
COORDINATED FACEBOOK PAGES DESIGNED TO FUND A WHITE SUPREMACIST AGENDA

Case Study



SEPTEMBER 2019

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Executive Summary

- We uncovered a network of 16 French Facebook pages hiding their white nationalist/white supremacist and racist views behind misleading names, calling users to support policemen, firefighters, or armed forces, and sometimes even victims of terrorism.
- This extremist network, called Suavelos, is also very active on other platforms such as [Twitter](#), [YouTube](#), [VKontakte](#), [Minds](#), [Telegram](#), promoting hate speech against non-white populations. This extremist network also organises summer camps for white populations, admitting to the use of a non-for-profit organisation to hide its illegal agenda, which facilitates its ability to be able to collect and redistribute money.
- We also uncovered some of their funding sources, from web advertisements on their websites to online shops and donations.
- It is clear that many online platforms have failed to moderate some of this hateful content. For instance, the [Facebook](#) page “*I support the police*”, promoting a white nationalist agenda, was down for a few days before being available again on 12th August 2019. A [Twitter](#) account called *Fluide Racial* that promotes racist content has also been active since May 2018.
- In parallel, payment and monetisation companies like [PayPal](#), [Google Double Click](#), [Taboola](#) and [Tipeee](#) have also failed to scrutinise their users and have been hijacked by Suavelos for at least one year, allowing this group to be funded and pursue its illegal activities.
- This example brings to light cross-platform strategies and the diversification of the networks used for both political and financial incentives.

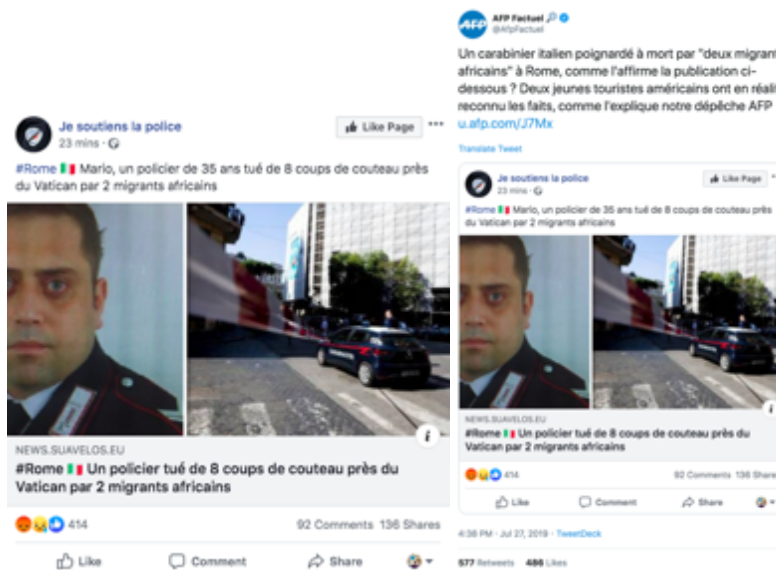
Disclaimer

This report was conducted in cooperation with French media Le Monde. All data present in this report are open source information, publicly available on the Internet and collected in August 2019. The objectives of EU DisinfoLab with this report are to solely document how disinformation operates and to whom these tactics could benefit.

Suavelos and disinformation

First narrative detection

On the 27th July 2019, the fact-checking team of the French news agency AFP published a tweet fact-checking a publication posted on a Facebook page named “*I support the police*”¹. This publication pointed to the domain news.suavelos.eu with an article titled “Rome, a police officer killed close to the Vatican after having been stabbed 8 times by two African migrants”.



Screenshot 1 - Original publication from Facebook page "I Support the police" and fact-checking tweet from AFP Factuel

The original story falsely attributed the death of an Italian policeman to “Two African migrants” whereas in actuality they were American tourists. AFP’s fact-checking team fact-checked the story². The Facebook page “I support the police” finally deleted the publication from its feed.

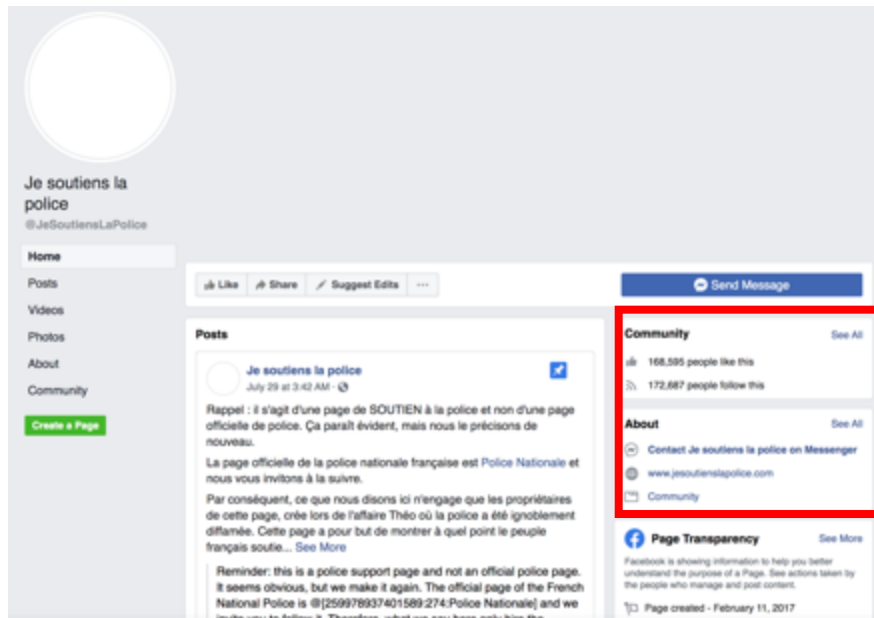
From this, we decided to investigate the relationship between this Facebook page “Je soutiens la police” (I support the police) and the Suavelos website that it was pointing to.

¹ <https://twitter.com/AfpFactuel/status/1155125308535840768?s=20>

² <https://www.rtl.be/info/monde/europe/vive-emotion-en-italie-apres-le-meurtre-sordide-d-un-gendarme-il-a-ete-tue-de-8-coups-de-couteau-par-deux-jeunes-touristes-video--1144344.aspx>

Facebook page: *Je soutiens la police*

Created in February 2017, the Facebook page “*I support the police*”³ was live until early August 2019⁴. Since 11th August 2019, the page has been online again. On 2nd August 2019, it counted 168,595 fans and 172,687 followers.



Screenshot 2 - Google Cache of *I Support Police* Facebook page. We can observe the website www.jesoutienslapolice.com in the About section.

At the time, this highly followed page posted many articles from a website called news.suavelos.eu.



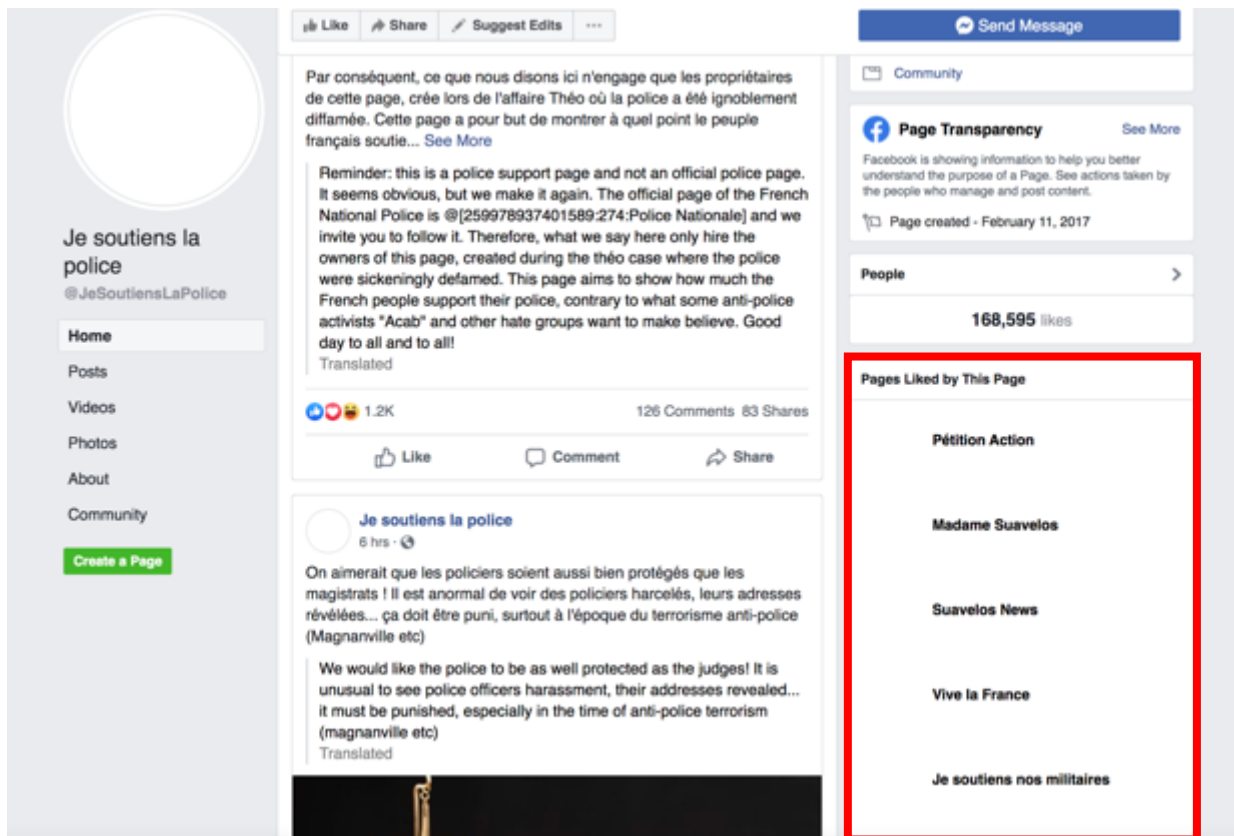
Screenshot 3 - Publications from *Je Soutiens La Police* referring to [Suavelos.eu](http://news.suavelos.eu)

³ Accessible at <https://fr-fr.facebook.com/JeSoutiensLaPolice/>

⁴ A web archive of that page is available here:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20190729104346/https://www.facebook.com/JeSoutiensLaPolice/>

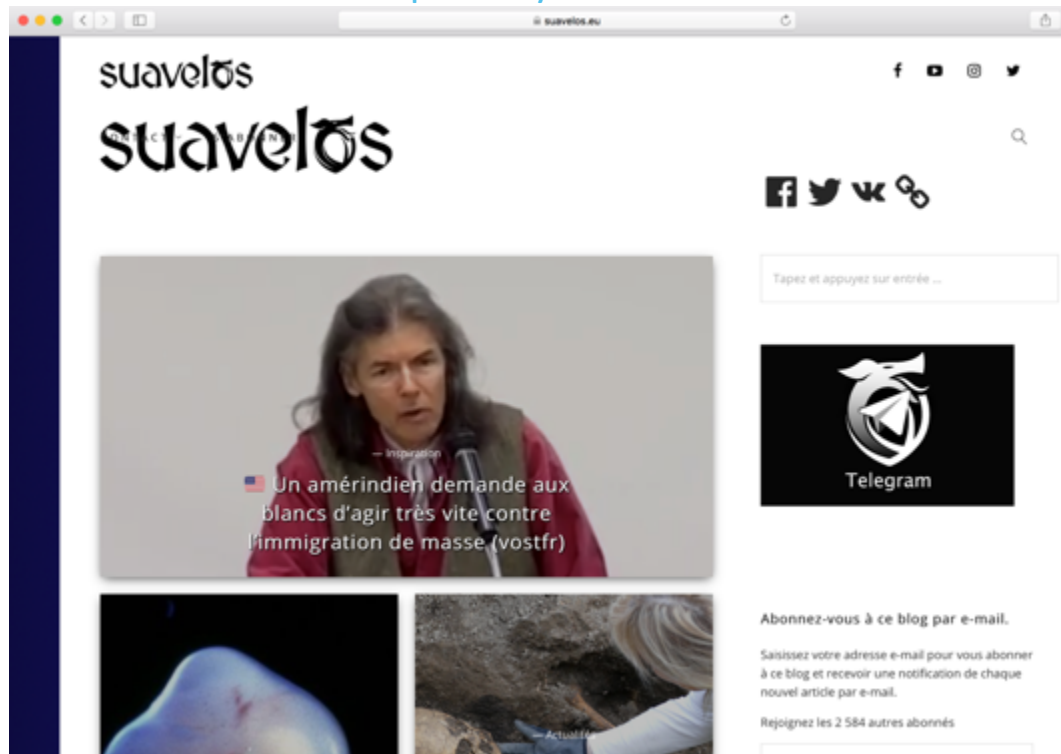
When we looked at which pages were liked by the “*I support the police*” Facebook page, we noticed other Facebook pages, including two pages called Suavelos (*Suavelos News* and *Madame Suavelos*). It is also interesting to note a page named “*I support our armed forces*”.



