more racialised concept of ethnic identity forwarded by GI. Should GI get a foothold here this could begin to change.

Of most concern is Lennon's increasing cooperation with the international GI network, resulting in talk of his formal involvement in a leadership capacity in the UK. While this would forever undermine his claims that he is not a racist, Lennon's involvement would result in a dramatic metastasization of GI, bringing large numbers of his followers into contact with GI's extreme ideas.

It would be unwise to exaggerate the threat posed by this fledgling group, but we do need to understand the nature of it. That is why this new HOPE not hate mini-report seeks to accurately reflect the true nature of GI's ideology and highlights how active it has already become.



Benjamin Jones and Damien McAlinden at an FLA rally in Birmingham.

## THE GENERATION IDENTITY NETWORK

eneration Identity (GI) is a pan-European, far right youth movement, originating in France in 2012 with the launch of *Génération Identitaire*. The movement uses a thinly-veiled racist terminology, is strongly anti-Muslim and seeks to prevent what it calls the 'Islamification' of Europe by migrants and refugees as part of a 'Great Replacement' of 'indigenous' Europeans.

GI is motivated by the political ideology of 'identitarianism', a set of ideas derived from the work of a collection of postwar European far-right thinkers known as the *Nouvelle Droite* (New Right). As an article on AltRight.com explains, identitarianism is a 'framework within which [activists] work to influence political and socio-economic activity in an effort to protect and preserve racial, ethnic, and cultural identity'.

From its origins as a controversial French philosophical movement, organised identitarian activism found its earliest incarnation in 2003 with the creation of the *Bloc Identitaire* (Identity Bloc) party. This party (now an association, '*Les Identitaires*') in turn gave rise to the now independent youth-wing, *Generation Identitaire*, launched in 2012. GI has since spread from France and has official branches across 13 European countries, all of which share an established transnational brand, set of beliefs and political tactics.

Alongside France, the most prominent GI branches are based in Germany, Italy and Austria. The movement has made its first forays into having an transatlantic presence with the emergence of a Canadian branch and there are indications of attempts to establish a US branch.

The movement garnered international attention in the summer of 2017 when GI activists from across Europe came together to launch 'Defend Europe', a mission to hamper the work of NGOs saving the lives of refugees crossing the Mediterranean.

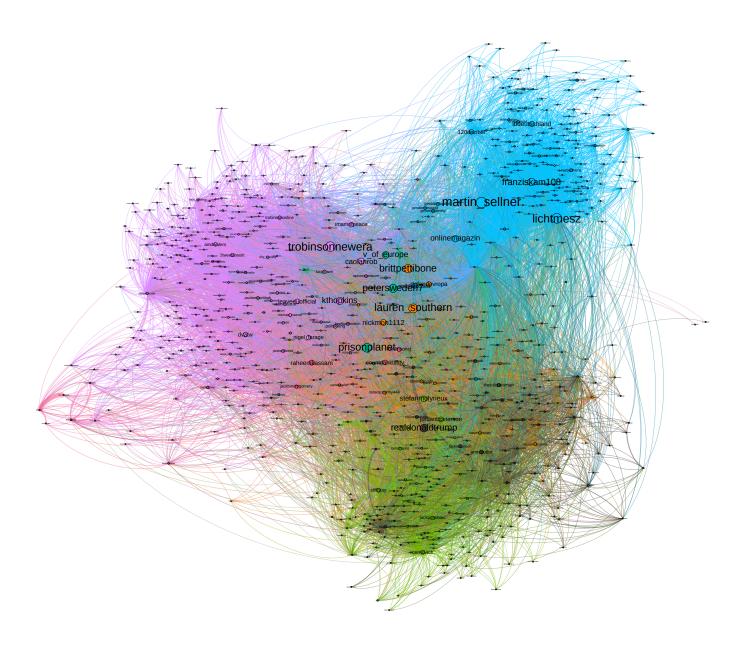
## **SOCIAL MEDIA ANALYSIS**

The spread of GI across borders has been aided by social media. Looking closer at GI connected accounts (blue) reveals a closely-knit network that stretches across national boundaries. Key activists, such as Austrian spokesperson Martin Sellner, engage with activists across the continent and in the UK.

Visualising the larger network of these accounts we find that GI members and associates largely exist within a separate social media sphere, which for the most part communicates with itself. This could be evidence of a conscious effort to maintain a public distance from their more explicitly extreme counterparts in other far-right movements. The lack of interaction, of course, may also be born of its largely non-English speaking base of activists. Nonetheless, GI's ties to the rest of the North American (mainly green/orange) and British far right (pink) are important.

