

Packaging hate – the New Right publishing networks

Adam Carter finds individuals and organisations with explicit links to the extreme right behind a series of New Right publishers

ALTHOUGH *SEARCHLIGHT* has mainly focused on the British aspects of the New Right group, whose bi-monthly London meetings have gathered together racists and antisemites from across the UK extreme right, it is important to recognise that it is part of an international movement espousing similar ideas. The meetings themselves, as reported last month, have drawn speakers and attendees from a number of countries in Eastern and Western Europe, as well as from America and Australia, and some of them have been influential figures within their respective nationalist political movements. On the level of personal contact and networking the New Right is itself an international movement.

However, in addition to the face-to-face meetings, there is a complex cultural ecosystem of blogs, websites, magazines, book publishers, radio stations and even music companies, operating on an international scale, which exist solely to support the New Right worldview. This should be no surprise as the New Right ideological struggle is primarily a cultural one – the belief that by influencing culture, one can later shape politics – so one would expect the movement to be extremely active in transmitting and disseminating propaganda via a variety of media. In this strategy, publishing activities, such as books, CDs, magazines and online postings, play a crucial role in spreading the anti-egalitarian, antisemitic and racist message of the New Right and are vital to the wider political and intellectual objectives of

shaping social values and reframing the mainstream discussion of issues such as race, immigration, identity and equality.

Book publishers

In the past few years, helped by advances in digital and printing technology which make it easier to produce physical books, a number of small English-language publishing companies have sprung up dedicated to promulgating the ideas of the New Right. They include Wermod & Wermod, Arktos and Black Front Press in the UK, Finis Mundi in Portugal and Counter-Currents in the US. These publishers have concentrated, although not always exclusively, on republishing works by key thinkers who have intellectually influenced the New

Right (in some cases translating them into English for the first time) as well as works by contemporary activists and theorists including some from the explicit neo-nazi wing of the right.

There is considerable overlap between the different publishers, which often share authors and links and distribute each other's books. All are active on social media such as Twitter and Facebook and are also part of a wider network of ambitious blogs and websites sympathetic to New Right politics including several influential ones based in the US such as Counter-Currents, Alternative Right and Attack the System.

Arktos Media Ltd is probably the most active, varied and prolific of the publishers considered here but despite its claims that it is interested

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 CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION OF A PRIVATE LIMITED COMPANY Company No. 07073448 The Registrar of Companies for England and Wales, hereby certifies that ARKTOS MEDIA LTD is this day incorporated under the Companies Act 2006 as a private company, that the company is limited by shares, and the situation of its registered office is in ENGLAND/WALES Given at Companies House, Cardiff, on 11th November 2009  *N07073448K*  Companies House for the record <small>The above information was communicated by electronic means and authorised by the Registrar of Companies under Section 1115 of the Companies Act 2006</small>		<table border="1"> <tr> <td colspan="2">Name: INTEGRAL TRADITION PUBLISHING LTD</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Address: 1415 B ANKUR APARTMENT OPPOSITE HIT MAIN GATE HITI, POWAI, 400 076 INDIA</td> <td> Class of share: ORDINARY Number of shares: 300 Currency: GBP Nominal value of each share: 1.00 Amount unpaid: 0 Amount paid: 1 </td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">Name: NFSE MEDIA AB</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Address: P.O. BOX 7129 P.O. BOX 7129 S-402 33 GOTHENBURG GOTHENBURG SWEDEN S-402 33</td> <td> Class of share: ORDINARY Number of shares: 300 Currency: GBP Nominal value of each share: 1.00 Amount unpaid: 0 Amount paid: 1 </td> </tr> </table>		Name: INTEGRAL TRADITION PUBLISHING LTD		Address: 1415 B ANKUR APARTMENT OPPOSITE HIT MAIN GATE HITI, POWAI, 400 076 INDIA	Class of share: ORDINARY Number of shares: 300 Currency: GBP Nominal value of each share: 1.00 Amount unpaid: 0 Amount paid: 1	Name: NFSE MEDIA AB		Address: P.O. BOX 7129 P.O. BOX 7129 S-402 33 GOTHENBURG GOTHENBURG SWEDEN S-402 33	Class of share: ORDINARY Number of shares: 300 Currency: GBP Nominal value of each share: 1.00 Amount unpaid: 0 Amount paid: 1
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Formation documents of Arktos Media Ltd showing its initial subscribers

solely in unifying a variety of perspectives against the modern world, *Searchlight* has uncovered evidence linking it directly to the Swedish neo-nazi movement and the people behind websites that deny the Holocaust and advocate white supremacy.