Screenshot 4 - Archive of Facebook page “*Je soutiens la police*”

These Facebook pages will be discussed later in the report, but for now, our first hypothesis was that the “*I support the police*” Facebook page was, in fact, managed by Suavelos. Therefore, we decided to look more closely at Suavelos.eu.

Suavelos.eu: the content repository



Screenshot 5 - Screenshot of suavelos.eu website

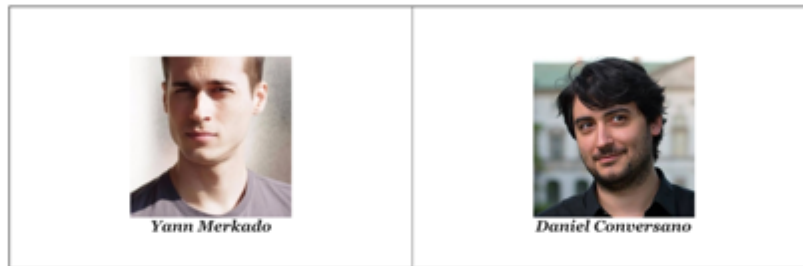
Regarding the suavelos.eu website, we observed the following elements:

- The website's publications refer to different news information websites such as Le Figaro⁵ or Geo⁶, but also to far-right news aggregators like fdesouche.com;
- Many articles seem to make clear references to white ethnicity;
- The [About us](#) section makes a clear reference to its two founders: Yann Merkado and Daniel Conversano.

⁵ <https://www.suavelos.eu/le-japon-autorise-la-creation-dembryons-hybrides-humains-animaux/>

⁶ <https://www.geo.fr/histoire/un-bateau-tombe-et-un-squelette-viking-tres-bien-preserves-sortent-de-terre-en-suede-196566>

Les co-fondateurs de Suavelos sont **Yann Merkado** et **Daniel Conversano**.



Le **nationalisme blanc** est une réclamation de l'héritage commun du monde blanc et de l'importance pour le blanc de se communautariser pour survivre, vivre mieux et s'adapter aux changements du monde. C'est la revendication que les blancs sont unis par une

Screenshot 6 - Suavelos founders according to Suavelos.eu About us section

- The About us section also explains that “Suavelos est un site dédié à l'éveil occidentaliste et communautaire des blancs”, aiming (among other things) to:
 - “spread the idea that white people deserve their own land where they are at peace”;
 - “fight the white people replacement”;
 - “Cure the white ethno-masochism”;
 - Etc.

Dans cette optique, nos objectifs sont clairs :

- Dénoncer le remplacement des blancs
- En finir avec la lose décliniste, la trahison défaitiste et les discours pompeux sur la décadence
- Dénoncer les faux alliés qui se servent du tremplin racial pour donner d'autres priorités que celle du nationalisme blanc
- Soigner l'ethnomasochisme blanc
- Combattre l'instinct d'ultracompetition entre blancs
- Réconcilier l'identité et la technologie
- Défendre le concept palpable d'Occident et l'honneur de l'Occident
- Répandre l'idée que les blancs ont le droit à une terre où ils sont en paix et chez eux
- Communautariser le blanc : lui donner le fond idéologique et les outils pratiques

Screenshot 7 – Objectives of Suavelos, according to the “About us” section of Suavelos.eu⁷

⁷ “With this vision, our objectives are clear: report on the white people replacement; end up the declinist state of mind, the defeatist treason and pompous speeches on decadence; denounce false allies who use the racial argument to prioritize other issues other than the white nationalism; cure the white ethnomasochism; fight the ultracompetitive mind between whites; bring identity and technology back together ; defend the tangible concept of Occidentalism and its honor; spread the idea that white people have the right to a safe

The homepage provides links to these websites:

- A web form to subscribe to a newsletter that claims to have 2584 subscribers;
- Links to two subdomains
 - News.suavelos.com:⁸ another WordPress website where the main author of articles is Yann Merkado;
 - Madame.suavelos.com⁹ another WordPress website with other articles where the main author is someone named “contributrice”

In going back to Suavelos’ main page, we also found:

- [A link to a page on a web shop](#): alabastro.eu;¹⁰
- [A link to a page to donate money](#) to the founders through Tipee and to the website through [PayPal](#);
- A link to [RedIceTV](#), a Swedish/North-American white nationalist web media managed by Lana Lokteff and Henrik Palmgren;¹¹
- A link to a private forum that gathers 3.000 members:¹² [oppidum.suavelos.eu](#);
- A link to buy a white nationalist book from extreme-right writer Guillaume Faye¹³ ([“The Racial Civil War”](#)) with a preface from Jared Taylor, eminent white supremacist.¹⁴

This cross-platform presence was also demonstrated by the website’s homepage also having direct links to the following social platforms:

- [Facebook page](#)
 - Created in April 2018

space, a land they can call home ; give white people a community vision: pass on the ideology and useful tools”.

⁸ <https://web.archive.org/web/20190605072912/https://news.suavelos.eu/>

⁹ <https://web.archive.org/web/20190528210457/https://madame.suavelos.eu/>

¹⁰ This will be explored in depth later

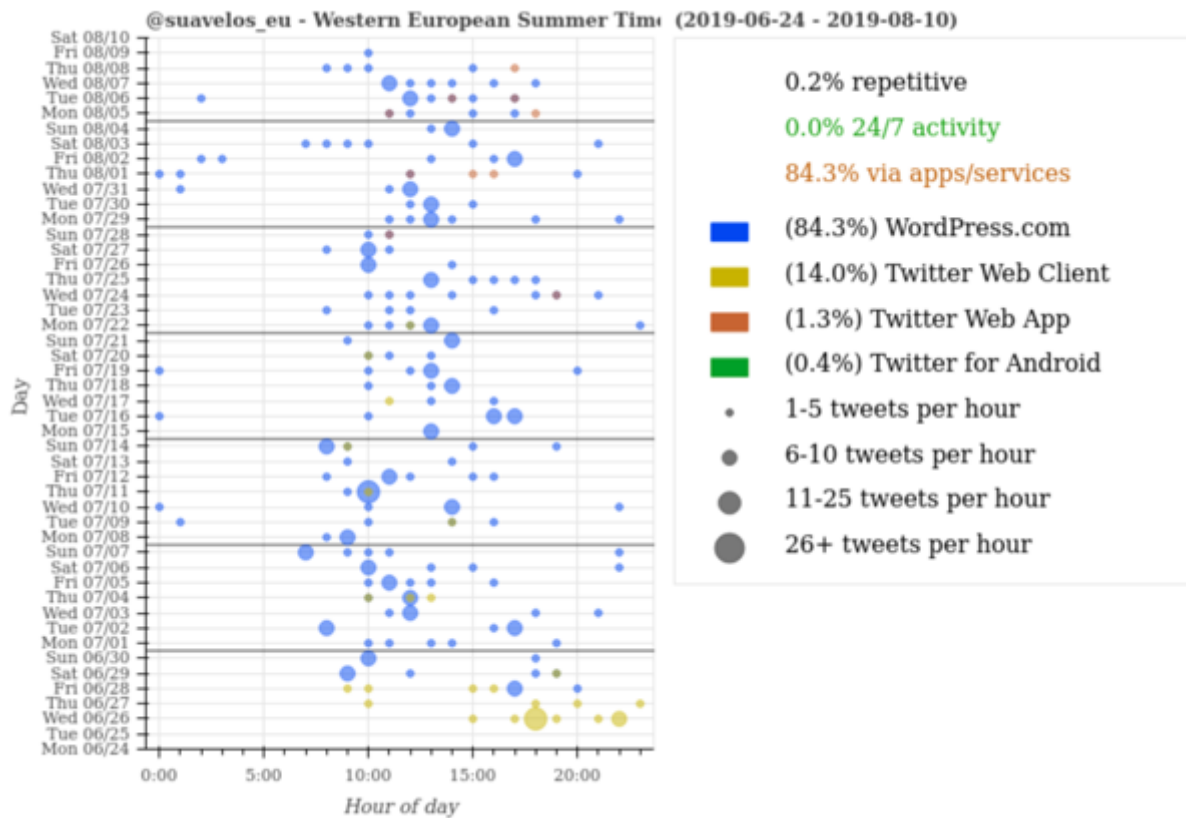
¹¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lana_Lokteff#cite_note-harper's-p8-1

¹² <https://www.lesinrocks.com/2018/07/25/actualite/politique/chants-racistes-combat-au-couteau-formation-dun-surhomme-plongee-dans-les-camps-dete-de-lextreme-droite/>

¹³ https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guillaume_Faye

¹⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jared_Taylor

- 18,874 followers
 - On the 2nd August, 12 different links were shared on that channel.
 - The structure of the post is always the same: hashtag of the town where the story is happening; flag of the country concerned; title of the article; and a link to news.suavelos.eu, or to madame.suavelos.eu.
- A [YouTube account](#)
 - Created 14th August 2016
 - 4,961 followers
 - A [Twitter](#) account
 - Created in September 2015
 - 2,431 followers
 - High activity: 1,195 tweets, with 84.3% of the tweets posted automatically from WordPress, according to the Allegedly tool. For instance, On the 2nd August, we noted that 15 different links were shared on that channel. On average, from 28th June to 8th August, we counted around 12 news articles published each day on Twitter.



Screenshot 8 - Suavelos_eu Twitter account's rhythm of publication

- An inactive [Instagram profile](#)
 - 0 publications
 - 8 followers
- A [VKontakte profile](#)
 - 510 fans
 - On the 2nd August, 15 different links were shared on this channel.
 - Like its Facebook page, the structure of the post is always the same: hashtag of the town where the story is happening; flag of the country concerned; title of the article; link to news.suavelos.eu, or madame.suavelos.eu
 - We believe that the same articles are posted there automatically.
- A [Telegram public](#) channel with 234 members, 5,8K links.
 - On the 2nd August, 15 different links were shared on that channel.

- Structure of the post is always the same: hashtag of the town where the story is happening; flag of the country concerned; title of the article; link to news.suavelos.eu, or madame.suavelos.eu
- We believe that the same articles are posted there automatically.

Content shared on VK, Telegram, Twitter is exactly the same, and is **shared exactly at the same time**, which suggests automated/coordinated action probably directly from a WordPress website. On the 2nd August, we noted that there was a delay in posting some Facebook articles, which may suggest that the posting is made manually.

The structure of the publications posted are very similar:

- hashtag or name of the town where the story is happening;
- flag of the country concerned;
- title of the article, link to news.suavelos.eu, or to madame.suavelos.eu;
- an uploaded photo (which is the same as the one in the website's article).



Screenshot 9 - Examples of Suavelos_eu tweets and one VK publication

Audience:

According to the webtool Similarweb¹⁵, Suavelos.eu had 230,000 visitors in July 2019. The data below displays a growing visibility in 2019, with a peak of activity in June 2019.

