

Institute for  
European, Russian,  
and Eurasian Studies

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

# Remigration, or the Rebranding of Extremism



Stephanie Thomas

*IERES Occasional Papers, no. 32, October 2025*  
*"Transnational History of the Far Right" Series*

Institute for  
European, Russian,  
and Eurasian Studies

---

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

---

**Remigration,  
or the Rebranding of Extremism**

**Stephanie Thomas**

*IERES Occasional Papers, no. 32, October 2025*  
*“Transnational History of the Far Right” Series*

*Image made by John Chrobak using "[Jean-Yves Le Gallou - Academia Christiana](#)" by Academia Christiana licensed under [CC BY 2.0](#); "[MS by Simon Kaupert](#)" by Simon Kaupert posted to account of [Martin Sellner](#), licensed under [CC BY 2.0](#); "[European Union \(EU\) NUTS 2 map](#)" by [MapChart.net](#) licensed under [CC BY-SA 4.0](#).*

*The contents of articles published are the sole responsibility of the author(s). The Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies, including its staff and faculty, is not responsible for any inaccurate or incorrect statement expressed in the published papers. Articles do not necessarily represent the views of the Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies or any members of its projects.*

©IERES 2025

On the morning of May 17, 2025, in the municipal theater of Gallarate, near Milan, a few hundred people, responding to the slogan voiced by the speaker on stage, chanted in unison: “Save our nation! Remigration!” The speaker was Dries Van Langenhove, a Belgian far-right activist who leads the Flemish youth movement Schild & Vrienden, already convicted at first instance for racism and Holocaust denial.

His audience had gathered in the small town’s theater to attend the Remigration Summit, an event organized by groups of young (and for the most part unknown) identitarian activists from various European countries, with the aim of discussing the theme of remigration, which its proponents define as the act or process of relocating immigrants to their countries of origin or other locations through voluntary and/or mandatory measures. Although right-wing youth were prominent at the event, the presence of two senior far-right figures, the French fascist Jean-Yves Le Gallou and the American Jared Taylor, signaled continuity. Unlike Le Gallou, Taylor did not address the gathering publicly, but he has known Le Gallou for many years, and his American Renaissance Conference has been a gathering place for the ultra-Right and white supremacists.

Initially little known to the public, the Remigration Summit – which seemed destined, like many others of the same kind,<sup>1</sup> to remain confined to the far right – gained increasing notoriety in the weeks leading up to the event, eventually becoming the subject of numerous articles and in-depth reports in major Italian (and European) newspapers.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> News Channel 5, 12/03/2024, <https://www.newschannel5.com/news/newschannel-5-investigates/confronting-hate/inside-the-influential-white-supremacist-conference-that-calls-tennessee-home-away-from-home>

<sup>2</sup> Corriere della Sera, 05/18/2025, [https://www.corriere.it/sette/25\\_maggio\\_18/remigrazione-una-parola-che-pare-neutra-ma-nasconde-un-elefante-1186a125-99d2-46cb-bfae-defbc1efb1k.shtml](https://www.corriere.it/sette/25_maggio_18/remigrazione-una-parola-che-pare-neutra-ma-nasconde-un-elefante-1186a125-99d2-46cb-bfae-defbc1efb1k.shtml), Il Fatto Quotidiano, 05/07/2025, <https://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2025/05/07/remigrazione-estrema-destra-sicurezza-repressione/7977088/>, la Repubblica 05/12/2025, <https://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2025/05/07/remigrazione-estrema-destra-sicurezza-repressione/7977088/>, Il Manifesto, 05/10/2025, <https://ilmanifesto.it/varese-suprematisti-in-adunata-nel-nome-della-remigrazione>, Avvenire, 05/17/2025, <https://www.avvenire.it/attualita/pagine/il-remigration-summit-e-stato-anticipato-a-gallarate>, Il Foglio 05/10/2025, <https://www.ilfoglio.it/esteri/2025/05/10/news/cosa-si-muove-dietro-al-summit-sulla-remigrazione-di-milano-7708893/>, RSI, 05/10/2025, <https://www.rsi.ch/info/mondo/Il-%E2%80%9CRemigration-Summit%E2%80%9D-tra-promesse-e-proteste--2836586.html>, L’Humanité, 05/15/2025, <https://www.humanite.fr/monde/extreme-droite/milan-en-italie-terre-dasile-de-lextreme-droite>,

The spotlight was not only on the event's young organizers but also on the ideas they promoted, carrying the debate on remigration into the mainstream media. This shift from the margins to the center of public debate is the product of a political strategy pursued by the conference organizers: to familiarize the public with the concept of remigration so that it ceases to be regarded as extreme and unfeasible, creating the space for the issue to become part of the political agenda for an increasing number of parties and political forces.