Arktos is based in the UK (its registered address is that of a London solicitors' firm specialising in company law) and is run by John Black Morgan, who apparently lives in Mumbai, India. According to company records obtained by *Searchlight*, it was formed in 2009 as a merger between Integral Tradition Publishing (ITP) and NFSE-Media AB, a company based in Sweden, in which both organisations were given 300 shares. Its directors, according to its annual return of November 2011, were Patrick Boch, a lawyer based in India, Daniel Friberg, a business analyst based in Sweden, and Jacob Christiansen Senholt, a graduate student at Aarhus University in Denmark who has written on esotericism and the extreme right.

ITP claimed that it was interested in publishing "traditionalist" authors. Traditionalism describes a variety of conservative, but non-racist, approaches to spirituality which were influenced by Eastern religious thought and is associated primarily with the French scholar René Guénon (1886-1951) and the Swiss-German philosopher Frithjof Schuon (1907-1998). Traditionalism however did have its "dark side", which also encompasses figures on the extreme right such as Julius Evola, and some of traditionalism's anti-liberal and anti-modern ideas (the major academic study on the movement is called *Against the Modern World*) have been co-opted and reworked by the European New Right. ITP only published a handful of books before the merger. One was a collection by Troy Southgate, the organising secretary of the New Right in the UK, and another a collection lauding Evola.

Since then, as Arktos, it has

Statement of Capital (Share Capital)			
Class of shares	A ORDINARY	Number allotted	1285
		Aggregate nominal value	1285
Currency	GBP	Amount paid per share	1
		Amount unpaid per share	0
Prescribed particulars			
EACH SHARE IS ENTITLED TO ONE VOTE IN ANY CIRCUMSTANCES.			
Statement of Capital (Totals)			
Currency	GBP	Total number of shares	1285
		Total aggregate nominal value	1285
Full Details of Shareholders			
The details below relate to individuals / corporate bodies that were shareholders as at 11/11/2011 or that had ceased to be shareholders since the made up date of the previous Annual Return.			
A full list of shareholders for the company are shown below:			
Shareholding 1	: 0 ORDINARY shares held as at the date of this return		
Name:	INTEGRAL TRADITION PUBLISHING LTD		
Shareholding 2	: 0 ORDINARY shares held as at the date of this return		
Name:	NFSE MEDIA AB		
Shareholding 3	: 350 A ORDINARY shares held as at the date of this return		
Name:	TOBIAS RIDDERSTRÖM		
Shareholding 4	: 215 A ORDINARY shares held as at the date of this return		
Name:	PATRICK BOCH		
Shareholding 5	: 235 A ORDINARY shares held as at the date of this return		
Name:	JACOB CHRISTIANSEN		
Shareholding 6	: 320 A ORDINARY shares held as at the date of this return		
Name:	DANIEL FRIBERG		
Shareholding 7	: 20 A ORDINARY shares held as at the date of this return		
Electronically Filed Document for Company Number: 07073448 Page:4			

Shareholders of Arktos Media Ltd at November 2011

expanded its publishing to incorporate translations of Evola and prominent figures from the French *Nouvelle Droite* such as Alain de Benoist and Guillaume Faye as well as the Croatian extremist Tomislav Sunic. It has also published work by Pentti Linkola, a Finnish environmentalist with extreme Malthusian views who advocates decimating the world's population and has praised the Holocaust as a means to this end.

In addition to Southgate, other authors with a fascist pedigree include Kerry Bolton, a longtime activist on the New Zealand extreme right and former Satanist, and Henrik Johansson, a Swedish right-wing extremist and regular speaker on the neo-nazi circuit, who was arrested in 2008 after an internecine feud over mailing lists descended into violence.

Links with Swedish neo-nazis

This is not the only link between Arktos and Swedish right-wing extremism. NFSE-Media AB, the original co-founder of Arktos, is an explicitly neo-nazi operation majority owned by Lennart Berg, a former member of the Swedish Resistance Movement, who is based in Karlskoga. It is run by Anders Lagerström from Linköping who has