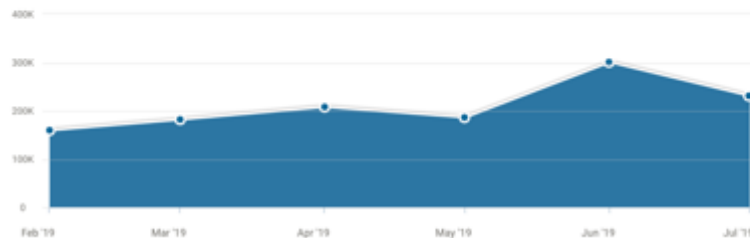
¹⁵ <https://www.similarweb.com/website/suavelos.eu#overview>

Traffic Overview ⓘ

Estimated Data [Verify Your Website](#)

Total Visits ⓘ

On desktop & mobile web, in the last 6 months



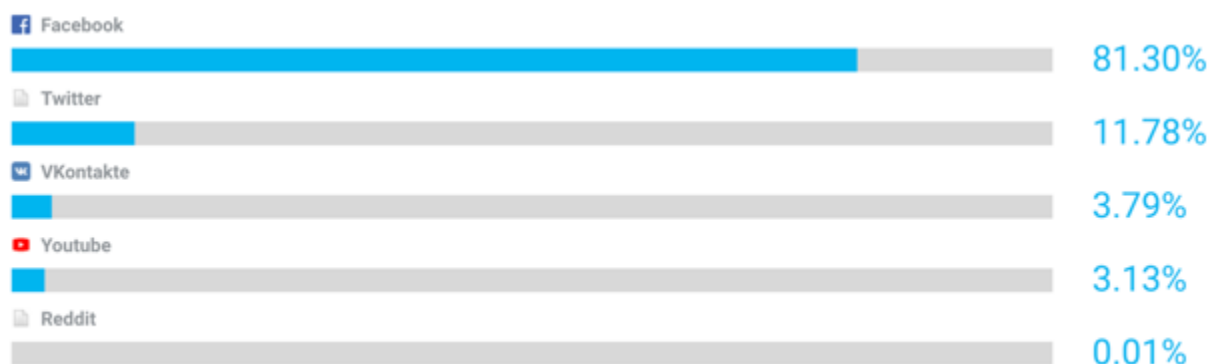
Engagement

Total Visits	230.74K ▼ 23.21%
Avg. Visit Duration	00:01:11
Pages per Visit	1.43
Bounce Rate	76.12%

Screenshot 10 - Estimation of traffic from Suavelos.eu using Similarweb.com

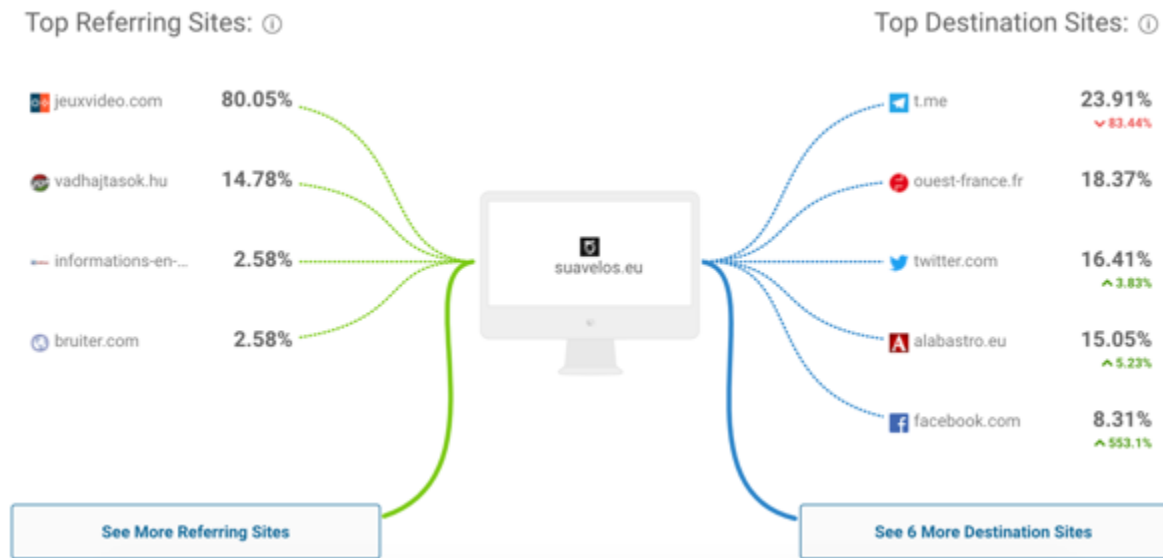
The same tool also indicates that 60% of the traffic comes from social media platforms. Through closer inspection, on SimilarWeb's Social Media acquisition, Facebook represents 80% of the total social media traffic, showing how effective Suavelos.eu is recruiting visitors through Facebook.

Social ⓘ



Screenshot 11 - Estimation of traffic brought to Suavelos.eu through social platforms

Regarding source and destinations, we also notice that 23,91% of visitors leaving the Suavelos.eu website then go towards Telegram. With our visits, we found traces of links pointing to Suavelos founder Yann Merkado's Telegram open channel, but also to white supremacist English-speaking channels. Additionally, we noticed that 15% of outgoing visitors went to Alabastro.eu, an online shop selling white supremacist goods.



Screenshot 12 - Estimation of referring sites and outgoing visits for Suavelos.eu

Technology and analytics

We collected the following information [using the BuiltWith service which assessed the presence of similar Google Analytics tracking code](#). This method has been used in the past, for instance, by Lawrence Alexander from Global Voices to uncover a network of pro-Kremlin websites.¹⁶

In this specific case, we found out that suavelos.eu used the Google Analytics tracking code **ua-64289795**, which was also shared with the other following websites:

- Bellica.fr;
- Buzzbeed.com (parody of buzzfeed.com);
- Fluideracial.com (racist “parody” of Comics magazine *Fluide Glacial*);
- [NotreQuotidien.fr](#) (a website active in 2017 that used the same formatting for articles as suavelos.eu).

We used the same methodology as above with Advertisement tracking codes, and found that the following Google AdSense tag **pub-2055725173359767** was shared with these websites:

- Alabastro.eu an online shop to buy “white nationalists” t-shirts;

¹⁶ <https://globalvoices.org/2015/07/13/open-source-information-reveals-pro-kremlin-web-campaign/>

- Laenia.com (an empty website with an online shop template);
 - Portetescouilles.com (closest translation would be “hold onto your balls”), whis is an inactive domain;
 - ARPAC.eu: the website of a registered non-profit organisation advocating to lift regulation on gun control in France.
- We found 32 other advertisements services hosted on this website.

The broader Suavelos network and its narratives

To learn more about the suavelos.eu domain, we collected the following data:

- The domain is hosted on OVH;
- The owner’s identity is protected;
- The IP Address of the server is 94.23.253.173, which is shared with 20 other domains. The relative low number of websites hosted on this IP address could indicate that they all belong to the same people, and are hosted on the same private server.

Reverse IP results for suavelos.eu (94.23.253.173)
 =====

There are 22 domains hosted on this server.
 The complete listing of these is below:

Domain	Last Resolved Date
alabastro.eu	2019-07-30
albanova.org	2019-07-26
bellica.eu	2018-08-21
buzzbeed.com	2019-08-02
dames-et-garces.com	2018-12-11
decris-ton-porc.com	2019-07-07
draguecourtoise.com	2019-07-22
feminisme-blanc.com	2019-03-30
fluideracial.com	2019-08-02
jesoutienslapolice.com	2018-12-10
la-ligne-claire.com	2019-04-22
laenia.com	2019-05-30
legorafaf.fr	2019-07-27
occidentalisme.com	2019-07-22
petition-action.com	2019-07-22
stophoplophobie.com	2019-07-22
suavelos-oppidum.com	2019-03-05
suavelos.eu	2019-08-02
viedeblanc.com	2019-03-19
white-feminism.com	2019-04-16
wiki-europe.org	2019-07-26
yanmerkado.com	2019-07-22

Screenshot 13 - Reverse IP from Suavelos.eu

Collectively, these results led us to make the following remarks:

- The fact that both Suavelos websites and domains share the same Google Analytics/Advertisement tags (e.g. bellica.eu) or links (e.g. alabastro.eu) indicates that these websites are managed by the same team;
- The presence of both these Suavelos websites and the jesoutienslapolice.com domain indicates that the similar Facebook page is managed by Suavelos in an attempt to mislead its followers;
- The presence of a domain called Yannmerkado.com, which is the same name as Suavelos' the co-founder, could indicate ownership of this server.

We will now describe the narratives covered by these websites.

Racism and white nationalism

Generally, the Suavelos network is driven by the great replacement ideology, described as a replacement of the European “white” population by sub-Saharan and African populations¹⁷. This is very often attributed to white nationalist right-wing conspiracy-theory supporters, as it allegedly explains “how this replacement is desired and planned, either by ‘the politicians’ or ‘the elite,’ whichever connotes Jewishness more effectively”.¹⁸

The Suavelos network seems to be ideologically linked to the racism movement, which stipulates races are not equal. This theory¹⁹ has first been developed by the extreme-right in France, especially the GRECE movement in the 1970s, and the later identarian movement.

On Suavelos' server, we found domains inextricably linked to this ideology such as:

- Domains linked on Suavelos website or with Suavelos imagery: alabastro.eu, suavelos.oppidum.com, occidentalisme.com;
- Domain on white nationalism: viedeb blanc.com;
- Domain in English linked to “racial progressivism”: albanova.org (“new dawn”)

Suavelos' co-founder Daniel Conversano has a background of supporting extreme-right communities, describing himself as an “uncomplex fascist”. He regularly posts far-right pictures.

¹⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Great_Replacement

¹⁸ Baldauf, Johannes (2017). *Toxische Narrative: Monitoring rechts-alternativer Akteure*. Berlin: Amadeu Antonio Stiftung. p. 11. ISBN 978-3-940878-29-8. OCLC 1042949000

¹⁹ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Racism>



Screenshot 14 - Twitter profile of Daniel Conversano



Screenshot 15 - Daniel Conversano's public profile on Minds.com: "There are pictures that recomfort you"

Daniel Conversano actively promotes *Guerre Civile Raciale*²⁰ ("Racial Civil War"), a book written by Guillaume Faye, a French extreme-right author²¹.

White feminism and the place of women

Another dominant narrative promoted by the Suavelos network is linked to the notion of 'white feminism'.

This ideology is widely debated amongst far-right supporters as it uses feminism to reject:

- Masculinists and the Incel movement²², regularly accused of killing white women,²³ who are considered as enemies of a "steady family", which is a criterion for having ethnically white babies;

²⁰ <http://guillaume-faye.fr/>

²¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guillaume_Faye

²² <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Incel>

²³ <https://www.yannmerkado.com/terrorisme-femicide-bianca-decapitee-par-un-incele-de-4chan-avec-un-grand-soutien-sur-internet/>

- “Non-white” populations (Arabs, Africans, and Asian ethnicities), because of an alleged sexist culture/heritage. For instance, a video from Solveig Mineo²⁴ on 15 feminist reasons to refuse migrants, asserts (among other things) that “60% of Algerian women consider wife beating as normal”. In addition, she also declares “Would you like to live among people educating their children like this?”, or “Afghans are not as feminists as French”.



Screenshot 16 - Screenshot of SolveigMineo.com, 15 reasons why feminist should refuse migrants. The website clearly indicates she also runs the websites Bellica and Radio Chaton.

It is also very interesting to notice that Catholicism (but also Islam) is often attacked because of its historical background of not supporting women’s rights. Already described by Rahila Gupta in 2011, this hijacking of secularism is an attempt to appropriate national identity, a strategy already implemented in France by Bloc Identitaire, or SIOE (Stop Islamisation Of Europe) in the UK.²⁵

²⁴ <https://www.solveigmineo.com/15-raisons-feministes-de-refuser-les-migrants/>

²⁵ <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/feminism-and-soul-of-secularism/>



Screenshot 17 - Yann Merkado's Telegram public channel: "Bilou will have to go back to his country because this is France's future: feminist and racist"

At the same time, scientific progresses such as artificial insemination are seen as beneficial as they're allegedly allowing white people to increase birth rates in Europe, contributing to the defeat of "The Great Replacement".

On this server, we noticed the presence of the following domains all linked to bellica.eu: white-feminism.com, bellica.eu, feminisme-blanc.com, decris-ton-porc.com, dames-et-garces.com. Some of these websites regularly quote one another and/or share each other's publications, especially *Madame Suavelos*, *Bellica.fr*²⁶ and other projects led by Solveig Mineo such as *Radio Chaton*²⁷.

"Parody" websites using similar domain names

The Suavelos network also promotes (through their hosting or through content acceleration) different websites spoofing authentic media.