Overall, the Gallarate meeting contributes to establishing remigration as a rallying cry for an extreme right that strives to present increasingly radical positions in a vocabulary, while appearing neutral, puts forward discriminatory and segregationist claims. The Remigration Summit is a litmus test of the broader strategy of *dédiabolisation* ("de-demonization") of extremist discourse, where the legitimate channels of the public arena are infiltrated, and the themes of sovereignty and security are exploited, to advance proposals that, in substance, reproduce patterns of ethnic and racial exclusion.

This article seeks to reconstruct the context in which the concept of remigration was conceived and developed, to trace its ideological roots and the network through which it circulates, and to analyze the 2025 Remigration Summit by interpreting it as the first step toward the normalization of the term and of the political line associated with it.

## Remigration: Origins of the Concept

In 2024, the founder of the Identitäre Bewegung Österreich (Austrian Identitarian Movement), Martin Sellner, notorious for having plastered a synagogue with swastikas in 2006, who attended Jared Taylor's American Renaissance Conference in November 2024 in Tennessee,<sup>3</sup> published the pamphlet *Remigration: Ein Vorschlag (Remigration: a Proposal)*.<sup>4</sup> He advocates for the implementation of a process of remigration from Austria and Europe by the so-called "unassimilable foreigners" (a concept to which we will return later), presenting this not only as morally acceptable and humane, but even as beneficial both for Europeans and for the "remigrants" themselves. According to Sellner, both groups would thus be able to return to ethnically and culturally homogeneous communities and preserve their traditions, customs, and cultural heritage.

The seemingly humanist rhetoric with which Sellner supports and legitimizes his far-right proposals is by no means new. After the end of the Second World War, in fact, racist thought, one of the pillars of fascism and Nazism, underwent a process of renewal that reached full development in the 1970s, with the birth and spread in France (and later in other European countries) of the *Nouvelle Droite* (New Right; ND), a current that aimed to rejuvenate fascism by updating the ideology for the contemporary era.

In this drive for renewal, racist theories were reformulated. Instead of the biologically based racism that had by then become politically unusable, the ND offered differentialism: The natural diversity among peoples in cultural, linguistic, and institutional terms should be protected from homogenizing multiculturalist globalism. According to the theorists of the ND, such protection could only be achieved by avoiding migration and the resulting ethnic and cultural mixing altogether.

Sellner's notion of remigration draws inspiration from, and is rooted in, the differentialism of the ND, while taking it a step further. It is also based on another theoretical construction elaborated within European far-right circles: the "Great Replacement" conspiracy theory. Formulated and spread in France beginning in 2010 by the writer Renaud Camus (*L'Abécédaire de l'innocence, Le grand remplacement*), this posits the existence of an intentional process of ethnic substitution through which the indigenous European

---

Euronews, 05/17/2025, <https://es.euronews.com/my-europe/2025/05/17/cumbre-sobre-la-emigracion-la-extrema-derecha-europea-esta-a-favor-de-las-repatriaciones-f>.

<sup>3</sup> News Channel 5, 12/03/2024, <https://www.newschannel5.com/news/newschannel-5-investigates/confronting-hate/inside-the-influential-white-supremacist-conference-that-calls-tennessee-home-away-from-home>

<sup>4</sup> Martin Sellner, *Remigration: Ein Vorschlag*, Verlag Antaios, Steigra 2024.

populations would be gradually replaced by migrant flows coming particularly from Africa, with the consent—or even under the orchestration—of European political and cultural elites. These elites allegedly plan and encourage migrant flows, creating a model of humanity that is uprooted and devoid of any identity.

