

# THE TRANSNATIONAL EXTREME-RIGHT

## PAST, PRESENT, & FUTURE

Hosted by



*The Handa Centre for the Study  
of Terrorism and Political Violence*



University of  
St Andrews | FOUNDED  
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In association with



CENTRE FOR RESEARCH AND  
EVIDENCE ON SECURITY THREATS

For movements, groups, and subcultures built on and around nationalism, the extreme-right has a somewhat paradoxical interest in developing cross-national links. Historically extreme-right groups have sought to establish connections with ideological fellow travellers as well as cultivate support from sympathetic regimes. In the current environment the internet has collapsed geographical distances even further, cross national extreme-right groups have emerged, and right-wing terror attacks now have international profile and ramifications. Meanwhile, individual militants have been able to travel to experience foreign battlefields first-hand. The future holds the potential for the ever-further expansion of international ties, as well as the challenge of addressing hardening societal attitudes towards the extreme-right and a possible retreat to more localised (and harder to police) activism.

We explore these issues in a series of three linked online events hosted by the Centre for the Study of Terrorism & Political Violence at St Andrew's University (CSTPV) (<https://cstpv.wp.st-andrews.ac.uk/>) and supported by the Centre For Research and Evidence on Security Threats (CREST) (<https://crestresearch.ac.uk/>).

The events are designed to give an overview of an aspect of extreme-right transnationalism in different contexts and time periods. Each event will feature three speakers, each of whom will deliver a short presentation. This will be followed by a brief moderated discussion and an opportunity for the audience to ask questions (anonymously). All the events will be hosted on Microsoft Teams and open to all.

Events will be recorded and made available as podcasts at: <https://cstpv.wp.st-andrews.ac.uk/research/cstpvxcrest/> and <https://crestresearch.ac.uk/>

To register to attend any or all of the events please contact: [tsadmin@st-andrews.ac.uk](mailto:tsadmin@st-andrews.ac.uk)

# The History of Extreme-Right Transnationalism

12 April 2021, 3pm BST

Chair: Dr Tim Wilson, University of St Andrews

Bàrbara Molas, York University (Toronto), CARR

- Transnational Francoism: The British and The Canadian Friends of National Spain (1930s-1950s)

Dr Paul Jackson, University of Northampton

- Transnational neo-Nazism in the 1960s: The World Union of National Socialists

Dr Graham Macklin, C-REX, University of Oslo

- The Americanisation of Britain's extreme right

Contemporary Extreme-Right

Transnationalism

26 April 2021, 3pm BST

Chair: Dr Sarah Marsden, University of St Andrews

Noah Tucker, University of St Andrews

- From 'Family Values' Diplomacy to Pan-Eurasianism and Armed Insurgency: The Evolving Political Utility of Russian Far-Right Internationalism

Marilyn Mayo, Anti-Defamation League Center on Extremism

- The Internationalization of White Supremacy

Dr Kacper Rekawek, Counter Extremism Project (soon to be C-REX, University of Oslo)

- Tip of the Spear: Far-Right Violence Abroad

# What's next for Extreme-Right

## Transnationalism?

10 May 2021, 3pm BST

Chair: Dr Olivia Brown, University of Bath

Dr Ryan Scrivens, Michigan State University

- Global Reach, Local Presence: Future Trends in the Transnational Extreme Right-Wing Movement Online

Julia Ebner, Institute For Strategic Dialogue

- LARPS, Trojan Horses and DIY Terrorism

Dr Benjamin Lee, University of St Andrews

- Think Global, Act Local

# Speaker Bios

Julia Ebner is the author of the bestselling books *Going Dark: The Secret Social Lives of Extremists* and *The Rage: The Vicious Circle of Islamist and Far-Right Extremism*. Her books won the Bruno-Kreisky-Preis for the Political Book of the Year 2018 and the Award for the Science Book of the Year 2020 (Wissenschaftsbuch des Jahres 2020). She is also a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Strategic Dialogue, where she leads projects on online radicalisation, disinformation and hate speech. Julia has acted as a consultant for the UN, NATO, and the World Bank and is currently doing a DPhil at Oxford University. Her journalism has appeared in the Guardian, Independent, Prospect and Newsweek.