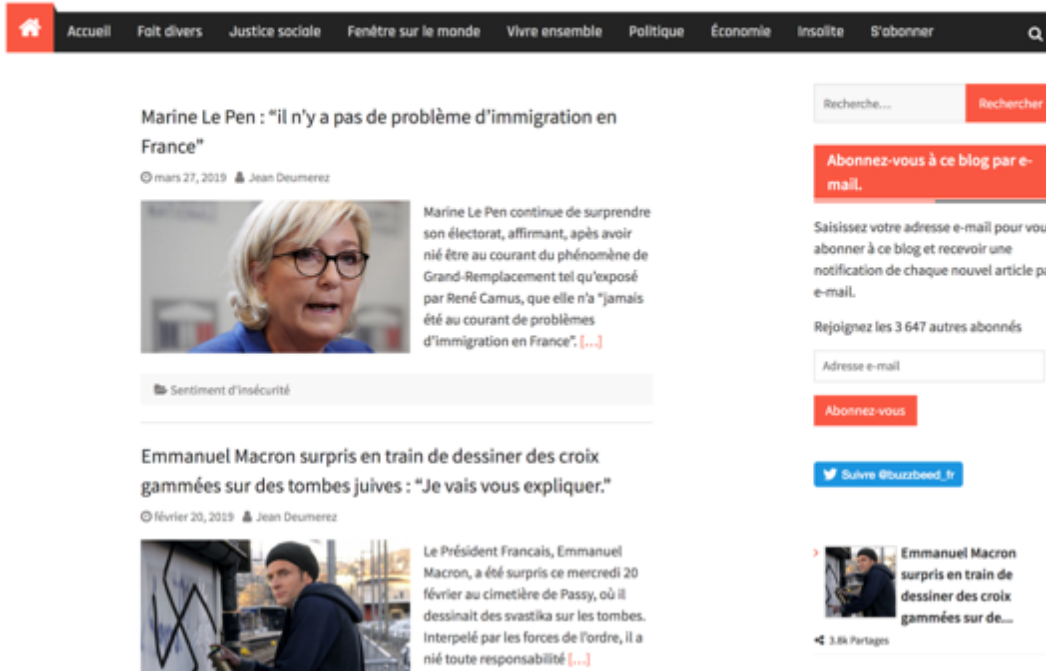
The first one is buzzbeed.com²⁸, whose name is the counterpart of buzzfeed.com (with a play on words to indicate beed as "bide" in French, a slang word meaning a failed joke). This self-proclaimed parody website has copied the design of buzzfeed.com, and it promotes stories matching extreme-right narratives. On the homepage, we observed the latest stories published:

- During the European Parliamentary elections, Emmanuel Macron was caught tagging swastikas on Jewish tombs;
- The Strasbourg terrorist attacker is the victim of a misunderstanding. The story unfolds by explaining that he committed this terrorist attack only because he felt inadequately integrated into French society.

²⁶ <https://archive.fo/wCqpH>

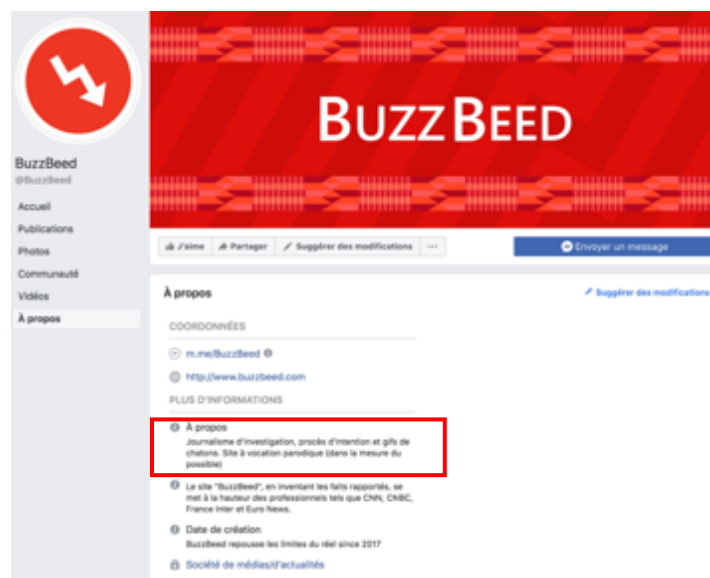
²⁷ <https://twitter.com/RadioChaton>

²⁸ An archived version is available here <https://archive.fo/a0bR6>



Screenshot 18 - Buzzbeed.com homepage

Stories from buzzbeed.com have been shared through Twitter and Facebook. It is important to note that the Facebook page of Buzzbeed is still active. Its description mentions its parodical aims, claiming that “by inventing facts, buzzbeed.com is following the standards of CNN, MSNBC, Euro News, and France Inter”, thus criticising major media.



Screenshot 19 - Screenshot of BuzzBeed Facebook page

Moreover, *Buzzbeed* shares posts from another Facebook page named *legorafaf*, a domain hosted by the Suavelos network. On Twitter, the *Buzzbeed* account is suspended²⁹.

Similar to *Buzzbeed*, the website *legorafaf.fr* is a clear reference to *LeGorafafi.fr*, a parody website from *LeFigaro.fr*. The stories promoted by this website clearly aim to laugh at the expense of other far-right groups, websites, or individuals, some of them promoting ideas that do not always fit Suavelos' like *fdesouche.com* or Boris Le Lay, for instance.

Le Gorafaf stories are also promoted through a Facebook page³⁰, still active, albeit with a very limited audience.

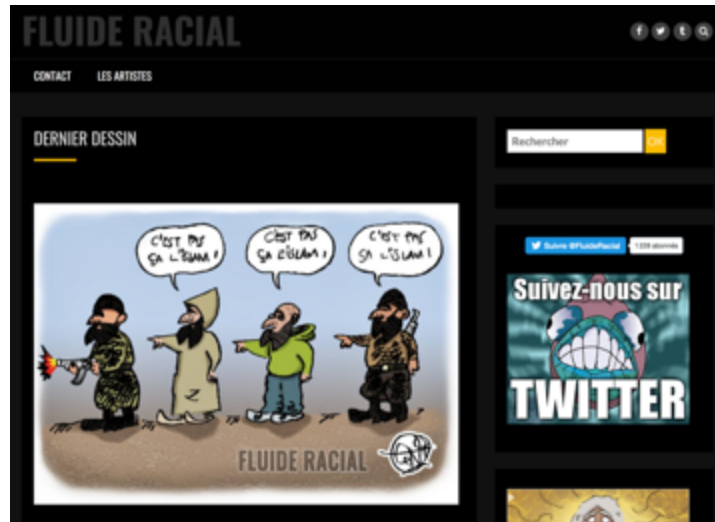


Screenshot 20 - Homepage of *LeGorafaf.fr* and its Facebook page

In a very different strategy, the Suavelos network also hosts the far-right comics website *Fluide Racial*. *Fluide Racial* is a reference to *Fluide Glacial*, a French weekly comic magazine with a very libertarian perspective. *Fluide Racial* is an extreme-right comic version, where far-right artists push racist comic strips.

²⁹ <https://twitter.com/BuzzBeed>

³⁰ <https://fr-fr.facebook.com/legorafaf/>



Screenshot 21 - Homepage of FluideRacial.com



Screenshot 22 - "A 'woman' might currently be a 'victim' of what could be 'delinquents'. Let's wait to be sure."

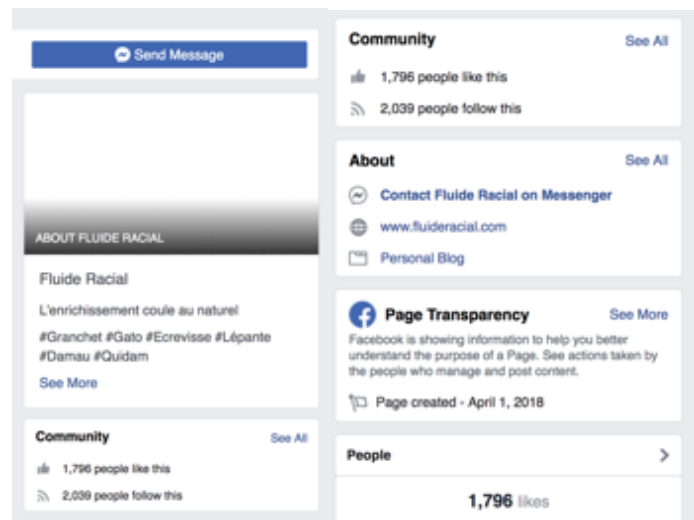
It is interesting to note that *Fluide Racial's* content, even with its very hateful tone, is still able to amplify through its Twitter account, even receiving retweets from far-right individuals such as Julien Rochedy.³¹

³¹ https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Julien_Rochedy



Screenshot 23 - Fluide racial masculinist comic strip tweeted by Julien Rochedy.

Fluide Racial's Facebook page³² was active for at least a year before being taken down by Facebook.



Screenshot 24 - Archive of Fluide Racial Facebook page

Political activities and civic engagement

In parallel to these domains, Suavelos members are politically active, hosting domains such as la-ligne-claire.com, which is the webpage of the political movement *La Ligne Claire*, led by Great Replacement promoter Renaud Camus, whom collectively campaigned during the European Parliamentary elections.³³ We did notice, for instance, that the official Twitter page of this movement points to the domain hosted on Suavelos' server.

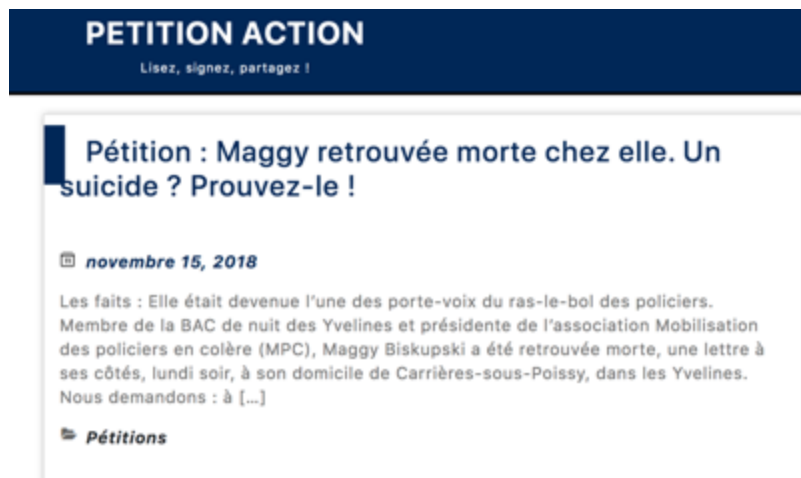
³² <https://archive.fo/hYZkF>

³³ <https://www.ouest-france.fr/elections/europeennes/elections-europeennes-la-liste-des-candidats-de-la-ligne-claire-6335685>



Screenshot 25 - Twitter account of La Ligne Claire³⁴

Again, on the same web server, we also noticed another domain aiming to allow the creation and amplification of online petitions: petition-action.com. This domain was designed to support police officers and calls for the halting of immigration. The website does not seem to have been updated since November 2018. The last petition asked public authorities to prove the cause of the death of a policewoman, suggesting her suicide might not be the real reason.



Screenshot 26 - Homepage of Petition-Action.com

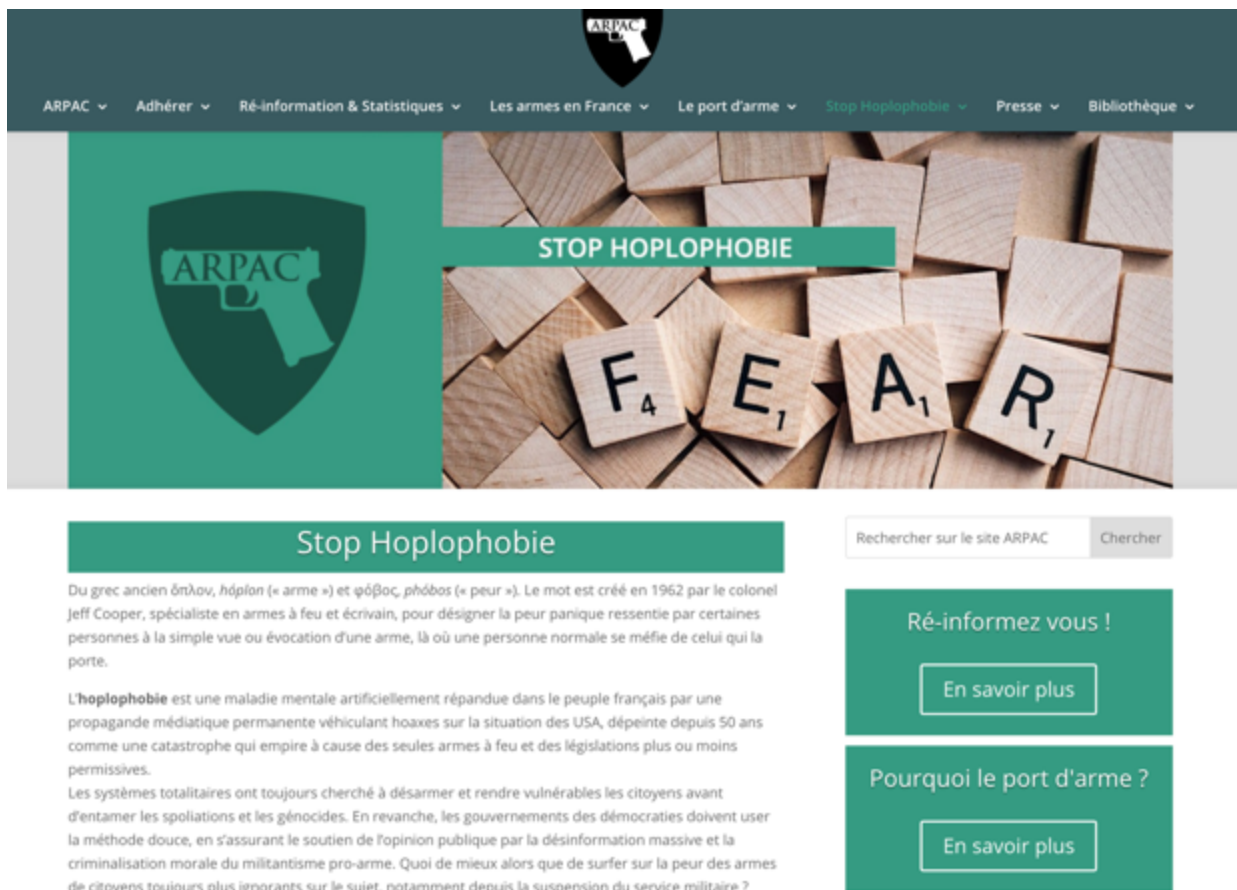
We feel these narratives are very close to the ones observed on the Facebook page “I support the police”, with a visible stand to support legitimate authority in order to attract audiences.