The movement is regularly quoted and mentioned by the North American and British far right. In the UK, high profile anti-Muslim activists such as Stephen Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson) and Katie Hopkins have lent their support to GI and regularly share its content, thereby boosting its reach. GI accounts also regularly engage with the wider far-right network on commonly-held issues, such as immigration and free speech.

GI is primarily a European movement and interacts less with the North American far right than the British. But notably, the GI network regularly interacts with both wings of the 'Alternative Right' movement (the culturally concerned alt-light and the racially concerned alt-right), and the growing number of groups and people identifying themselves as identitarian in the US. These accounts also regularly interact with the GI network, suggesting that social media has greatly aided the spreading of identitarian ideas to North America given the comparatively low mainstream media coverage GI receives there.



The alternative right-wing media also importantly acts as a bridge between these various social media spheres. Brittany Pettibone, a US far-right vlogger and the partner of GI Austria co-leader Martin Sellner, as well as Canadian far-right vlogger Lauren Southern, firmly have one foot in the online world of GI and another in that of the Alternative Right movement, revealing an increasing overlap between these groups. The centrality of Pettibone and Southern is to a large degree a result of their and Sellner's failed attempts to enter the UK in March of this year, but their roles are important nonetheless as they have helped Sellner and GI gain greater notoriety in the wider far-right Anglosphere.

## A SHORT HISTORY OF GI IN THE UK AND IRELAND

n 2013 Markus Willinger, who wrote the founding GI text Generation Identity: A Declaration of War Against the '68ers, visited London to address a meeting of the farright Traditional Britain Group (TBG). However, besides a video called 'Generation Identity UK: A Declaration of War From The Students of Britain', nothing emerged.

In July 2017, at the height of GI's Defend Europe campaign (to disrupt the work of NGOs working in the Mediterranean to save the lives of refugees), a Facebook page for Generation Identity Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland was launched, billing itself as the 'newest branch of the pan-European Identitarian movement'.

In late July Jordan Diamond, then-GI UK coleader, travelled to London to meet Austrian and Norwegian activists to discuss the development of GI in the UK. Also in July the first meeting of the Scottish branch in Glasgow was shut down by anti-fascist activists.

Initial offline activity across the Scottish, Irish and English branches was confined to putting up stickers and posing for pictures with the movement's black and yellow lambda flag.

Austrian GI co-leader Martin Sellner made it to London in October, where he addressed the TBG's annual conference, alongside anti-Muslim activist Anne Marie Waters of the anti-Muslim political party, For Britain. Following the conference Sellner had dinner with the racial nationalist and former leader of the British National Party (BNP), Nick Griffin, to discuss funding.

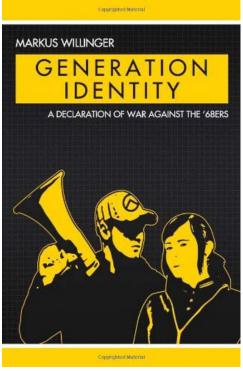
The following day, GI activists reconvened at a large rented flat in Beaufort Gardens in Norbury, south west London to receive guidance from Sellner and to plan their upcoming stunt (a banner drop) and launch. Jonathan Rudolph, from GI Swabia, Germany, was also in attendance.

Before flying home, Sellner also met with Stephen Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson), former leader of the English Defence League (EDL). Some within the GI leadership see Lennon as a potential leader in the UK, especially considering that Sellner was not impressed with Jordan Diamond and Sebastian Seccombe (GI UK's then co-leaders).

After the day's training they went and practised dropping their GI banner off a road bridge in preparation for their stunt on Westminster Bridge the following day. Early the next morning, to no fanfare and very little press interest, they dropped their banner off Westminster Bridge reading 'Defend London: Stop Islamisation'. This marked the official launch of GI in the UK and Ireland.

However, GI got off to a bad start here in the UK. It soon transpired that they had been infiltrated by an ITV documentary crew and HOPE not hate since its very earliest planning meetings.

On 9 November ITV aired the documentary 'Undercover: Inside Britain's New Far Right' which included undercover investigators filming private GI planning meetings and capturing Martin Sellner using a racist epithet. Once contacted for comment the branch





co-leaders, Diamond and Seccombe, panicked and began to distance themselves from GI. As a result neither currently hold prominent roles in the UK group, and while they have both attended recent GI events in London, they are no longer the key characters they were to begin with. Diamond has faced significant pressure from his employer since his involvement in GI was revealed.