Name:	MARTIN HAGKVIST
Shareholding 8	: 10 A ORDINARY shares held as at the date of this return
Name:	JONAS DE GEER
Shareholding 9	: 50 A ORDINARY shares held as at the date of this return
Name:	SERGIO KNIFE
Shareholding 10	: 10 A ORDINARY shares held as at the date of this return
Name:	MARCUS LARSSON
Shareholding 11	: 20 A ORDINARY shares held as at the date of this return
Name:	NILS NILSSON
Shareholding 12	: 35 A ORDINARY shares held as at the date of this return
Name:	MICHAEL JOHN BROOKS
Shareholding 13	: 20 A ORDINARY shares held as at the date of this return
Name:	JOHN BLACK MORGAN
Authorisation	
Authenticated	
This form was authorised by one of the following: Director, Secretary, Person Authorised, Charly Commission Receiver and Manager, CIC Manager, Judicial Factor.	
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convictions for violence and illegal possession of arms and was the owner of the Nordic Publishing company, at one time arguably the biggest distributor of white power music and racist literature in northern Europe.

NFSE-Media was responsible for establishing Metapedia, a nazi version of Wikipedia which went live in its English language version in 2007. Metapedia imitates the look and design of the popular online encyclopaedia but the entries are given a disturbing nazi twist, so Hitler is praised, the Holocaust is denied, there is explicit racism and antisemitism as well as vicious attacks on anti-racist and anti-fascist individuals and organisations. Metapedia also attracted attention for listing Jews prominent in public life in Sweden and this was regarded by some as an incitement to violence against those individuals. As a result, the Swedish police began an investigation into NFSE-Media and Lagerström.

According to other reports in the Swedish press, Friberg is a known activist in right-wing circles while another Arktos shareholder, Jonas de Geer, is a revisionist historian and former editor of the (now defunct) upmarket right-wing *Salt* magazine.

Another of Arktos's shareholders, Tobias Ridderstråle, had to quit his job at a law firm when it was revealed that he had donated money to the organisation.

It is absolutely clear given these types of individuals behind the scenes at the publisher and some of the authors it has published that Arktos is no ordinary "traditionalist" publisher. One can discern a clear agenda to develop and publish extremist and racist ideas while using the fig leaf of "alternative viewpoints". John Morgan, who is editor-in-chief at Arktos, has been coy about revealing the publisher's links with the Swedish extreme right. In an interview with the Amerika blog, he states: "Towards



John Morgan, editor-in-chief at Arktos

the end of 2009, we found out that **some Swedish friends of ours** [author's emphasis] were planning a project very similar to our own, and we concluded that it was a better use of our resources to just combine forces, and the resulting product was a completely new venture: Arktos." He repeats the same dissembling in a lengthy audio interview with Sunic, a former US professor and Croatian diplomat who has published several New Right titles (including with Arktos), on the Voice of Reason website. This website features explicit Nazi racial theory, a programme declaring "Why we Need more anti-Semitism" and contributions from Mark Weber, who runs the leading Holocaust denial organisation, the

Institute for Historical Review, as well as other contributions from other white supremacists and antisemites.

Morgan has also written a number of essays for Counter-Currents, an American blog/website that functions as a meeting point for European New Right thinking and old style Nazism and white supremacy. In one article based on a reinterpretation of former Klansman Louis Beam's leaderless resistance idea (the advocacy of decentralised terrorist cells operating independently based on a shared racist ideology), he emphasises the significance of cultural dissemination to the white nationalist struggle stating, "This is also what my own organization, Arktos, is attempting to achieve by offering intellectual and cultural resources to stimulate the type of new thinking, new myths and new symbols that will need to be embraced if a successful movement dedicated to our principles, and which is capable of motivating a large number of people, is ever to be born," but he argues that practical activism as well as cultural production is also needed to drive the movement forward. (Incidentally Beam himself apparently responded to Morgan which seemed to please the latter no end.)

So, in summary, we have a publisher that was cofounded by a neo-nazi organisation in Sweden, features known far-right activists among its shareholders and publishes New Right and outright fascist authors. In addition, it has an editor-in-chief who speaks in an interview with a radio show website, full of Holocaust deniers, of how "immigration is destroying our culture" and has written a number of articles demanding both cultural renaissance and organised nationalist activism for an overtly white supremacist website. Most readers will think the evidence against Arktos is fairly compelling.

It will be interesting to see how the reputable mainstream printers

Lightning Source feel about having such a dubious client as Arktos and also whether Alain de Benoist, who frequently *asserts* that he has no truck with white supremacy, will continue to wish to be associated with the company.

