THE IDENTITARIANS
THE MOVEMENT AGAINST GLOBALISM AND ISLAM IN EUROPE

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This book is dedicated to my father and to the memory of my mother.
Europe is lying propped upon her elbows:
From East to West she lies, staring
Out, reminiscent—Greek eyes from the shelter
Of romantic hair.

—Fernando Pessoa

If the price of freedom is heavy, that of identity is doubly so.
The first can be given us by decree; the other is always up to us.

—Miguel Torga

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My purpose in writing *The Identitarians: The Movement against Globalism and Islam in Europe* is to inform readers of exactly what Identitarians have to say and how they imagine and present themselves. To accomplish this, it is vital to look at movements like this one from the inside out and not make hasty and uninformed assumptions about them. The type of knowledge that can be gained this way is necessary in order to gain a full understanding of the nature and appeal of Identitarian propaganda and social movements. With this premise in mind, it is crucial to bring home the point that the book is academic and ethnographic, not polemic, in nature. The attempt to understand and describe the Identitarian movement does not indicate approval or validation.

In today’s world, it is vital for scholars, politicians, and media figures, right and left and in between, not to simplistically dismiss the Identitarian phenomenon—whose social media and activist youthful base have been growing in Europe since the turn of the millennium, although its theoretical foundations were laid much earlier—as a marginal movement. Many of the sociocultural trends that feed it—above all, the perception of an ongoing multicultural and multietnic transformation of traditional European societies and the related “sense of threat” to traditional European values and identities that it provokes—are likely to continue in the coming decades. So, too, will the Identitarian ethnocultural backlash.

In the end, my intent was to employ an ethnographical and phenomenological methodology in presenting this multifaceted movement on its own terms as much as possible. As the reader will verify in the pages of the book, I undertook this inside look as exhaustively as possible, delving deep into the Identitarian literature and social media
production, covering different geographic contexts, and drawing from a plethora of primary sources in different languages while simultaneously including many firsthand accounts, testimonies, and interviews with theorists, sympathizers, and activists. All of this was done in the hope that scholars and other readers can at least be well enough informed before drawing their own conclusions about the structure, history, beliefs, and moral perspectives of a movement that has made "Defend Europe" not just a distinctive hashtag but an overriding existential purpose.

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ABBREVIATIONS

4GW Fourth-Generation Warfare
AfD Alternative for Germany
CCC Center for Continental Cooperation
CDU Christian Democratic Union
CPI CasaPound Italia
EDL English Defense League
EU European Union
FPÖ Freedom Party
FQS Fédération des Québécois de Souche, or Federation of the Quebecois of Stock
GI Generation Identity
GRECE Groupement de Recherche et d’Études pour la Civilisation Européenne, or Research and Study Group for European Civilization
GUD Goupe Union Défense
IB Identität Bewegung, or Identitarian Movement
IBD Identität Bewegung Deutschland, or Identitarian Movement of Germany
IBÖ Identität Bewegung Österreich, or Identitarian Movement of Austria
MAS Mouvement d’Action Sociale, or Movement of Social Action
MPG movement Giovani Padani
ND Nouvelle Droite, or New Right
NPI National Policy Institute
PD Partito Democratico
PEGIDA  Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the Occident
RESF  Réseau Éducation sans Frontières, or Education without Borders
SIOE  Stop Islamization of Europe
Sol.Ed.  Solidarité-Identités, or Solidarity-Identities
TAZ  temporary autonomy zone
UOIF  Union of Islamic Organizations of France
WIR  Wiens Identitätse Richtung, or Vienna’s Identitarian Direction
WN  white nationalist

Introduction

This book is the chronicle of a rebellion. Against the backdrop of a once great civilization ravaged by a modern liberal capitalist world and under assault by a conquering foreign people, the writer and historian Dominique Venner preached a return to the sources of European identity, re- discovering the beauty, creativity, heroism, and uniqueness of its culture. He thought that, amid a world falling apart, Europeans loyal to the historical and cultural integrity of their civilization must engage in the struggle for Europe and resist, reconquering what has been lost. And much has been lost; because, “for the first time in their multi-millennial history, the European peoples do not prevail over their own space, neither spiritually, politically, nor ethnically.” It is, quite simply, a matter of survival. Either this Identitarian resistance succeeds or it fails, but it vows never to succumb to fatalism or to mindless indifference in the middle of the ruins.