Support for guns

The last narrative we observed on the Suavelos network supports the use of guns by civilians and advocates to stop “hoplophobia” (guns phobia): stophoplophobie.com. The content and its formatting are similar to the content posted on suavelos.com. Clear

³⁴ Archive available here: <https://archive.fo/eNSOC>

editorial lines claim that actual gun control is “a joke” because of its inefficiency,³⁵ or show how armed citizens have succeeded in saving people lives in mass shootings.³⁶ These narratives are very similar to the ones published by the non-profit organisation Arpac, which could be described as the French equivalent to the U.S. NRA. It shares the same Google Analytics tracking code with Suavelos.eu. On this website, we do notice the presence of a *Stop Hoplophobie*³⁷ page.



Screenshot 27 - Webpage of Arpac.Eu mentioning stop hoplophobia

The website claims “*hoplophobia is a mental disease artificially spread in French people’s minds through permanent mediatic propaganda*”. The website also claims that “*totalitarian regimes always try to unarm citizens in order to start spoliations and genocides*” whereas “*democratic governments try to frighten citizens who have weapons through propaganda*”, suggesting that both regimes are enemies of the citizens.

³⁵ <https://archive.fo/o/xdbsh/https://www.stophoplophobie.com/noisy-le-sec-un-lance-roquettes-rpg-18-decouvert-dans-un-immeuble/>

³⁶ <https://archive.fo/o/xdbsh/https://www.stophoplophobie.com/tallahassee-un-pratiquant-de-yoga-reussit-a-arreter-une-tuerie-de-masse-avec-un-balai/>

³⁷ <https://www.arpac.eu/stop-hoplophobie/>

Content Acceleration Strategy

The narratives of Suavelos' network, though very extreme, have managed to gain a significant attraction thanks to the content acceleration provided by the social platforms such as Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, Telegram, VKontakte, Minds, and others.

In July 2019, according to Visibrain, the Facebook pages of the core Suavelos network (Suavelos and Madame Suavelos) generated the following impact:

- 253 posts;
- 4.05 million impressions;
- 25,132 interactions including 5,952likes, 6,467 comments, and 12,713 shares.

On Twitter, during the same period, links pointing to the *Suavelos.eu* domain generated:

- 2,980 tweets (including retweets);
- 4.44 million impressions;
- 1,152 Twitter accounts interacting with this content.

On YouTube, the pages close to the Suavelos Network account for between 3,000 and 10,000 subscribers.

The implementation and enforcement of social platforms' community standards such as Facebook's³⁸ or Twitter's³⁹ harm classic content acceleration strategies, as very often, the pages are taken down due to the infringement of these community standards. Therefore, to avoid being taken down for infringement, the Suavelos network operated a diversification of the issues they claim to cover in order to hide their agenda, and gain attraction to influence a wider population. On one of their videos they explain their target is the "11 millions of French citizens who voted for Marine Le Pen"⁴⁰.

Facebook: the strategy of misleading pages

On Facebook, the Suavelos network has adopted a strategy by impersonating emotional causes to spread a very specific message: crime targeting white people committed by non-Europeans is rising, jeopardising the European civilisation. This strategy is a result of what has been described as the economy of emotions, "specifically, how emotions are leveraged to generate attention and

³⁸ https://www.facebook.com/communitystandards/hate_speech

³⁹ <https://help.twitter.com/en/rules-and-policies/hateful-conduct-policy>

⁴⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PG1nWmgzONs&t=7714s>

viewing time, which converts into advertising revenue.”⁴¹

The strategy of daily petty crimes

The official Suavelos pages have adopted a similar strategy to other far-right media. Instead of directly advocating for their ideas, they redistribute news in order to frame an agenda. Looking at Suavelos’ website and Facebook pages, the world in which we inhabit is depicted as follows:

- *There are dozens of daily attacks on white people, always perpetrated by migrants or non-white individuals;*
- *A significant part of these crimes are sexual crimes against white women;*
- *There is absolutely no reaction from the public authorities or measures taken by them to mitigate these issues;*
- *This is endangering the “European” or the “occidental” civilisation, which needs to be protected.*

These narratives are promoted through the posting of petty crime reports, collected in the press and through far-right news aggregators such as fdesouche.com. They are then posted on Suavelos’ Facebook pages.

Until 2018, this was done from another page. Accordingly, *Notre Quotidien* (“Our daily life”) is one of the web domains (notrequotidien.fr) previously hosted on Suavelos’ server. Its Facebook page, called *FaitDivers0*⁴² has 10,000 fans and was created on 17th March 2017.

⁴¹ Bakir, Vian & McStay, Andrew. (2017). Fake News and The Economy of Emotions: Problems, causes, solutions. *Digital Journalism*. 1-22. 10.1080/21670811.2017.1345645.

⁴² <https://archive.fo/9AVi0> « Fait Divers could be translated into Misc. News »



Screenshot 28 - Nearly identical timestamps between Notre Quotidien and Suavelos Facebook pages

It is also important to note that the *NotreQuotidien* page is sometimes used as a source of information for the “I support” pages, contributing to masking the actual information provider: the Suavelos network.



Screenshot 29 - "I support our healthcare workers" re-posting from Notre Quotidien, Facebook page and domain managed by the Suavelos network

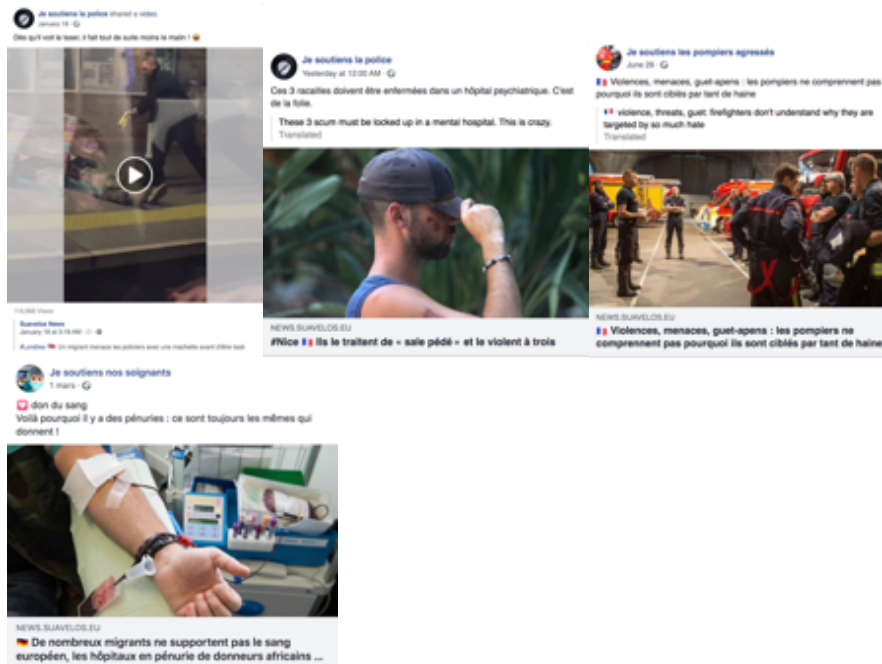
I support “our” civil servants

The second strategy implemented by the Suavelos network plays on the support for civil services, whose support has historically been strong in France⁴³. In acknowledging this, the Suavelos network created a network of pages officially proclaiming their support for public servants:

⁴³ <http://www.lefigaro.fr/flash-eco/2018/06/23/97002-20180623FILWWW00109-les-francais-attaches-aux-services-publics.php>

- *I support the police*⁴⁴, 172,000 fans, created on the 11th February 2017;
- *I support armed forces*⁴⁵, 12,000 fans created on the 19th February 2017;
- *I support healthcare workers*⁴⁶, created on the 23rd February 2017;
- *I support attacked firefighters*⁴⁷, created on the 13th December 2017.

These Facebook pages massively share *Suavelos.eu* content.



Screenshot 30 - "I support" network of Facebook pages

We were able to find these pages mainly by looking at the algorithmic recommendations from Facebook, displayed on the right side of the page. For instance, on the "*I support our armed forces*" page, the related page section indicates two other Suavelos pages. This clearly shows how Facebook's algorithm could support user polarisation and radicalisation.





⁴⁴ <https://archive.fo/bnwf2>

⁴⁵ <https://archive.fo/oCLDS>

⁴⁶ <https://archive.fo/OpcxG>

⁴⁷ <https://archive.fo/NwMNI>

Pages connexes

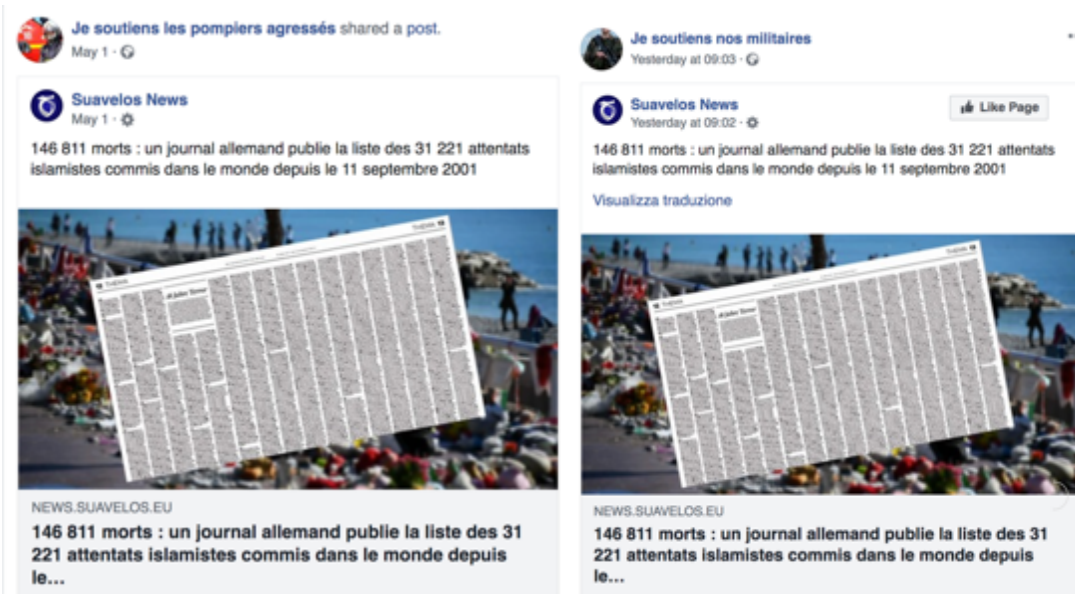
- 
Je soutiens les Forces de l'Ordre
 Site web d'actualités
- 
SOS Armée
 Organisation à but non lucratif
- 
Notre Quotidien
 Société de médias/d'actualités
- 
Madame Suavelos
 Magazine

Screenshot 31 - Related pages of "I support armed forces" Facebook page according to Facebook algorithm

Their own posts also have very close or identical timestamps, suggesting the same person/team is in charge of cross-publication on the different pages.