## GI UK MARK II

In the wake of the damaging exposé the group fell silent in the UK and Ireland for several months, resuming activity just before Christmas last year. Having embarrassed the GI network the English branch was even left off a list of national branches published as part of the launch of the GI Balkan bloc.

However, GI UK and Ireland hit the ground running in 2018, with over 15 actions in January alone, ranging from stickerings, study circles and leafleting sessions. This



Tore Rasmussen at Speakers' Corner.

upturn in activism coincided with the emergence of Tore Rasmussen as the leading figure in UK GI and Ireland (see profile). While Rasmussen had been involved from the start, vetting new activists (including the ITV infiltrator whom he failed to spot), he has subsequently taken over as the main GI organiser in the UK. He has also taken a role as country manager for the UK and Scandinavia of Phalanx Europa, an identitarian clothing brand owned by GI Austria co-leaders Martin Sellner and Patrick Lenart.

Since January GI has become the most active far-right group in the UK with actions of varying scale and ambition taking place up and down the country every week. This even included handing out pork meals to homeless people so as to exclude Muslims.

In April GI attempted its first UK demonstration in Hyde Park London after Sellner was refused entry to the UK. Despite GI's frenetic activity the demonstration attracted no more than 40 people, proving that the group is still struggling to attract activists in significant numbers.

With Diamond and Seccombe sidelined, Rasmussen has gathered around him a small but dedicated group of activists that includes leadership prospect and financial services worker Tom Dupre, Benjamin Jones, who has been active in the UK far right for over four years, former UKIP councilor Ryan Macpherson and the distinctly unimpressive Charlie Fox (AKA Charlie Roberts) who has been setting up GI branches around the UK. There is also Deirdre McTucker (AKA Damhnait McKenna) who is leader of GI in Ireland and fellow Irish activist Damien Mcalinden who is active in England.

Recently GI UK has held demonstrations in Telford and Oxford, dropped an Easter banner from the balcony of Birkbeck university in London and leafleted the Football Lads Alliance demonstration in Birmingham on 24 March.

On 14 April GI will host the 'European Reunion' conference in London which will be addressed by Sellner from Austria, Lorenzo Fiato from GI Italy, Ábel Bòdi from GI Hungary and Annika Franziska from the GI-linked #120dB project in Germany. The event is evidence of the importance the GI leadership in Europe are placing on the fledgling UK branch as their gateway to the Anglosphere.



## THE METAPOLITICAL STRATEGY OF GENERATION IDENTITY

eneration Identity UK and Ireland is an identitarian movement which draw ideological inspiration from a postwar French far-right movement called the *Nouvelle Droite* (ND). The ND developed in reaction to the left-wing societal consensus and the dominance of the so-called '68ers, and subsequently set out to challenge this with a 'metapolitical' strategy (itself drawn from the ideas of the influential Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci).

A one time leading *Nouvelle Droite* thinker, Guillaume Faye, describes the approach in his 2001 book *Why We Fight* (which is required reading for GI activists):

'Metapolitics is an effort of propaganda – not necessarily that of a specific party – that diffuses an ideological body of ideas representing a global political project [...] Metapolitics is the occupation of culture, politics is the occupation of a territory'

In short, metapolitics is the approach of spreading ideas and values through shifting a society's culture in advance of shifting its politics.

Identitarian metapolitics focuses on shifting the accepted topics, terms, and positions of public discussion so as to create a social and political environment more open and potentially accepting, of its ideology. It comes from a belief that this is required before electoral and policy support for their views is possible, and is echoed in an oft-repeated quote within the US alt-right attributed to Andrew Breitbart, the founder of the popular US far-right media outlet, Breitbart News, when he claimed that 'politics is downstream from culture'.

The core ideological concern of the identitarians is the 'protection' of a shared, mythologised white European heritage from the supposedly inherent 'threat' of migration. Simultaneously they have their sights set on the (comparatively) local political project of affecting their national political landscape. At both levels and on both sides of the Atlantic, identitarians believe the threat to be globalism, left-liberal democratic politics and multicultural policies.

Their metapolitical outlook results in an explicitly countercultural approach to activism, which GI developed from copying traditionally left-wing strategies. Core recommended texts for GI members include Srđa Popović's *Blueprint for Revolution*, a guide to nonviolent action which draws from the authors involvement with progressive movements, and similarly the US alt-right community has explicitly adopted the strategies of central left-wing community organising text *Rules for Radicals*, by Saul Alinsky.

## MASKING EXTREMISM: A GLOSSARY OF GI'S CODED LANGUAGE

t the core of GI's ideology is the racist idea of racial separatism which identitarians call 'ethnopluralism'. Similarly, they also call for 'remigration', a coded term for a policy of repatriating and lowering the standards of living for non-white migrants and Muslims. .