This conspiracy theory has enjoyed enormous success within French and global far-right circles. In France, it has been widely employed by Eric Zemmour<sup>5</sup> and Jordan Bardella<sup>6</sup>; in Italy, various political figures now in government have drawn upon it, from Matteo Salvini<sup>7</sup> to Giorgia Meloni,<sup>8</sup> including Francesco Lollobrigida (currently minister of agriculture in Meloni's government).<sup>9</sup> In Hungary, it has been taken up by Viktor Orban.<sup>10</sup> Across the Atlantic, Elon Musk<sup>11</sup> and Donald Trump<sup>12</sup> have made reference to it.

The interweaving of differentialism and the Great Replacement has provided the theoretical foundations for remigration, where threatened Western societies can be safeguarded only through the preservation of an “original” homogeneity deemed compromised by the presence of immigrants. It was, however, the migration crisis that struck Europe in the 2010s that allowed the concept of remigration to begin take shape. The intensification of migrant flows, amplified by media attention and instrumentalized by far-right political actors, fostered an ever-growing climate of hostility toward immigrants and led to the implementation of border-closure policies.

In this context, the reception of a million Syrian refugees announced in 2015 by then-German Chancellor Angela Merkel<sup>13</sup> was taken by a portion of the far right as proof of the liberal elites' playing with the survival of the European population. Against this backdrop, remigration began to be conceived as a response to migrant flows and to the ethnic substitution presumed to result from them.

## Action Radar Europe and the European Identitarian Network

Sellner's program has become a point of reference not only within the Austrian Identitarian Movement, which he leads, but also for identitarian movements in other European countries.

On July 29, 2023, a demonstration was held in Vienna, organized by Gernot Schmidt,<sup>14</sup> a figure of the Austrian far right, who, since 2017, has been president of the Vienna regional council of the Ring Freiheitlicher Studenten,<sup>15</sup> the student wing of the Freedom Party. From that gathering emerged

---

<sup>5</sup> Le Monde, 11/03/2021, [https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2021/11/03/la-theorie-complotiste-du-grand-remplacement-chemine-avec-eric-zemmour\\_6100783\\_823448.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2021/11/03/la-theorie-complotiste-du-grand-remplacement-chemine-avec-eric-zemmour_6100783_823448.html).

<sup>6</sup> Sudouest, 29/08/2021, <https://www.sudouest.fr/politique/marine-le-pen/la-theorie-du-grand-remplacement-pointe-une-realite-estime-jordan-bardella-5637328.php>.

<sup>7</sup> Il Primato Nazionale, 02/13/2015, <https://www.ilprimatonazionale.it/politica/matteo-salvini-tesi-immigrazione-grande-sostituzione-16842/>.

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/giorgiameloni.paginaufficiale/posts/10154534547787645/>.

<sup>9</sup> Il Sole 24 ore, 04/18/2023, <https://www.ilsole24ore.com/art/lollobrigida-aiutare-nascite-no-sostituzione-etnica-schlein-attacca-parole-sapore-suprematista-AErTvUID>.

<sup>10</sup> Huffington Post, 02/10/2025,

[https://www.huffingtonpost.it/esteri/2025/02/10/news/orba\\_soros\\_sostituzione\\_etnica-18387256/](https://www.huffingtonpost.it/esteri/2025/02/10/news/orba_soros_sostituzione_etnica-18387256/).

<sup>11</sup> The Guardian, 03/19/2025, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2025/mar/19/musk-democrats-social-security-fraud>.

<sup>12</sup> NPR, 09/13/2025, <https://www.npr.org/2024/09/13/g-s1-22583/trump-great-replacement-conspiracy-theory>.

<sup>13</sup> Independent 08/25/2015, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/germany-opens-its-gates-berlin-says-all-syrian-asylumseekers-are-welcome-to-remain-as-britain-is-urged-to-make-a-similar-statement-10470062.html>, BBC 08/26/2015, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34061532>, The Guardian, 08/29/2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/aug/30/immigration-asylumseekers-refugees-migrants-angela-merkel>.