Screenshot 32 - Cross-posting between "I support our armed forces", "I support the police" and the Suavelos network



Screenshot 33 - Same article from suavelos.eu shared at the exact same time on two different Facebook pages

Stop violence and victimisation

In parallel to this movement to support public servants as victims, the Suavelos network also has pages dedicated to victims of violence, targeting what they perceive as oppressed minorities – women and white people. The victimisation argument is therefore used to attract people fighting against domestic violence and violence against white people with the following pages:

- *Stop hate against white people and women*⁴⁸, 5,000 fans, created on the 19th April 2016;
- *Stop violence against women*⁴⁹, 3,000 fans, created on the 15th March 2017.



Screenshot 34 - Similar timestamps between the Suavelos network and the Stop hate against whites and women page

⁴⁸ <https://archive.fo/VsDun>

⁴⁹ <https://archive.fo/okFgl>



Screenshot 35 - Similar timestamps between the Suavelos network and the Stop violence against women page

*I support victims of terrorism*⁵⁰, which has 900 fans and was created on 25th February 2017, also promotes Suavelos' content, serving narratives that claim that white people are victims of their good feelings who tend to forgive their aggressors.



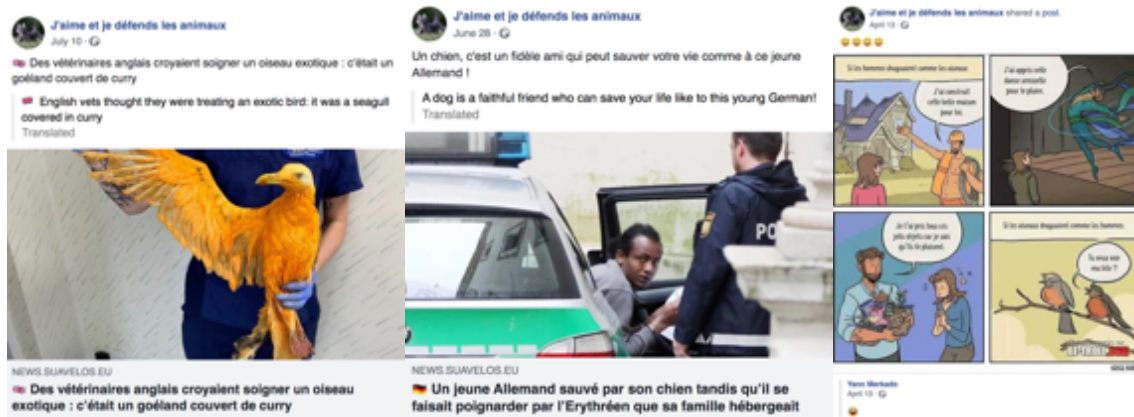
Screenshot 36 - *I support the terrorism victims' publications*

At the same time, in a more original tone, the “*I like and I defend pets*” Facebook page⁵¹, created on the 5th June 2017, gathers pictures of different domestic animals and articles against violence against animals. This strategy could derive from the new ecologist paradigm of the far-right described by Stéphane François⁵².

⁵⁰ <https://archive.fo/uZ4Jo>

⁵¹ <https://archive.fo/CVVp3>

⁵² https://www.lepoint.fr/presidentielle/pour-le-fn-l-ecologie-se-resume-a-caresser-les-caniches-des-memeres-13-10-2016-2075691_3121.php



Screenshot 37 – “I like and I defend pets” posting Suavelos and Yann Merkado content. The first publication shows how curry as waste material can hurt animals. The second publication shows how a dog can help a young German to be safe from a migrant. The third publication depicts how birds are better behaved than human beings which is conducive to a strong and healthy relationship.

White feminism

Following on from the white feminism narratives we previously described, we found a specific network of Facebook pages aiming to promote these narratives. Behind *Madame Suavelos*,⁵³ which is a clear reference to *Madame Figaro*,⁵⁴ a network animated by Solveig Mineo⁵⁵ is actively pushing white feminism content. It reshares the posts from the *Bellica.fr* Facebook page,⁵⁶ which is a website hosted on Suavelos’ server.

The narratives switch between attacks against Islam, the promotion of white women, including the appropriation of lesbian women to give birth by artificial insemination, or assertions such as “women’s freedoms are at stakes because of the ethnical replacement of white populations”.

⁵³ <https://archive.fo/n6S3q>

⁵⁴ https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madame_Figaro

⁵⁵ <https://archive.fo/RlaPW>

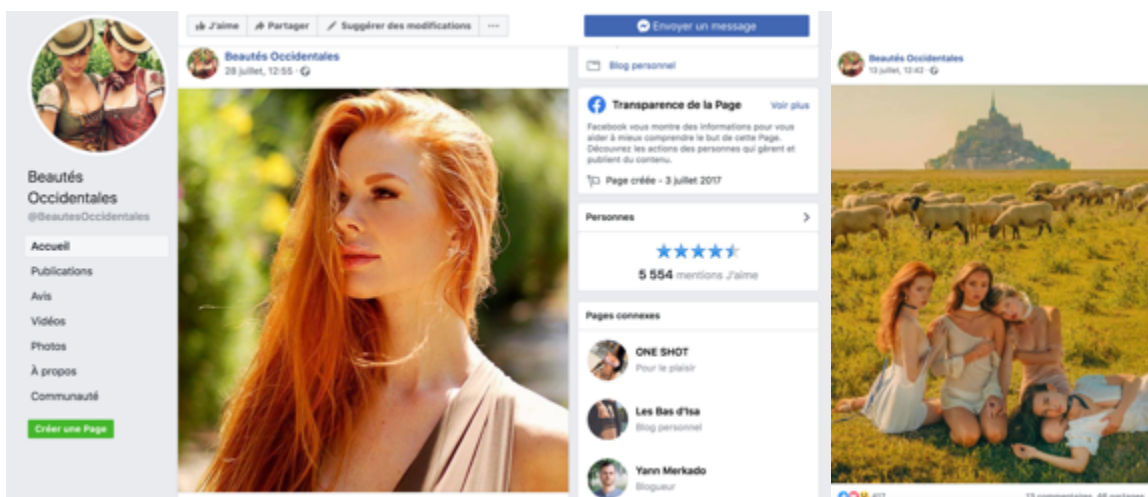
⁵⁶ <https://archive.fo/tNarY>



Screenshot 38 - Publications citing Suavelos.eu's white feminism narrative

French and European culture and pride

In parallel, the last narratives encourage and stimulate patriotism as well as the valorisation of occidental culture. The most iconic example of this strategy is the Occidental Beauties (*Beautés Occidentales*) Facebook page.⁵⁷



Screenshot 39 - Facebook page and random publication of Beautés Occidentales facebook page

Created on the 3rd July 2017, this Facebook page with 5,550 fans, even though it doesn't publish any Suavelos content, it is directly managed by Yann Merkado, as stipulated on his Telegram channel, where he reposts content from the Facebook page onto a dedicated channel. The publications only promote the same type of women – white, very often half naked, with no comments. It is interesting to note the contradiction and disruption between the so-called white feminism narrative pushed by *Bellica* and this particular Facebook page, which clearly objectifies women to serve the overarching white nationalism narrative.

⁵⁷ <https://archive.fo/QbNul>

On a different note, from looking at previous journalistic work by Suavelos' co-founder Daniel Conversano⁵⁸, we also found other Facebook pages promoting his work and the content produced by the Suavelos network. These pages push the patriotic button as they're called 'Vive la France'⁵⁹, 'Je suis Patriote'⁶⁰ and 'French Pride'⁶¹.



Screenshot 40 - Vive la France Facebook page is only posting Suavelos content



Screenshot 41 - Je suis Patriote Facebook pages quoting only other Suavelos Facebook pages

It is interesting to note that *French Pride*, active until 2018, only shared *Suavelos.eu* content with very close timestamps – often around 3:00 AM, reducing the probability of non-coordinated publication. The alias page is “*defendFrance*”, which is a name similar to the identarian group *DefendEuropa*⁶².

⁵⁸ Les Inrockuptibles, <https://www.lesinrocks.com/2018/08/19/actualite/politique/enquete-sur-daniel-conversano-le-youtubeur-supremaciste-la-tete-de-suavelos/>

⁵⁹ <https://archive.fo/zHd3r>, created on 20th June 2017, 12.000 fans

⁶⁰ <https://archive.fo/tn74A>, created on 20th February 2017, 8.000 fans

⁶¹ <https://archive.fo/4XiU9>, created on 5th June 2016, 100.000 fans

⁶² <https://www.defendevropa.com/>



Screenshot 42 - Defend France Facebook page quoting other Suavelos network Facebook pages

On a similar note, Daniel Conversano also manages a page called *Vive l'Europe*⁶³, publishing videos already posted on a similar YouTube channel⁶⁴.



Screenshot 43 - Vive l'Europe Facebook page

Calls for action and community building

In addition to pushing its own narratives, the Suavelos network also tries to engage with communities potentially sympathetic to their ideology. For instance, the website *Petition-Action* and its Facebook page⁶⁵ were designed to promote a petition in line with Suavelos' priorities. When the Yellow Jacket movement emerged, a "*I am Yellow vest*" Facebook page⁶⁶ was created and promoted through the *Petition-Action* page (its attribution to Suavelos' network is not clear).

⁶³ <https://archive.fo/4JIBj>

⁶⁴ These will be described later in the report.

⁶⁵ <https://archive.fo/6raNP>

⁶⁶ <https://archive.fo/KYurf>

Already during the 2017 presidential election, the Facebook page *Porte tes couilles et vote Marine 2017* (“Hold on to your balls and vote for Marine in 2017”), probably in reference to *portetescouilles.com* (a domain previously hosted on Suavelos’ server), advocated for the public to vote for the National Front.



Screenshot 44 - Publication of the Facebook page *Porte tes couilles*, sharing the same timestamp as “I support the police” Facebook page, promoting a link pointing to *NotreQuotidien.fr*, hosted on *Suavelos.eu*’s domain

Besides these calls to action, Suavelos also tries to organise its own community. To do so, the Facebook page *Occidentalisme*⁶⁷ has specialised in producing memes and other images to be shared amongst the white nationalist community. We can clearly observe that these memes use quotes, large titles, and watermarks to display attribution, and therefore, an awareness of the Suavelos brand.

⁶⁷ <https://archive.fo/kTW9U>



Screenshot 45 - Examples of Memes posted by Occidentalisme

In parallel, official private Facebook groups also strengthen the community, such as Oppidum:

- *Oppidum Blabla* for discussions⁶⁸
- *Oppidum Annonces* for classified ads⁶⁹

Unfortunately, we do not know what is happening inside these groups.

It is relevant to note that several of the Facebook pages we uncovered are managed from different locations such as France, Guadeloupe, and Romania, according to Facebook's transparency information. In view of this, according to his website, Yann Merkado was born Guadeloupe and had lived there for 20 years,⁷⁰ and Daniel Conversano currently lives in Romania.⁷¹ Most of the publications on the Suavelos network's Facebook pages are made very late at night, or in the early hours of the morning. This could be explained by their management from a different time zone, for instance, Guadeloupe has a 6-hour time difference with France.

Twitter: a minimal presence

Besides all official Suavelos network accounts, we did not find any traces of astroturfing on Twitter in using causes to promote Suavelos content, as the Suavelos network is doing on Facebook.

Traces from an account called Suavelos_fr, now suspended by Twitter around the 19th June 2019, can be found on Twitter's advanced search.

⁶⁸ <https://www.facebook.com/groups/oppidumblabla>

⁶⁹ <https://www.facebook.com/groups/oppidumannonces/>

⁷⁰ <https://www.yannmerkado.com/presentation/>

⁷¹ <https://archive.fo/FF6S4>

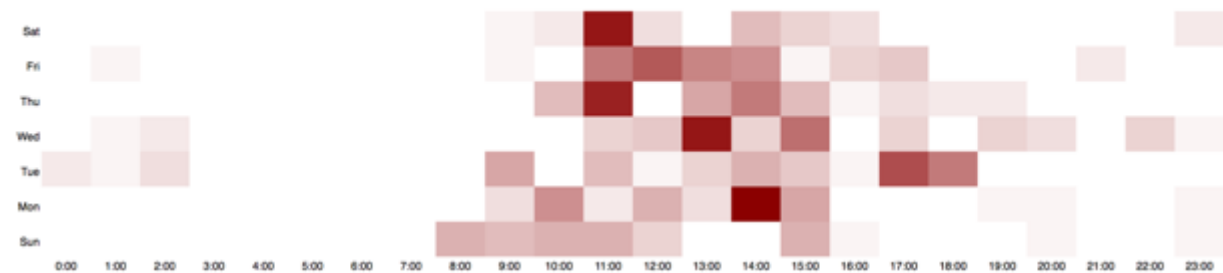


Account suspended
 Twitter suspends accounts which violate the [Twitter Rules](#)

Screenshot 46 – Suavelos_fr account suspended by Twitter

Another Twitter account, Suavelos_eu, created in September 2015, is still active. On Twitter, amplification seems to be automated for this Suavelos account, perhaps through tweeting directly from WordPress. In July 2019, out of the 396 tweets from Suavelos_eu’s Twitter account, 383 were posted through WordPress.com’s service, a service that publishes tweets automatically.