A myth of identity lies at the root of this twenty-first century intellectual and activist rebellion: a myth not in the sense of truth or falsity but in that of a call to action, a vision that mobilizes, fueling the willingness to fight back and overturn, against all odds, a system of domination and an identity not thought out as an abstraction or a simple social
construction but felt as something more profound, primordial, tied to space, territory, memory, and ethnicity, that must be revitalized today. At a regional, national—but, above all, continental, European—level this identity of “flesh and blood” has been defaced and disfigured, and the situation has deteriorated past the point at which only a radical change—political, economic, cultural, and spiritual—is conceivable. Europe has gone so far along the path of destruction that radicalism is the only available method and tool to save her.

The Identitarian indictment is a dark account of contemporary European life. Europe has been torn apart by the Western model of civilization that it helped to create, which today is synonymous with Americanization, and this dominant ideology—which in this new century bears the name of globalization—has diluted its distinctive character. Its communities, peoples, and cultures have suffered the onslaught of an abstract model that homogenizes all differences, and combats all natural attachments (to nations, regions, cultures, ethnicities), in an attempt to destroy all barriers to the free flow of markets, reducing human beings to a sorrowful condition in which the only identity that is allowed, and celebrated, is that of individual materialism and consumerism. At the same time, so goes the Identitarian accusation, European elites allowed the “opening of the gates,” the decades-long policies of mass immigration, which softened and corrupted the relatively coherent and homogeneous collective identity of European peoples, constituting a major dimension of the self-immolation of the continent. The more recent surge of immigration or invasion—whose participants the official line of thinking and its zealots labeled “migrants”—added extra fuel to this ongoing “Great Replacement” of peoples in European lands. Amid the degradation of its identity, the abdication of its ancient Indo-European and Hellenic roots, feeling guilty about its own history, and awash in relativism, self-doubt, and self-loathing, Europe is on the verge of being conquered by Islam, a young, united, and spiritually strong civilization that is superior to an aging and frail Europe whose treacherous elites are behaving in a manner that is the greatest expression of a civilization in free fall.

Although the Identitarian network of resistance is diverse—it comprises a variety of figures and groups that may emphasize different aspects of this civilization crisis, to the detriment of others—all of its participants share a calamitous diagnosis and a radical critique of the current state of Europe. They also share an avowed nonconformist ethos, abhor defensism, and radiate, in their words and actions, a disposition of being the watchmen on the wall in a zero-sum struggle to keep alive what they perceive to be the real European identity. In this book Identitarians are viewed broadly, writ large. Since the late twentieth century they have been responsible for a vast literary production that has strengthened the depth of their philosophical and cultural critique of the status quo. This intellectual or cultural dimension—which supporters brand a true war of ideas in defense of Identitarianism—is, of course, important. But what has characterized the Identitarian struggle in the most recent times is the emergence of an activist, street-based, and Internet-savvy young militancy that has widened the repertoires of Identitarian combat beyond publications and conferences, emblematic of the Identitarian “old guard,” to include disruptive street protests, flash mobs, occupations, media campaigns and stunts, vlogs, podcasts, livestreams, meme-making, and an intensified targeting of the perceived enemies of the collective identity—in this case, all those who conspire to bring about, or even actively work for, its destruction, from deracinated elites to sociocultural subversive groups and forces. This phenomenon has its epicenter in France and Italy, but it has spread, in different rhythms, to other European countries—particularly those of Germanic Central Europe—and it is viewed as an example of activism that is clean-shaven, appealing, with impact on the media and public opinion, and therefore worthy of imitation. Although not without rivalries and personal disputes, these two wings of combat—one more theoretical, the other galvanized by direct action—form the face of the Identitarian surge to regain the control of the destinies of European communities.