Part of GI's success has been its ability to take such extreme ideas and present them in a way that sounds moderate.

This affects public attitudes by promoting a lexicon which, for those unfamiliar with the contemporary far right, has less obvious links to extreme, prejudicial and dangerous political ideas and policies.

It is essential, therefore, to understand both the actual meaning of these terms and, even more importantly, their material implications if they were enacted.

#### **GI Terminology GI Definition Decoded Meaning** Ethnocultural According to GI, one's identity Despite GI's claim that it rejects has an ethnic and a cultural traditional racial nationalism, **Identity** side, as well as three levels: the concept of 'ethnocultural' the regional, national and identity rigidly ties culture civilisational (the latter being to ethnicity and so, as Dr. European civilisation, in the case Raphael Schlembach of the of GI). The ethnic and cultural University of Brighton argues: "biologises" and "essentialises" side are reflected at all three levels. GI wants to preserve cultures to such an extent both sides of ethnocultural that they are turned into the identity and argues that the functional equivalents of race'. mistake of traditional right-Indeed, this follows a trend, wing movements was to reduce as Professor Petra Vejvodová ethnocultural identity to just of Masaryk University, Czechia one side (racial nationalists) or shows, whereby the far right has the other (cultural nationalists). already replaced discussion of race with 'culture' and now this In the view of Martin Sellner, cotoo 'is being replaced by the leader of the Austrian branch word "identity". of GI and the movement's de facto spokesperson, this doesn't Despite the non-racist and recognise that it is because of non-prejudiced pretensions the combination of both that of GI, therefore, by employing assimilation and integration the concept of ethnocultural are possible but 'only in certain identity it implicitly defines amounts'. This is because 'whilst European identity by majority culture is something you can features of European ethnic assimilate into [...] the ethnic (white) and cultural (nonside is something you inherit Muslim) heritage. that you cannot change', and 'culture and people are linked together'. So to believe that changes to ethnic populations 'will not change our culture [...] [and] identity' is 'sheer madness'.

GI Terminology	GI Definition	Decoded Meaning
Ethnopluralism	GI advocate 'ethnopluralism': the idea that different ethnocultural groups are equal but ought to live in separation from one another out of respect for their 'right to difference'; their right to self-determination and ability to ensure that they do not lose their internal homogeneity.  For GI this constitutes a rejection of the European status quo attitude of multiculturalism, seeing true 'diversity' and 'antiracism' to instead consist in a situation wherein, according to Martin Sellner, co-leader of the Austrian branch of GI and the movement's de facto spokesperson, 'all peoples have a right to preserve and promote their group identity in their homelands'.	Ethnopluralism is advocated as a response to a belief that ethnic Europeans are being replaced by non-European people, broadly understood as non-white and Muslim. It is based on a belief that different ethnic groups living together is not desirable or workable. The introduction of such a policy involves the forced separation of ethnic groups via repatriation in the case of 'illegal' migrants or by reducing living standards for legal migrants from these groups.
The Great Replacement	According to Martin Sellner, coleader of the Austrian branch of GI and the movement's de facto spokesperson, 'The Great Replacement' refers to 'the process by which the indigenous European population is replaced by non-European migrants'. For Sellner a 'demographic crisis across Europe' is occurring wherein 'our peoples are becoming a minority in their own countries' due to 'declining birth rates, mass immigration and the sharp increase in Islamic parallel societies'. This, he argues, 'will lead to the almost complete destruction of European societies within a matter of decades if no countermeasures are taken'.  Moreover, as GI believe that culture is integral to ethnocultural identity, it also believes that these 'ethnic, demographic facts' are indicative of underlying cultural problems, including 'nihilism, anti-natalism, rising abortions, self-hatred, [and] white guilt'.	At the core of this idea is the belief that non-white and Muslim migrants pose an intrinsic threat to white, non-Muslim Europeans. It is also based on projections that demographers have repeatedly argued are not a reliable basis for long-term predictions. An increase or decline in the birth rate of one group or another does not necessitate its continued increase or decline in the long term, nor does an influx of non-European migrants into Europe necessitate that this will continue at that rate or grow further still in future.  Moreover, the perceived implications of this unfounded projection highlight GI's racist and anti-Muslim stance, by assuming that non-white, Muslim migrants intrinsically pose a threat to their ethnic and cultural heritage.