<sup>14</sup> Euronews 07/29/2023, <https://www.euronews.com/2023/07/29/far-right-activists-rally-in-austria-calling-for-end-to-the-great-replacement>

<sup>15</sup> OTS 12/01/2017, [https://www.ots.at/presseaussendung/OTS\\_20171201\\_OTS0128/neuer-landesvorstand-des-rfs-gewaehlt-gernot-schmidt-neuer-obmann](https://www.ots.at/presseaussendung/OTS_20171201_OTS0128/neuer-landesvorstand-des-rfs-gewaehlt-gernot-schmidt-neuer-obmann)

Radar Europe (ARE), presented on its X page as “a platform for identitarian actions, events and announcements.”<sup>16</sup>

More than a structured transnational organization, ARE is configured as a coordination hub to spread ideas and maintain contacts among groups active in different countries. Precisely because of the ARE’s nature, compiling an exhaustive list of the movements involved would be of little analytical significance: It is not a system of formal affiliations, but rather a flexible network of interconnected movements.

Among the groups, the most active are the Italian Azione Cultura Tradizione, the Portuguese Reconquista, the Flemish Schild & Vrienden, the Swiss Junge Tat, the German and Danish identitarian movements, and the Dutch Geuzenbond. The ARE’s program is spelled out on its X page: “Follow us and spread our content for a European Reconquista.”<sup>17</sup> Just as Christian armies succeeded in 1492 in completely reconquering the Iberian Peninsula after eight centuries of Moorish domination, in the same way Europe today must, according to this vision, be reconquered by Christians and saved from immigration and Islamic domination.

The Vienna demonstration of July 2023 is critical for the European identitarian network, with this first event revealing the elements around which the Remigration Summit was later constructed. Remigration is seen as the only possible solution to the Great Replacement, which is already playing out in the majority of European countries supposedly. Identitarians ought to have a laboratory to create ideas that are ready made for adoption by mainstream far-right parties. In the words of the event’s organizer, Gernot Schmidt: “The goal of this protest is to coin terms and shape concepts and make them popular enough so that they get picked up by big right-wing parties like the Freedom Party and the AfD and then be put in motion through parliamentary means.”<sup>18</sup>

The symbolism of these groups, along with their action strategies, was on full display at the 2023 demonstration. The black and yellow banners – colors associated with the French *Mouvement identitaire* – have become emblematic of the push for remigration across Europe; meanwhile, there was an emphasis on a sober style of dress, avoiding symbols and clothing that explicitly evoked Nazism, so as to “de-demonize” their political message and make it accessible to the widest possible audience.

Among the participants at Schmidt’s Vienna demonstration was Sellner, who had established himself as a leading figure in European identitarianism and someone who could realize and spread identitarian ideas.

Beyond Sellner and the Austrian Identitarian Movement, the European identitarian network today comprises a series of groups and small factions that each have a national base. These organizations, which differ in structure and size, share several common traits that can be outlined as follows.

- They are founded and led by young or very young activists (e.g., Andrea Ballarati, founder of the small group Azione Cultura Tradizione, active in northern Italy, is 23 years old; Afonso Gonçalves, leader of the Portuguese movement Reconquista, is 24; Manuel Corchia, from the Swiss movement Junge Tat, is 25).
- They are not represented in parliament and are not officially affiliated with any political party (they are not, for example, youth wings of far-right parties that have seats in parliament). However, contacts with parties do exist and are often quite significant: In Austria, the links between the Austrian Identitarian Movement and the Freedom Party have been known for years (in September 2024, the Freedom Party’s electoral victory was celebrated by the Austrian identitarian movement

---

<sup>16</sup> See the X account: <https://x.com/actionradareu>

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>18</sup> Euronews 07/29/2023, <https://www.euronews.com/2023/07/29/far-right-activists-rally-in-austria-calling-for-end-to-the-great-replacement>

to the music of Gigi D'Agostino)<sup>19</sup>; similarly, the Portuguese group Reconquista maintains very close ties with the far-right party Chega.

- The activities of these organizations consist of demonstrative acts (provocative actions during others' demonstrations protesting racism or discrimination, and against gay pride parades) and protests against immigration.
- In the past of some activists are connections to openly neo-Nazi groups or individuals, neo-Nazi activities, and/or an affinity with white supremacist ideas (for example, several activists—Thomas Devenson of the Dutch group Geuzenbond, as well as Manuel Corchia and Sellner himself—have been photographed making the OK gesture<sup>20</sup>; the leader of Belgium's Schild & Vrienden, Van Langenhove, has been convicted for racism and Holocaust denial).
- Combat sports are common among the members of these organizations.