Paul Jackson is an Associate Professor of history at the University of Northampton, where he specialises in the history of fascism and the extreme right, especially in Britain after 1945. He is also the curator of the Searchlight Archive at the university, one of the United Kingdom's largest collections of material related to the recent history of extreme right groups. He is editor of Bloomsbury's book series *A Modern History of Politics and Violence*, Reviews Editor for *Fascism: Journal of Comparative Fascism Studies*, and his most recent book is *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement: Hitler's Echo* (2017). He has written for the Guardian and the Huffington Post, and appeared most recently on the Radio 4 series *Britain's Fascist Thread*.

Benjamin Lee is a Senior Research Associate at the Handa Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence where his research work is funded by the Centre for Research and Evidence on Security Threats. His research interests centre on the extreme-right, and in particular organisational change, terrorism, and subcultural approaches to extremism. He has published extensively in peer-reviewed journals and regularly briefs practitioners and policy-makers. Benjamin co-edits the open access journal *Extremism*.

# Speaker Bios

Graham Macklin is Assistant Professor/Postdoctoral Fellow at the Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX) at the University of Oslo, Norway. He has published extensively on far right politics, transnational networks, violence and terrorism, in the United Kingdom, and the United States in both the inter-war and post-war periods including, most recently, *Failed Führers: A History of Britain's Extreme Right* (2020) and, as co-editor, *Researching the Far Right: Theory, Method & Practice* (2020). Macklin co-edits the academic journals *Patterns of Prejudice*, *Fascism* and the 'Routledge Studies in Fascism and the Far Right' book series.

Marilyn Mayo is a Senior Research Fellow at ADL's Center on Extremism. She had been with the ADL for over 23 years, having previously served as the Co-Director of ADL's Center on Extremism and the Associate Director of Investigative Research at ADL. Ms. Mayo is an expert on right-wing extremists in the United States, ranging from white supremacists to academic racists to anti-immigrant groups. She often speaks to the media and law enforcement about the activities of hate groups and movements across the country. She has worked on numerous reports for ADL and writes regularly for the organization's blog. Ms. Mayo received her B.A. from Barnard College in New York and her M.A. from the City University of New York Graduate Center. She is a native of New York City.

Bàrbara Molas is a PhD candidate in History at York University, and a Steering Group member at the Centre for Analysis of the Radical Right. With a focus on Canada, she has published on the history of transnational far-right thought, and on far-right responses to COVID-19. At York University, she will soon defend a study of far-right understandings of multiculturalism in Canada between the 1930s and the 1960s.

# Speaker Bios

Kacper Rekawek, PhD, has 15 years of experience in counter terrorism and countering violent extremism from academia (Queen's University Belfast, Handa Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence at the University of St. Andrews), think tanks (Polish Institute of International Affairs, PISM) and the third sector (GLOBSEC, Counter Extremism Project). Since 2014 he has been studying and published on the Western extremist foreign fighters in the war in Ukraine and is now finishing a book on the topic which will be published by Routledge. In the Summer of 2021 he will be joining the Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX) at UiO as a postdoctoral fellow.

Ryan Scrivens is an Assistant Professor in the School of Criminal Justice at Michigan State University. He is also an Associate Director at the International CyberCrime Research Centre at Simon Fraser University, a Research Fellow at the VOX-Pol Network of Excellence, and an Associate Fellow at the Global Network on Extremism and Technology.

Noah Tucker is a visiting scholar at the Handa Centre at the University of St. Andrews, a Senior Fellow at the Atlantic Council Eurasia Program and a program associate at George Washington University's Elliot School of International Affairs Central Asia Program. Noah's research has focused on violent extremism and ethnic conflict in Central Asia and Afghanistan and extended to far-right and ethnonationalist extremist mobilization in Russia, Ukraine, the Caucasus, and the United States (particularly in comparative perspective). He received an MA in Russian, Eastern European and Central Asian Studies from Harvard in 2008.