GI Terminology	GI Definition	Decoded Meaning
Remigration	In response to 'The Great Replacement', GI proposes a set of policies under the banner of 'Remigration'. Martin Sellner, coleader of the Austrian branch of GI and the movement's de facto spokesperson, calls for 'the humane repatriation of anyone who has entered our countries illegally' and, regarding legal immigration, he argues we ought 'to work towards reversing migration flows' into Europe to the state where demographics were prior to the introduction of multiculturalism. This includes 'cutting down the welfare state for migrants' and introducing policies of 'de-Islamisation'.  According to Sellner this would mean 'banning the burqa, banning minarets [and] banning preaching in different languages' with a view to creating a situation where people would 'go back' to countries where they 'really could live their faith'.	At its core, remigration would involve the forced removal and repatriation of non-white and Muslim immigrants that GI believe shouldn't be resident here, an act that would be, contrary to claims by Sellner, neither 'humane', achievable 'without any violence' nor avoid changes to 'any basic laws'.  Remigration policies would prioritise the expelling or lowering of living conditions (otherwise known as 'self-deportation') for non-white and Muslim migrants. The harms and violent nature of self-deportation via migrant welfare reduction and 'de-Islamisation' are self-explanatory, but it is worth noting too that this would also likely contravene international and domestic laws.

GI Terminology	GI Definition	Decoded Meaning
Reconquista	GI often describe its metapolitical campaign using the term Reconquista (Spanish for 'reconquest') which refers to a period of the Iberian Peninsula's medieval history in which Christian Iberian kingdoms opposed an Islamic caliphate (the Umayyad caliphate) that held the Peninsula (during which time it was referred to as 'al-Andalus') following a conquest by Muslim forces beginning in 711 AD.  GI argue that Europe as a whole presently faces a comparable situation and that, though '[Europe] may not be facing an immediate military confrontation, the threat is one of self-destruction through a multicultural zeitgeist'. The result of this divergence means its 'fight is therefore a war of words, ideas and politics', and so its aim is 'to reconquer the social discourse, which [has] been dominated by a left-wing hegemony'.	In its simplest sense, GI's idea of Reconquista is based on its belief that Europe has been 'invaded' by Muslims. It is based on the false narrative that Islam has no positive relationship with European (or Iberian) identity, and moreover, that Islam poses an intrinsic threat to Europe.  Professor García-Sanjuán of Huelva University, Spain has explained how such interpretations of the Reconquista imply 'an exclusionary vision of al-Andalus as alien to Spanish identity' despite the fact that al-Andalus encompassed over eight centuries of Iberian history and contributed to features of Spanish and Portuguese culture that persist to this day.  As Professor García-Sanjuán notes, the weaponisation of this exclusionary interpretation has existed ever since the end of the Reconquista, 'reached its peak during the Franco dictatorship' and continues to be used by the Spanish far right today. That GI relies on this cherry-picked notion of Iberian identity to argue that Islam is antithetical to European identity, both in the past, in the present and the future, should therefore come as no surprise.

## GENERATION IDENTITY UK AND IRELAND PROFILES

### **TORE RASMUSSEN**

Norwegian Tore Rasmussen, currently based in Sudbury Hill in north west London, has been active with Generation Identity (GI) in the UK and Ireland since it began organising last summer. Originally carrying out vetting for new members, he has since become the main organiser and has overseen the upturn in GI UK and Ireland activity.

Rasmussen is also the UK and Scandinavia manager of the identitarian clothing brand Phalanx Europa, co-owned by Austrian GI leaders Martin Sellner and Patrick Lenart.

While at business school in Oslo he set up an Ayn Rand Society as a 'gathering place for students who want to become better acquainted with liberalism and, with thinkers like Adam Smith, Jean-



Baptiste Say, John Locke and of course Ayn Rand.' The society was later renamed *Kapitalismeutvalget BI Nydalen*, of which he was a board member. During his time in the UK Rasmussen has attended events organised by the newly formed Ayn Rand Centre in London.

In 2016 Rasmussen completed a masters degree in Innovation and Entrepreneurship at the School of Economics and Business, University of Life Sciences in Oslo where he submitted a thesis titled 'Playing Lean: Gamification of the Lean Startup Methodology'.

Rasmussen has since launched numerous business enterprises, including being involved with a laser tattoo removal company in Norway and founding the conference organising company White Label Conferences. However, his main business concern has been as co-founder of a boardgame company called Playing Lean, which is designed to teach business concepts to people in a workshop setting.

He is the conference chairman of the upcoming GI conference in London.