Vienna was the first in a series of gatherings that took place between July 2023 and July 2025. As early as October 2023, a small group of ARE activists convened in Brussels to demonstrate in front of the European Parliament; on July 20, 2024, identitarians again assembled in Vienna; and on November 25, 2024, a secret meeting was held in Potsdam, later revealed by the German investigative journalism project Correctiv,<sup>21</sup> attended by prominent figures from politics and business, including leading members of the AfD, such as the personal advisor to party chief Alice Weidel, elected representatives of the party, and members of the extra-parliamentary far right, including Sellner. At the Potsdam meeting, the Austrian activist delivered a sort of *lectio magistralis* on remigration, outlining a “strategic plan” that envisaged the expulsion not only of immigrants but also of German citizens of foreign origin deemed “unassimilable,” whose integration was considered impossible due to excessively deep cultural differences. A fee for a seat at the meeting, at EUR5,000 per person, was justified by the intention to fund the initiatives of identitarian organizations.

After Potsdam, the meetings continued: on March 23, 2025, in Ghent and on July 26, 2025, in Vienna. There are public demonstrations aimed at engaging a broad audience and more discreet meetings where the identitarians continue to implement their strategy of penetrating the mainstream far right.

The Remigration Summit of May 2025 represents a separate case: It was, in fact, the first conference entirely dedicated to the topic.

## The First Remigration Summit

The event was announced on January 1, 2025, through a video disseminated on the X account Resum25, created for the occasion, in which the leaders of the national movements of the ARE network appeared. They denounce multiculturalism and present remigration as the “only chance to save our European civilization.”<sup>22</sup> The conference is said to represent a turning point, an opportunity to bring together European “patriots” in a structured context, to test the logistical capabilities of the network, and to gauge the public response outside of the usual street demonstrations.



*Organizers of the Remigration Summit.*

*Source: @DVanLangenhove on X*

<sup>19</sup> Eunews, 05/29/2024, <https://www.eunews.it/en/2024/05/29/what-the-remake-of-lamour-toujours-in-the-extreme-right-tells-us-about-young-german-voters/>

<sup>20</sup> Usa Today, 09/26/2029, <https://eu.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2019/09/26/anti-defamation-league-adds-ok-hand-gesture-hate-symbol-database/3772950002/>

<sup>21</sup> Correctiv, 01/10/2024, <https://correctiv.org/top-stories/2024/01/10/plan-secret-contre-lallemagne/>

<sup>22</sup> See: <https://x.com/remsummit/status/1874518267701899752?t=sffjGu60WRlbj02X9dFnoA&s=08>

At the forefront of the summit as a project were the ideologue of remigration, Sellner (second from the left); the leader of Schild & Vrienden, Van Langenhove (first from the left); the leader of Reconquista, Gonçalves (third from the left); and the Italian leader of Azione Cultura Tradizione and host, Ballarati (far right), assisted by a team of activists from the German Identitarian Movement.

In the weeks immediately following the announcement of the summit, the organizers provided no concrete information regarding the location or the list of speakers. From February onward, nonetheless, the public was already able to purchase tickets, available in three categories: basic (EUR40, including access to the event and coffee break), premium (EUR100, including dinner and an after-party), and VIP (EUR250, which additionally included a hotel room reservation). As early as March 27, the dedicated X account announced that the premium and VIP options were sold out. Ticket sales, supplemented by a donation system promoted by the organizers, which had raised EUR2,662 in just one month,<sup>23</sup> constituted the main source of funding for the summit.

The summit's program began to take shape in April 2025 with the announcement of the first speaker: Jean-Yves Le Gallou of France. Le Gallou does not fit the typical profile of an ARE network identitarian activist, but rather represents a well-established *maître-à-penser* of the French far right. Born in 1948, Le Gallou joined GRECE (*Le Groupement de recherche et d'études pour la civilisation européenne*), the research center of the ND, at its founding in 1969; in 1974, he was among the founders of the Club de l'Horloge, another ND think tank; the following year, he married Anne-Laure Blanc, daughter of a veteran of the French SS Charlemagne Division; in 1985, he joined the Front National; and in 2014 he founded the Institut Iliade. His presence at the summit does not appear coincidental: it signals continuity between the ND and the identitarian movement, conferring upon the latter a form of sponsorship and legitimizing it as a direct heir to the ideological tradition represented by Le Gallou.