The Identitarians: The Movement Against Globalism and Islam in Europe charts and explores this territory of struggle. It begins with an excursion into its intellectual foundations, figures and groups of reference, dynamics of militancy, activism, and networking before proceeding with the movement’s critique of globalization and its damaging consequences, such as “immigration-colonization.” It then analyzes the contemporary Identitarian battle against Islam, as well as the search for a new European geopolitics that safeguards its independence, shuns American tutelage, and looks in hope toward the East. Next it focuses on the
ethnic-racial implications of this struggle for identity, which may imply
formal or informal alliances with a wider, mostly US-based, white na-
tionalist movement, and finally on the looming war (which for many
Identitarians is already raging), along ethnic lines, that they believe will
revitalize and awaken a wider European resistance. Throughout the
book, and whenever necessary, other non-Identitarian groups, initiatives,
and dynamics are described as a way of contextualizing the scenario in
which Identitarians operate and in which they interact; this study always
keeps in mind that Identitarians do not act in isolation and that they are
also a mirror of the age and of its troubles.

In the most recent decades, political radicalism, particularly in its
right-wing dimension, has become an important topic of study among
scholars, law enforcement practitioners, and national security analysts.
Although the aim of this book is not to go over familiar arguments and
debates about ideological classification, it should be said that academia—
and in this it has been followed by journalism and the activism of watch-
dog groups—conceptualizes most of the writers, activists, and groups
present throughout this book as belonging to the radical—or even extreme—right. Generally, that is not how Identitarians see themselves.
Within their vast and heterogeneous family, other self-descriptions are
favored: from "patriots" to the "true Right," adherents to the "beyond
Left and Right" line of thinking, or, simply, Identitarians. However, as
will be shown in the pages and chapters that follow, at the heart of Iden-
titarianism, in both its theoretical and activist dimensions, is the cleavage
between Identity and globalism with all its ramifications and implica-
tions. This split is voiced and articulated in different ways, with some
groups emphasizing more combating mass immigration or Islamization
(as the most urgent thing to do), while others prioritize the consequences
of an out-of-control capitalism that they conceive of as speculative and
with no respect for any sort of boundaries and limits. Also, the gamut of
defenses of ethnoidentity, within the broader arch of Europeism, fluctu-
ates between regionalist leanings and more nationalist attachments. In
all its expressions, it must be emphasized, it is not a strict attachment to
rigid Left and Right categories that defines Identitarians. If there is an
ideological "Other," it is what they denounce as the "left" or "liberal" es-
establishment. They do not represent a "radicalization" of the mainstream

liberal right—on the contrary, to a steady degree, they are its opposite,
and they see that liberal right as their anathema—while the activism of
their youth uses many ideas or tactics traditionally associated with left-
wing groups or movements. They are not simply "conservative" either. If
they are "conservatives," they are radically so; they want a reset of the
system, ultimately a change of the current globalist or liberal paradigm
toward a rebooting of Europe's ethnocultural tradition for the twenty-
first century.

Even though Identitarians give primacy to the noninstitutional di-


people who’ve been living in Europe or is it the home for everyone in the world who wants to move and call it home? These are very, very big questions." European Identitarians, in all their diversity, believe that they have indeed the answers for—and that is the theme of this book—those “very, very big questions.”

ONE

Intellectual Foundations, Practices, and Networks

He who has grown wise concerning old origins, behold, he will at last seek after the fountains of the future and new origins.

—Nietzsche, Thus Spoke Zarathustra

INTRODUCTION: A EUROPEAN REVIVAL

The current Identitarian intellectual and activist movement that wants to transform Europe was not born in a vacuum. A major foundation has been on the rise since the late 1960s of a Francophone intellectual movement that, with the passage of time, became devoted to a guiding principle: striking down the hegemonic Western liberal-capitalist paradigm through cultural combat. Taking their cue from Marxist Italian Antonio Gramsci—especially his insistence on the power of ideas and the need for an organic intellectual vanguard to change mentalities—adherents to this movement saw a metapolitical drive for the conquest of minds and