Daily Rhythm of @suavelos_eu



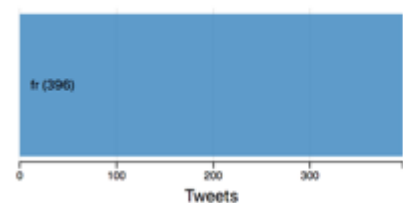
Tweetvolume by Date [reset](#)



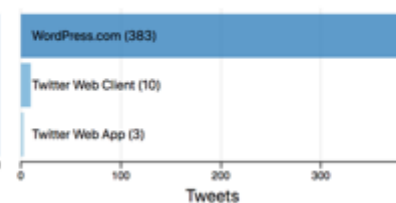
Day of Week



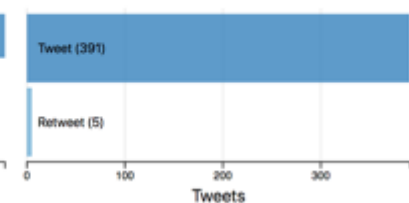
Languages of Tweets



Used Interfaces



Types of Tweets



Screenshot 47 - Account analysis of Suavelos_eu, using Luca Hammer

Behind Suavelos’ Twitter account, most of the amplification is achieved by very active anonymous accounts. What we found particularly interesting is that, during July 2019, we noticed a small amplification of two stories in Spain through extreme-right media.



Screenshot 48 - Spanish amplification of Suavelos.eu content

This is very interesting as Suavelos' content is not translated into Spanish, and the content does not involve any Spanish people or specific Spanish themes.

Telegram: the switch to encrypted messaging apps

Principles of Telegram

Telegram is an application allowing people to communicate through end-to-end encryption. Its service can be divided in the following services:

- A private conversation between two users;
- A public distribution channel from an individual user;
- A private distribution channel from an individual user;
- A group discussion (public or private).

The use of Telegram by the far-right and other extremist groups such as jihadists has been well documented. It is also known that French presidential party *La République en marche* is using Telegram as a mobilisation tools for its activists⁷². In this way, Telegram plays a strong role in enabling recruitments, calls to action, and the funding of these groups⁷³.

Telegram is clearly the most active content accelerator of the Suavelos network. Both the Suavelos channel and YannMerkado's⁷⁴ own public channels are directly accessible from any Suavelos article. These channels require followers to download Telegram onto their phones and join the channels in order to receive updates. **All of these publications are public.**

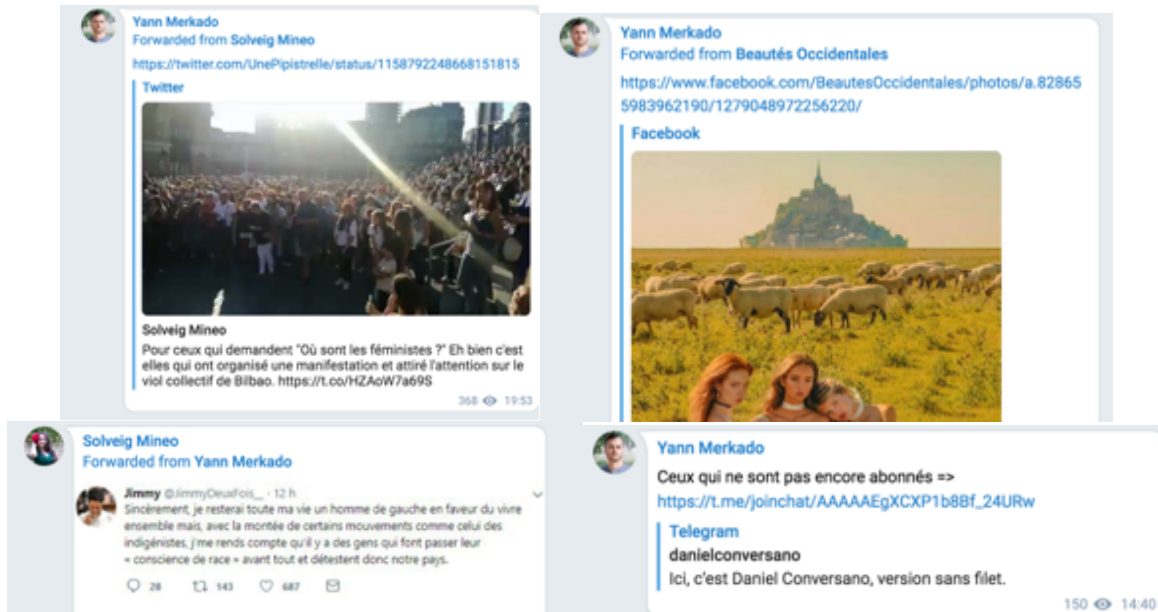
Suavelos' strategy on Telegram

The Suavelos founders' different public channels very often quote one another.

⁷² <https://www.lejdd.fr/Politique/macron-comment-la-messagerie-cryptee-telegram-est-utilisee-au-coeur-du-pouvoir-3612632>

⁷³ <https://eeradicalization.com/far-right-extremism-on-telegram-a-brief-overview/>

⁷⁴ <https://t.me/s/yannmerkado>



Screenshot 49 - Cross-quote of the Suavelos network

We notice the tone of voice is clearly more oriented towards the overarching ideology of the Suavelos network: white nationalism and racialism. We navigated back in the time to the Christchurch terrorist attack to analyse links posted around these days:



Screenshot 50 - 15th March 2019 (day of the attack): Merkado provides a link to the live video of the terrorist attack



Screenshot 51 - 17th March 2019: Mercado compares a Matteo Salvini picture with one of the Christchurch terrorist making the OK gesture, a gesture that has been appropriated by white supremacists in the past years.⁷⁵



Screenshot 52 – 17th March 2019: “Killing Muslims in a mosque is not fair play, it’s spawnkill”. “Spawnkill” is a reference to First-person shooter video games where players can virtually kill defenceless players in the game.



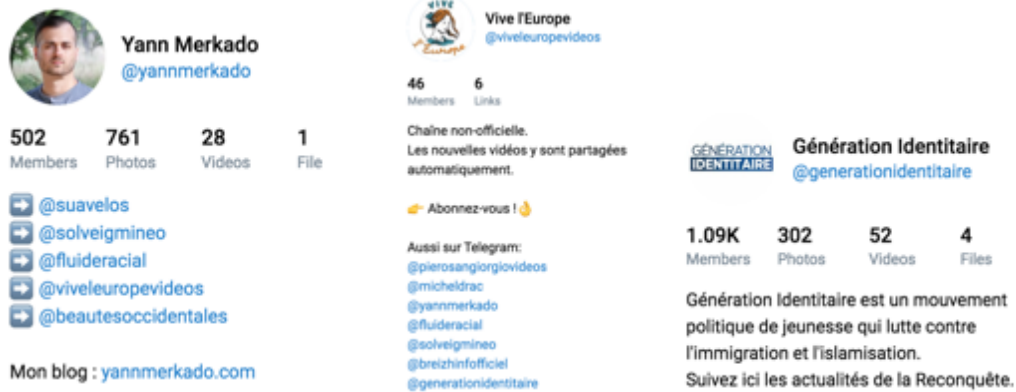
Screenshot 53 – 18th March 2019: A link to the Suavelos website: “what beautiful European music is used in the Christchurch killing”

Telegram is also used by the network’s other domains such as *Fluide Racial*⁷⁶ and *Vive l’Europe*⁷⁷. Yann Mercado also manages a channel called “*Beautés Occidentales*” already described before.

⁷⁵ <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-48293817>

⁷⁶ <https://t.me/s/fluidracial>

⁷⁷ <https://t.me/s/viveuropevideos>



Screenshot 54 - Telegram public channels recommending other channels to follow

It is also very interesting to note that the *Suavelos.eu* article on the El Paso white supremacist shooting⁷⁸ references “*Enlightenment links*,” which is another Telegram channel⁷⁹ that appears like an international Telegram channel of white supremacists, confirming links between groups on an international level.

Plusieurs personnes ont été tuées et d'autres blessées dans une fusillade samedi dans une zone commerciale d'El Paso, au Texas, selon les autorités de cette ville du sud des Etats-Unis, qui ont précisé que trois suspects avaient été interpellés.

Source : lesoir.be

Rumeurs sur l'identité du tueur : ce serait un émule du tireur de Christchurch Brenton Tarrant.



Screenshot 55 - Links between Suavelos and Enlightenment links Telegram group

YouTube: the ideology-building tool

We did find a *Suavelos France* Youtube account with 4,900 subscribers since 14th August 2016, but it seems that no videos have been posted on this channel⁸⁰.

⁷⁸ <https://news.suavelos.eu/fusillade-dans-un-supermarche-del-paso-22-morts-et-3-suspects-en-garde-a-vue/>

⁷⁹ <https://t.me/s/Thecelticempire/13130>

⁸⁰ <https://archive.fo/flRuM>

YouTube is also used by the Suavelos network to promote their ideology using long videos and interviews, especially with Suavelos' co-founder Daniel Conversano. In response to Youtube's new terms of use implemented in June 2019, Daniel Conversano announced that he had made some of his videos private to avoid the removal of his channels⁸¹. Therefore, we are unsure whether the total number of views on his channel reflects all the videos or only the public ones.

By searching Daniel Conversano's name on YouTube, we found the following channels:

- *Vive l'Europe*⁸², 10,100 subscribers, 2,200,000 cumulated views, live since 31st March 2016;
- *Daniel Conversano*⁸³, 8,600 subscribers, 185,000 cumulated views, live since 12th February 2017;
- *Daniel Conversano*⁸⁴, 800 subscribers, 6,624 cumulated views, live since 22nd January 2009;
- *Danny Hebdo*⁸⁵, 2,700 subscribers, 576,000 cumulated views, live since 1st February 2015;
- *Editions Conversano*⁸⁶, 13,000 subscribers, 15,000 cumulated views, live since 1st February 2016;
- *Daniel Didier*⁸⁷, 1,164 subscribers, 41,000 cumulated views, live since 30th August 2013;
- *Frequence Occident*⁸⁸, 2,400 subscribers, 172,000 cumulated views, live since 13th June 2018;

These channels are very often used to post long videos (between 40 min-2hrs) of interview with figures who are close to the white nationalist movement or belong to it.

The *Vive l'Europe* channel is described as "the rendez-vous for the new dissidence (rational, racist and remigrationist)".

⁸¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mA54elp0Ubl>

⁸² <https://archive.fo/ZxG3E>

⁸³ <https://archive.fo/BfKJl>

⁸⁴ <https://archive.fo/lynOc>

⁸⁵ <https://archive.fo/ry4yK>

⁸⁶ <https://archive.fo/dHKln>

⁸⁷ <https://archive.fo/yRHDB>

⁸⁸ <https://archive.fo/WpH1z>



Vive L'Europe

Ajoutée le 26 mai 2019

Faites de cette émission LE rendez-vous de la nouvelle dissidence (rationnelle, raciale, remigrationniste), en m'aidant à la continuer par un don : <https://fr.tipeee.com/vive-l-europe>

Où se procurer le livre de J-C. Rolinat, passionnant mais effrayant aussi : <https://www.laprocure.com/bombe-afric...>

Parlez de Vive l'Europe autour de vous, et abonnez-vous à la chaîne. On est ENCORE en dessous de 10 000 abonnés, mince, quand même !