## DEIRDRE MCTUCKER / DEIRDRE NIC THUACHAIR (AKA DAMHNAIT MCKENNA)

Deirdre McTucker/Deirdre Nic Thuachair (AKA Damhnait McKenna) is one of three co-leaders of the Republic of Ireland and Northern Irish branch of GI, and is the public face of the branch. Born in Belfast, there is some confusion over her age; she claims on social media to have been born on 14 October 1977, although in an interview with Brittany Pettibone in October 2017 she stated she was 38.

Prior to setting up the Irish branch of GI, McTucker travelled frequently between Ireland and the US from 1995-2015. McTucker has claimed that from 1995-1997 she attended the US Marine Corps MCIS Intelligence

School in Virginia, where she graduated as an S2 Intelligence Specialist. There is scant evidence as to her route into this field, nor whether she has continued to carry out work for US intelligence since; though, given such a background, it is surprising she has been trusted with such a high rank within Irish GI operations.

From 1997-2000 she returned to Ireland to complete a degree in Business Management and Economics at University College Dublin, before working again in the US for various companies from 2000-2015 in Massachusetts (the Federal Aviation Administration in Boston, Saab Automobile in Norwell and finally Coldwell Banker Residential Brokerage in Cohasset). Between 2000-2003, whilst living in Massachusetts, McTucker also completed a degree in Media Production at Emerson College, Boston.

McTucker also worked part-time in video production and presenting for the New England Sports Network and Axon Communications, as well as running her own video production company, Irish Redhead Productions (active until 2017), and worked with a company registered first in Quincy, Massachusetts known as Mad Morrigan Productions, which is now registered to an address in Bray in the Republic of Ireland.

McTucker's now-inactive blog 'Mad Morrigan' features a post titled 'The Origins of the Irish Race'. Elsewhere she has claimed she was a 'full time Betsey Johnson model for 4 ½ years under contract', although it is unclear when this was. In 2016 McTucker gained a certificate in Web Design and Adobe Dreamweaver from the City of Dublin Education and Training Board, suggesting she is now permanently based back in Ireland.

McTucker was a key figure in the GI UK and Ireland launch in London in October 2017, and spoke at the alt-right Comhrá Dublin conference in the same month alongside Scottish white nationalist vlogger Colin Robertson (AKA Millennial Woes) and US white nationalist Jared Taylor of American Renaissance. McTucker is scheduled to speak at Generation Identity's European Reunion conference on April 14 2018.

## TOM DUPRE

Tom Dupre, 23, is a central figure in GI UK and Ireland and increasingly looks like the potential leader.

As well as attending multiple GI UK and Ireland demonstrations in London, Dupre was also involved in distributing 'warm pork suppers' to homeless people with a view to excluding homeless Muslims. Dupre delivered the speech of Martin Sellner, GI Austria co-leader and spokesperson for the wider movement, at Speakers' Corner in Hyde Park, London on 11 March after Sellner was barred entry into the UK.

A proficient clarinet player, Dupre attended the impressive Judd School in Tonbridge, Kent before studying experimental psychology at the University of Bristol.

Dupre now works as an Assistant Relationship Manager (Associate - Financial Institutions) for Standard Chartered Bank in the City of London and until recently lived in Tower Hamlets in East London.

In April 2018 he was interviewed on Sellner's YouTube channel, as part of a series in which the GI spokesperson interviews the leaders of different GI branches across Europe. This again indicates that Dupre has a bright future within GI UK and Ireland and is well liked by the movement's leading continental figures.



## RYAN MACPHERSON

Ryan Macpherson is an active GI UK member, primarily in London but has attended events elsewhere in the UK. A former policeman, Macpherson currently works as a security consultant.

In August 2016 Macpherson became a UKIP councillor for the Beaver ward of Ashford, Kent, with 42.1% of the vote. Macpherson has also been involved with UKIP's libertarian 'Indigo Group'.

Macpherson was a campaign lead for former-UKIP leader Henry Bolton, and appears to have continued a close relationship with Bolton during his brief stint as leader,

being snapped with Bolton backstage at the mid-February EGM that saw Bolton ousted.

Macpherson has recently abandoned UKIP to become chairman of a new vehicle, the Foundation Party, with former UKIP colleague Chris Mendes (although Macpherson is still listed as a UKIP councillor by Ashford Borough Council). Foundation's stated aim is to 'create a government that is truly by the people and for the people'.

Macpherson has attended events of the Football Lads Alliance (FLA), and has been involved in organising recent Speakers' Corner events.

## **CHARLIE FOX (AKA CHARLIE ROBERTS)**

From Eltham, South East London, Fox is a key GI activist in the capital and has played a central role in setting up other branches around the UK. Fox gave a short speech at the 11 March Speakers' Corner event and is currently listed as the lead-in speaker at the GI conference on 14 April.