*Le Gallou giving his speech.*

Source: @remsummit on X

The second speaker to be announced was the far-right influencer Eva Vlaardingerbroek. The young Dutchwoman gained notoriety at CPAC in Hungary in 2024, when she discussed the Great Replacement and the need to return to a white, Christian Europe.<sup>24</sup>

Besides these announcements, the identities of the other speakers were not disclosed in advance. Until the day of the summit itself, many details remained shrouded in uncertainty, beginning with the location. A few days before the event, in fact, the hotel that was to host the conference canceled, due in part to the growing attention from the Italian media and antifascist organizations.<sup>25</sup> This was further complicated by the stance of the mayor of Milan, Beppe Sala, who not only publicly expressed his opposition but also convened a meeting with the prefect to request the event be canceled.<sup>26</sup>

On the eve of the Remigration Summit, posts published by the organizers on X conveyed the sense of a race against time: "As events can change dynamically, we ask guests to check their inboxes and spam folders regularly." The address of the venue was to be communicated only at 6:00 on May 17.

---

<sup>23</sup> La Repubblica 01/30/2025:

[https://www.google.com/search?q=andrea+ballarati+finanziamento&rlz=1C1DIMC\\_enIT910IT910&oq=andrea+ballarati+finanziamento&gs\\_lcrp=EgZjaHJvbWUyBggAEEUYOTIHCAEQIRigAdIBCTY5MzVqMGoxNagCCLACAfEFJFk\\_RJwG14k&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8](https://www.google.com/search?q=andrea+ballarati+finanziamento&rlz=1C1DIMC_enIT910IT910&oq=andrea+ballarati+finanziamento&gs_lcrp=EgZjaHJvbWUyBggAEEUYOTIHCAEQIRigAdIBCTY5MzVqMGoxNagCCLACAfEFJFk_RJwG14k&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8),

<sup>24</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I5vTJEhawbA>.

<sup>25</sup> <https://ilmanifesto.it/milano-il-remigration-summit-perde-la-sala>,

<sup>26</sup> <https://www.milanotoday.it/politica/sala-remigration-summit-raduno-estrema-destra.html>,

Despite the organizational difficulties and protests, the Remigration Summit was successfully held that day. The choice of venue ultimately fell on the Teatro Condominio in the municipality of Gallarate, a town near Milan governed by a mayor from Salvini's Lega,<sup>27</sup> who had already expressed readiness to host the meeting in Gallarate.<sup>28</sup> This speaks to the ties between extremist groups within ARE and certain European mainstream far-right parties. Indeed, the presence of representatives from various European parties on the stage of the Remigration Summit should be noted:

- **AfD** (Germany), represented by parliamentarian Lena Kotré.
- **Lega** (Italy), represented by Deputy Secretary Roberto Vannacci.<sup>29</sup>
- **Reconquête** (France), represented by the head of Génération Zemmour, Hilaire Bouyé.
- **National Party** (Ireland), represented by John McLoughlin.
- **Forum voor Democratie** (Netherlands), represented by Frederik Jansen.
- **Chega** (Portugal), represented by the coordinator of the party's youth branch in Porto, Pedro Pinto Faria.
- **Homeland Party** (United Kingdom), represented by its founder Kenny Smith.

This demonstrates how concepts and ideas once confined to a taboo corner are now being openly embraced by mainstream right-wing forces capable of garnering broad electoral support, such as Lega, AfD, and Chega. For the organizers of the summit, the presence of party officials constitutes tangible evidence that remigration has succeeded in asserting itself within the political debate, gaining both visibility and legitimacy. This aspect was, in fact, addressed by Sellner in his speech, which focused on the techniques to make remigration more palatable and popular.