Black Front Press is owned and run by Southgate, organising secretary of the New Right (see last month's *Searchlight*). It was established in 2010 and its public presence consists of nothing more than its Facebook page. It is practically a vanity press outfit as nearly all of the 14 books it has published so far have been edited or written by Southgate himself. The books range from several collections of Southgate's ramblings to edited collections on a variety of political figures including Nietzsche, the Romanian fascist Corneliu Codreanu, the German "left-wing" Nazi Otto Strasser, the American poet and fascist sympathiser Ezra Pound and Evola.

Its latest book is a reader on National Anarchism (see last month's *Searchlight*) featuring the likes of Southgate, Keith Preston (from the Attack the System blog), Brett Stevens (from the Amerika blog), Wolf Herfurth (former Nazi now in Australia) and Flavio Gonçalves (from Portugal who runs Finis Mundi Press – see below). Southgate, with his customary humility, refers to this book as "the bible of a new and dynamic movement". *Searchlight* could find no record of Black Front Press at Companies House but we are sure that Southgate is diligently reporting any monies earned to the UK taxman.

Backlash against Southgate

Black Front Press also has several titles on the occult including a journal *Helios* and books on the Norse god Odin (or Woden) and occultist Aleister Crowley. Interestingly, there has been a recent backlash from some progressive elements in the pagan and occult communities against

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Black Front Press



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Publisher · London, United Kingdom



Basic Information

Location

BM Box LCRN, WC1N 3XX London, United Kingdom

About

Publisher

Description

Titles available from Black Front Press:

Otto Strasser: The Life and Times of a German Socialist (2010)
by Troy Southgate

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Southgate's attempts to co-opt their beliefs for his own political ends.

The esoteric publisher Scarlett Imprint issued a statement denouncing *Black Front Press* stating, "We were approached recently to contribute to Troy Southgate's Black Front Press whose last published work was a Crowley anthology. After a little research, we were disturbed to find their rather murky history hidden beneath the anti-corporate, anti-capitalist and permaculture ideals. Though we are very happy to promote the independent esoteric and occult authors and publishers whose work and dedication invigorate and stimulate our community, it is entirely another matter to contribute our energy to a project which would seem to be attempting to use a multiplicity of voices from the occult scene to promote the ideas of the so-called New-Right To be clear we are not implying that those who write for this Press hold fascist views. Nonetheless, those who choose to write for these publications must be clear that they are

providing an intellectual fig leaf for an ideology which would otherwise struggle to be taken seriously."

This was also endorsed by the influential pagan blog the Wild Hunt, which stated: "Just because this book on Crowley avoided becoming a pamphlet for neo-fascist views doesn't mean the publishing house that produced it should be given a free pass If your work is helping to bolster the image of a company that endorses the philosophy of the National Anarchists, if your work helps these groups further insinuate themselves within Pagan and esoteric communities, then the fig leaf of apoliticism must be challenged."

In similar vein Phoenix Rising, the blog associated with an academic institution studying esotericism, declared: "Aside from Black Front Press, we are also aware that Primordial Traditions publishing house, and its two founders, Gwendolyn Toynton and Damon Zacharias Lycourinos, are also closely associated both with Southgate, and the politics he promotes We will not endorse, ignore, or otherwise support any agenda that is even slightly associated with separatism and doctrines of hate, no matter what banner it appears under, either directly or by association." As a result of this controversy, one of the institute's staff members Dr George Sieg, who had written for Southgate, left his employment.

Searchlight is pleased to see that people within these communities

are actively resisting the overtures of Southgate and his ilk.

Finis Mundi is a small Portuguese publisher established a few years ago and run by Flavio Gonçalves, who has attended meetings of the New Right in London. It has published three books so far in English including *A Life in the Wilderness*, a National Anarchist tract by the German former neo-nazi Wulf Herfurth (see last month's *Searchlight*). Its website advertises several forthcoming titles including English translations of works by the former Portuguese dictator António de Oliveira Salazar, by Ramon Bau, a former secretary general of the key international nazi group CEDADE and publisher of *National Socialist World*, and by Jordi Garriga, a leading figure in the Spanish New Right.

According to an online interview, Gonçalves has drifted from the extreme left to the extreme right and is now seemingly a National Anarchist activist in Portugal. He has also been an active participant in Holocaust denial circles – he was at the Teheran conference in 2006 that drew Holocaust denial activists from across the world and claims to have met Iranian President Ahmadinejad. His pro-Iranian stance is reflected in his being a founder member of the Portuguese-Iranian Friendship society.

Next month's *Searchlight* will examine more of the UK and international publishers and book clubs dedicated to spreading racial hatred.



Flavio Gonçalves who runs the Portuguese publisher Finis Mundi