On social media Fox has re-posted content from the former British National Party (BNP) activist Mark Collett, with whom he is a Facebook friend, and has Liked the Facebook pages of former BNP leader Nick Griffin, as well as Richard Spencer's alt-right organisation National Policy Institute (NPI) and AltRight.com.



## **JORDAN DIAMOND (AKA JAMES WINDSOR)**



Jordan Diamond with Anne Marie Waters, leader of the anti-Muslim party, For Britain.

Diamond, from Liverpool, has been involved since the start of GI UK and Ireland. He acted as the co-leader for a short time before ITV's documentary in November put a spotlight on racism within the organisation, causing Diamond to quickly distance himself from it. In the last months he's showed up at several actions but now only as a member, having been sidelined by Norwegian Tore Rasmussen as the main organiser.

Prior to helping lead GI UK and Ireland, Diamond expressed his support for the anti-Islam movement Pegida UK. He also attended a Britain First rally in June 2017 and appeared in images from the event alongside Britain First's Paul Golding and Jayda Fransen.

Despite regularly tweeting Islamophobia – such as insinuating Muslims are paedophiles – he admitted that he had never even read the Koran, tweeting on 28 July 2017, 'Just placed an order for my first ever #Koran, thanks @TRobinsonNewEra!'. He also expressed his support for GI's thinly-veiled racist notion of 'ethno-nationalism' and the idea that there is a 'Great Replacement' threatening 'indigenous' Europeans.

Diamond expressed his support for the alt-right during the Charlottesville Unite the Right rally in which anti-fascist activist Heather Heyer was killed. On 12 August he retweeted a tweet stating: 'There's absolutely nothing wrong with us Whites loving, supporting, & helping our own race. #UniteTheRight #Charlottesville'.

However, perhaps more alarmingly, Diamond deleted a retweet of a tweet which suggested that jailing members of the proscribed nazi National Action group in September for plotting to kill an MP was indicative of a hypocritical attitude towards extremism.



## **SEBASTIAN SECCOMBE (AKA SEB JAMES)**

From Lanchester in the North East of England, Sebastian Seccombe was initially one of leading figures in the UK GI and Ireland branch. However, alongside Diamond he attempted to distance himself from the movement after ITV and HOPE not hate's undercover operation in November, and was subsequently sidelined by Tore Rasmussen.

He recently attended GI UK and Ireland events in Hyde Park, London.

According to his LinkedIn he works as a 'Referral Specialist' at the European IT services company Atos, which specializes in, among other things, cybersecurity.

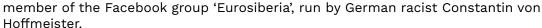
He was previously involved in the 'Don't Fund Terrorism' campaign based around a shop in Sunderland and the 'Justice for Chelsey' campaign, alongside Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson), formerly of the English Defense League (EDL).

## **BENJAMIN JONES**

Jones is a key GI UK and Ireland activist in the Midlands and in the North.

In March 2014 Jones attended seminars run by the Traditional Britain Group (TBG), a London-based far-right group run by veteran racist Gregory Lauder-Frost with links to the white nationalist alt-right. At the event Jones was pictured alongside Matt Tait (former British National Party (BNP) activist and alt-right organiser) and John Morgan of the leading alt-right publisher Counter Currents Publishing. Jones also attended the TBG in February 2015.

Jones is a keen follower of the European New Right, especially the works of Guillaume Faye, and is an active



Recently he has delivered speeches at GI events in both Oxford and Telford.



## **JAKE BEWICK**

Sheffield-based Bewick, 27, is a GI UK and Ireland activist previously involved with the now-banned nazi terror organisation National Action (NA).

Bewick was photographed at NA demonstrations in November 2016, and acted as a driver for leading Yorkshirebased NA member Wayne Bell (AKA Wayne Jarvie), a violent antisemite currently jailed for conspiracy to commit violent disorder.

Through his now-deleted Twitter account Bewick has called for 'ethnic cleansing' in Bradford and made numerous nazi and pro-NA posts, for example writing 'Hitler Speaks About the Jews. The truth the world would be so much better

if he world of won. It's coming now tho' [sic] in 2017. In March 2017 he also posted a picture of his membership card for the long-standing British nazi group, the National Front (NF).

Bewick has also been active in the Football Lads Alliance (FLA), a football hooligan-led street movement that emerged in the wake of last year's terror attacks.

A GI video featuring Bewick is 'pinned' to the top of GI's Scottish Twitter account.