The speeches of the other speakers highlighted the variety of interpretations of remigration within the identitarian galaxy and the European far right. Some speakers focused on national specificities, such as MacLoughlin of the National Party, Faria of Chega, and Kenny Smith of the Homeland Party. Others, including Van Langenhove and Le Gallou, offered thoughts of a more general nature. The positions expressed ranged between opposing extremes: on the one hand are radical proposals such as that of Kotré, who suggested that, "If we can no longer export cars, we will export deportation instead"; on the other hand are attempts at *dédiabolisation*, to present remigration in terms more acceptable to public opinion, as in the definition provided by Jansen, of Forum for Democracy, who described remigration as the "peaceful disentanglement of societies forced to be together."

Two other speakers were particularly significant, as they suggest a link between ARE and the transatlantic Right. These were Jacky Eubanks and Cyan Rose Quinn, both Americans. The former was a Trump-aligned candidate in Michigan in 2022, purporting to represent the Republican Party, while the latter, a former member of the neo-Nazi and white supremacist group Identity Evropa, represented the White Papers Policy Institute, a Washington, D.C.-based "team of analysts, former and current policy professionals, activists and volunteers who work together to craft policy alternatives that promote the collective interests of Western Peoples who seek self-determination... who are proud of Western Civilization, our cultures, and our countries."<sup>30</sup> Quinn has been serving as the program director for Counter Currents, a book publisher and

---

<sup>27</sup> Matteo Salvini had spoken out against the ban on the summit proposed by Beppe Sala in the name of freedom of speech, and later stated: "If someone believes that mass immigration is an enormous and devastating problem — and I am among them — they must be able to express it." *Il Corriere della Sera*, [https://milano.corriere.it/notizie/cronaca/25\\_maggio\\_06/milano-salvini-apre-al-convegno-di-estrema-destra-remigration-liberta-di-parola-per-tutti-f042d431-fc05-4124-8311-9a3c38e5fxlk.shtml](https://milano.corriere.it/notizie/cronaca/25_maggio_06/milano-salvini-apre-al-convegno-di-estrema-destra-remigration-liberta-di-parola-per-tutti-f042d431-fc05-4124-8311-9a3c38e5fxlk.shtml), Milano Today, <https://www.milanotoday.it/politica/polemiche-remigration-summit-lega-pd.html>,

<sup>28</sup> <https://www.la7.it/piazzapulita/video/oltre-il-remigration-summit-la-destra-estrema-di-deport-them-now-linchiesta-29-05-2025-598469>,

<sup>29</sup> Vannacci did not attend in person but sent a video message of support.

<sup>30</sup> The description on the YouTube channel continues as follows: "We work together to craft policy alternatives that promote the collective interests of Western people groups who seek self-determination in their nations. We believe

podcaster, headed by the American Greg Johnson, that has a stunning array of republished core works of Nazism. Their participation in the summit, along with the presence of Jared Taylor in the audience at the summit, shows how ARE's sphere of action and influence extends beyond European borders and how the concept of remigration is becoming a key reference point throughout the Western world.

The summit was considered a success by the organizers: It was sold out, covered in the media, and featured prominent figures from the global far right and neofascism.

For its organizers, the Remigration Summit was only the beginning. Immediately after the conference, the official X account changed its name from Resum25 to Resum26, in line with the intention to organize a second conference the following year. The page description was also modified. It now reads, "Identitarian NGO & Remigration-Lobby. Connecting young European leaders," while a post by the same account outlines the vision: "We are building an identitarian NGO to dismantle the globalist system and connect the young European leaders of the future. Together we will accomplish a European Remigration Pact in the coming months. The preparations for Resum26 are already underway and we are aiming to make it even bigger and better."

## Conclusion

The galaxy of the far right and neofascism is transforming. Namely it is increasingly emerging from the margins and projecting itself into the public sphere, gaining visibility and putting pressure on mainstream far-right parties to adopt its claims. The normalization of extreme ideas and theories resulting from this poses new challenges for Western democracies, which ought to take measures to address the tangible risk of the far right's deep penetration of state institutions. De-de-demonization of the far right and its political program remains the only way to avert this eventuality and continue to safeguard fundamental human rights.

---

decades of demographic change can be reversed through humane policies and with the cooperation of other nations and peoples beyond the West and promote policy alternatives to that end."

<https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCHiWeAyAGFVc2zMXgoxF1ng>,