Bewick, circled, at a National Action march in Darlington, County Durham, in November 2016

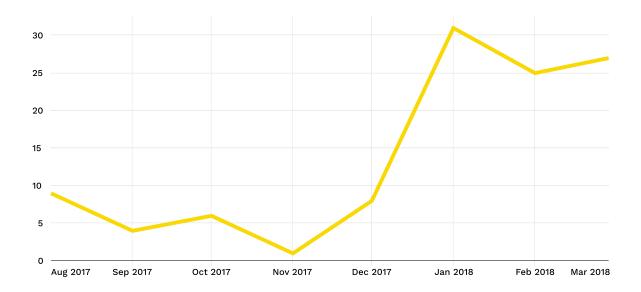


From left to right holding the flag: Tore Rasmussen, Benjamin Jones, Barry Sunnucks.

To the right of Jake Bewick (holding flag), is Jordan Gibbon.

## **APPENDIX: LIST OF GI ACTIONS IN UK**

ince becoming active in the UK and Ireland back in July 2017, GI have carried out at least ninety two separate actions, including individual stickerings, leafleting sessions, study circles, banner drops and demonstrations. The majority of actions have taken place in London, followed by Manchester, with actions taking place in over eleven different cities across the UK and Ireland. As you can see from the graph below there has been a significant upturn in actions since the beginning of 2018.



## **GENERATION IDENTITY ACTIVITY LIST**

Month	Location	Action
2017		
July	Glasgow	Stickering
	Glasgow	First Glasgow meeting
	Westminster, London	Stickering
August	Westminster, London	Stickering
	Edinburgh	Stickering
	Greenock	Stickering
	Belfast	Stickering
	Belfast	Stickering
September	Westminster, London	Flag display
	Dublin	Flag display

Month	Location	Action
October	Liverpool	Study circle
	Westminster, London	Banner drop
		Martin Sellner visit
	Buchanan Street, Glasgow	Flag display
	Falkirk	Stickering
November	Dublin	Banner drop
11010111001	2 do din	Barrier arep
December	LSE, London	Stickering
	London	First London study circle
	Westminster, London	Anti-Sadiq Khan postering
	Hyde Park, London	Anti-Sadiq Khan action
	England	Stickering
	KCL, London	Stickering
2018		
January	Greenwich, London	Stickering
carraary	Didsbury, Manchester	Postering at mosque
	SOAS, London	Stickering
	Manchester	New activists meeting
	London	Study circle
	SOAS, London	Stickering
	Notting Hill, London	Leafleting
	Eltham, London	Stickering
	Trafalgar Square, London	Leafleting
	Belfast	New activists meeting
	Manchester	First Manchester study circle
		Stickering
	St Pancras, London	Feeding the homeless
	Manchester	Postering
	Luton	Stickering
	Manchester	Stickering
	Manchester	Stickering
	Edinburgh	Stickering
	Edinburgh	Postering
	Scotland	Stickering
	Balbriggan	Postering
		Leafleting
	Dublin	Leafleting
		-

Month	Location	Action
February	Portsmouth	New activists meeting
	Westminster, London	Study circle
	SOAS, London	Stickering
	Manchester	Study circle/stickering
	Manchester	Study circle
	Newcastle	New activists meeting
	London	Leafleting
	Newcastle	Leafleting
	London	Study circle
	Newcastle	Stickering
	London	Feeding the homeless
	Buchanan Street, Glasgow	Leafleting
	University of Glasgow	Postering
	Scotland	Meeting
	Glasgow	Meeting new activists
	University of Edinburgh	Postering
	Edinburgh	Flag display
	Edinburgh	Banner drop
March	Ely	Stickering
Wai Cii	University of Westminster,	Leafleting
	London	Learteting
	KCL, London	Stickering
	Manchester	Stickering
	Belfast	Conference
	Hyde Park, London	Free Sellner picture
	Hyde Park, London	Free speech demonstration
	London	Photo of tube passengers
	SOAS, London	Leafleting
	Lake District	Hiking
	Hyde Park, London	Tommy Robinson speech leafleting
	Telford	Demonstration
	Birmingham	New activists meeting
	Birmingham	Leafleting FLA demonstration
	Birkbeck, London	Easter banner drop
	Newcastle	Stickering
	London	Feeding the homeless
	Solihull	Stickering
	London	Leafleting
	Glasgow	Postering
	Wrexham	Stickering
	Lisdoonvarna	Leafleting
	Dublin	Banner drop
	Belfast	Meeting

Month	Location	Action
April	Manchester	Study circle
	London	Delivered letter to Chinese embassy
	Greenwich, London	Stickering
	Oxford	Demonstration
	London	Study circle