Catégorie **Voyages et événements**

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MOINS

Screenshot 56 - Description of a video from Vive l'Europe clearly indicating its racist nature

Vive L'Europe serves as a platform for Daniel Conversano to invite authors and individuals such as members of the different French far-right groups. For instance, in the last 8 months, Daniel Conversano has offered space to:

- Thomas Ferrier⁸⁹ (also known as Thomas Stahler), a far-right author;⁹⁰
- Maurice Gendre⁹¹, a lecturer on a conference named “The Soros empire,” regularly quoted by national-socialist organisation *Egalité et Réconciliation*;⁹²
- Jean-Claude Rolinat⁹³, member of an extreme-right party (the France Party);⁹⁴
- Jean-Yves le Gallou⁹⁵, founder of the *Polemia* think tank, dedicated to “reinforming” French people;
- Pierre Vial⁹⁶, president of *Terre et Peuple* (Land and People) an identarian party.⁹⁷

⁸⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6991XPctfcM>

⁹⁰

https://web.archive.org/web/20170518170638/https://voxn.com/cc/dt_autres/EpyAlAVVyRHKykwAA.shtml

⁹¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dgp0IfUgKM>

⁹² <https://www.egaliteetreconciliation.fr/Maurice-Gendre.html>

⁹³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=38sKOsYf27c>

⁹⁴ https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean-Claude_Rolinat

⁹⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9VcCyN4iJJs>

⁹⁶ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NrTlzU_hYb4

⁹⁷ https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Terre_et_Peuple

On his other channels, the majority of videos focus on Daniel Conversano sharing his views on Europe, elections, or his agenda for the next weeks⁹⁸.

On a more communitarian note, his channel *Frequence Occident* announced that it will host many different identarian radio shows.⁹⁹

Vkontakte: minimal activity

The Suavelos network is also active on the Russian platform VKontakte (VK), albeit with a very limited audience and engagement:

- 510 fans¹⁰⁰;
- Very few interactions with the content (from 1 to 5 likes), and around 50 views for each piece of content posted.



Screenshot 57 - Suavelos VK homepage

It seems that the posting process on VKontakte is automated, as we found an app called “Suavelos autoposter” that only posts Suavelos content on its VK profile.

⁹⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s0PpGb3nZDo>

⁹⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m8exXF1wvV8>

¹⁰⁰ <https://vk.com/suavelos>



Screenshot 58 - Suavelos content posted on VK through the Suavelos Autoposter app

Financial incentives

The question of Suavelos' financial costs can be broken down along the following budget lines:

- Structural costs to maintain websites;
- Human resources costs to produce content every day and accordingly post it (10-15 articles per day);
- Human resources and costs to sustain the group's activities.

Direct funding

It seems logical to assume that the Suavelos network tries to fund itself through the community and/or other services.

Edelweiss – the white communitarian camp

In 2017, 2018,¹⁰¹ and in 2019¹⁰², Suavelos organised the Edelweiss camp, a gathering in the countryside only for white people belonging to Suavelos' network.

¹⁰¹ <https://www.suavelos.eu/toutes-informations-5-jours-edelweiss/>

¹⁰² <https://www.suavelos.eu/pourquoi-vous-devriez-venir-au-camp-edelweiss-avec-nous/>

Les 5 (ou 3) jours Edelweiss, se dérouleront du 13 au 18 Juillet 2018, à environ 100 km de Lyon.

Notez bien ce qui va suivre afin de ne rien oublier (une fois sur place, ce ne sera plus le moment de vérifier), en gros c'est très simple :

Vous aurez besoin de votre matériel de camping (couverts, duvet, vêtements d'été ET quelques vêtements chauds, chaussure de randonnée, maillot de bain, serviettes, short ...)

Le thème du séjour sera "Comment protéger et aider les blancs sauvables".

Screenshot 59 - Announcement of the 2018 Edelweiss camp on Suavelos.eu, with the official theme: "How to protect and help salvable white people"

As described in the press¹⁰³, the first Edelweiss camp focused on activities such as knife and sword fighting, with the aim to train "Übermenschen", in a clear reference to Nietzsche's work¹⁰⁴. For this year's edition, in order to participate in the Edelweiss camp, Suavelos members were asked to confirm by email and pay €190 to participate. Unfortunately, details of the payment process were not publicly available.

A PayPal monthly subscription

On its Support Us page¹⁰⁵, Suavelos.eu encourages its followers to financially support the website. The first option proposed is to fund the network through a monthly payment, secured by PayPal.



Screenshot 60 - Support us webpage on Suavelos.eu, allowing multiple amounts for monthly support and links to Tipee platform

¹⁰³ <https://www.lesinrocks.com/2018/07/25/actualite/politique/chants-racistes-combat-au-couteau-formation-dun-surhomme-plongee-dans-les-camps-dete-de-lextreme-droite/>

¹⁰⁴ See this review of William L Shirer, The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich, <https://web.archive.org/web/20120313191954/http://econ161.berkeley.edu/tceh/Nietzsche.html>

¹⁰⁵ <https://archive.fo/R6G8s>

The website proposes four different choices of support:

- Support: €5/month;
- Friendly support: €10/month;
- Fraternal support: €20/month;
- Generous support: €50/month (which generated an error on the PayPal service when tested).

Suavelos



Screenshot 61 - Paypal landing page indicating monthly financial support to Suavelos

It is interesting to flag that, since August 2017 (after Charlottesville incidents), PayPal reinforced its Acceptable use policy, declaring that the company “works to ensure [their] service is not used to accept payments or donations to activities that promote hate, violence, or racial intolerance”¹⁰⁶.

The events in Charlottesville are yet another disturbing example of the many forms that racism and hatred manifest. Prejudice, however, does not always march in the street. Intolerance can take on a range of on-line and off-line forms, across a wide array of content and language. It is with this backdrop that PayPal strives to navigate the balance between freedom of expression and open dialogue -- and the limiting and closing of sites that accept payments or raise funds to promote hate, violence and intolerance.

PayPal has a longstanding, well-defined and consistently enforced **Acceptable Use Policy** that governs our approach to this issue. Regardless of the individual or organization in question, we work to ensure that our services are not used to accept payments or donations for activities that promote hate, violence or racial intolerance. This includes organizations that advocate racist views, such as the KKK, white supremacist groups or Nazi groups. If we

Screenshot 62 - PayPal update on Acceptable Use Policy

¹⁰⁶ <https://www.paypal.com/stories/us/paypals-aup-remaining-vigilant-on-hate-violence-intolerance>

In light of this, we believe that Suavelos' use of Paypal to fund its activities likely represents a breach of PayPal's Acceptable use policy.

Funding specific projects through Tipeee

The "Support Suavelos" webpage also encourages followers to support both Daniel Conversano¹⁰⁷ and Yann Merkado¹⁰⁸ through Tipeee. Tipeee is a French website with the purpose of donating money to web creators.¹⁰⁹

On Yann Merkado's Tipeee page (see below), he affirms that he is not paid by other people or political fees, and instead requests to be funded by the community. On his page, he clearly describes Suavelos and white communitarian activities he intends to fund through his Tipeee channel.

POURQUOI SUIS-JE SUR TIPEEE ?

Tenir Suavelos avec l'aide de Daniel Conversano et traduire en Français des vidéos anglaises prend du temps, et je ne suis payé ni par vos impôts, ni par vos cotisations politiques. Si vous m'aidez par quelques pourboires, je pourrai faire régulièrement des traductions de vidéos intéressantes en anglais.

Plus j'aurai de tipeeurs, plus je pourrai passer du temps à faire des traductions en Français de vidéos, et du temps sur Suavelos.

Grâce aux tipeurs et à l'envie de répandre l'Occidentalisme, j'ai pu faire une série d'articles de fond présentés au début de cette page tipeee. Merci à vous !

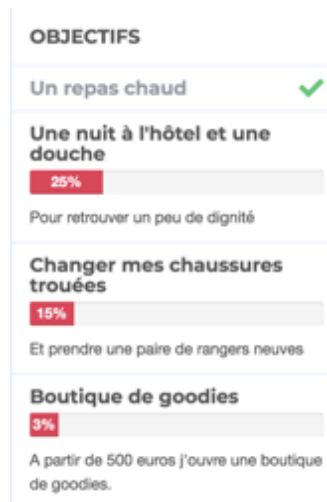
Screenshot 63 - Tipee page of Yann Merkado

In looking at the different choices of donation on Yann Merkado's page, we estimate that he has only received a very small amount of donations through Tipeee.

¹⁰⁷ <https://archive.fo/Jzpz0>

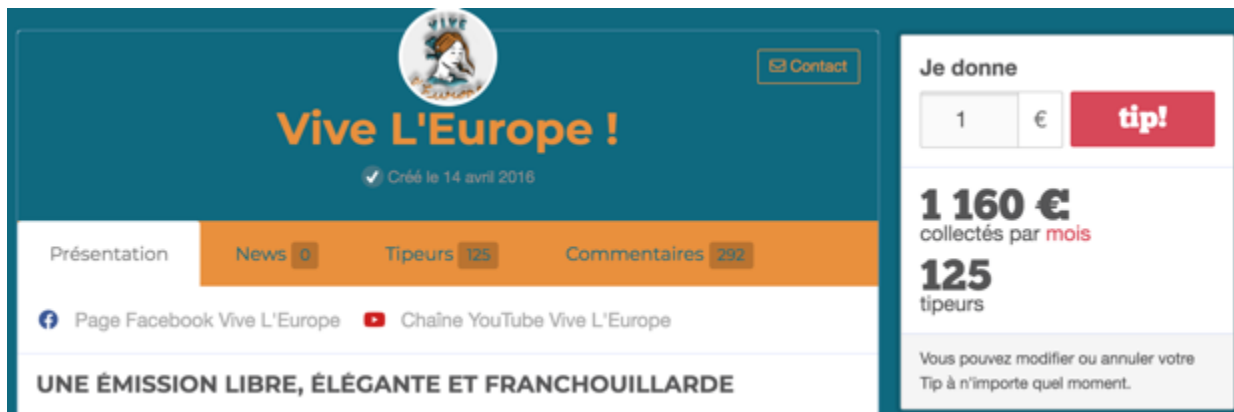
¹⁰⁸ <https://fr.tipeee.com/yann-merkado>

¹⁰⁹ <http://www.fr.tipeee.com>



Screenshot 64 - Tips received by Yann Merkado on Tipee

It is interesting to note that Daniel Conversano’s Tipee link on Suavelos.eu is directly linked to his racist YouTube channel *Vive l’Europe*. Through this funding channel, Tipee reveals that Daniel Conversano receives €1160/month through 125 tips.



Screenshot 65 - Tipee page¹¹⁰ of *Vive l’Europe*, a YouTube channel animated by Daniel Conversano

Tipee’s terms of use¹¹¹ is very clear about the activities that can be funded through their platform. To be more specific, “members declare that the source of funds they receive is not illegal” and that “the members cannot pursue any fraudulent or illegal activity”.

¹¹⁰ <https://fr.tipee.com/vive-l-europe>

¹¹¹ <https://archive.fo/JA9Mb#selection-667.1-667.444>

3. CONDITIONS D'UTILISATION DU SITE EN QUALITÉ DE MEMBRE

Le Membre s'engage, sous peine de suspension immédiate et sans préavis de son Compte de Membre à :

- ne pas créer ou utiliser sur le Site d'autres comptes que celui initialement créé et attribué, que ce soit sous sa propre identité ou celle d'un tiers ;
- ne pas créer une fausse identité de nature à induire TIPEEE ou tout tiers en erreur et à ne pas usurper l'identité d'une autre personne morale ou physique.

Aux fins de s'assurer du respect des dispositions des présentes, TIPEEE se réserve le droit de demander au Membre de justifier par tout moyen de son identité. A défaut de justification dans un délai de 7 (sept) jours à compter de la demande de TIPEEE, la suspension évoquée au paragraphe précédent s'appliquera.

En acceptant ces CGU, le Membre déclare que la source des fonds utilisés par lui sur le Site n'est pas illégale et s'engage à ne pas utiliser le Site pour une activité illégale ou frauduleuse, incluant (sans être limitatif) le blanchiment d'argent. Des poursuites civiles et/ou pénales peuvent être intentées contre le Membre et toutes autres personnes ayant directement ou indirectement participé à une telle activité illégale ou frauduleuse.

Screenshot 66 - Tipeee.com's Terms of use

Taking this into consideration, we believe that funding Suavelos' founders may represent a clear breach of Tipeee.com terms of use, especially as they manage white supremacist activities, which could fall under the qualification of hate speech, which is illegal in France¹¹².

Amazon marketplace: selling white nationalist literature

Eventually, visitors of Suavelos' website are also suggested through banners, to buy Daniel Conversano's novel "Sorry Jean-Pierre," depicting the life of a white nationalist in the future, available on Amazon marketplace.¹¹³



Screenshot 67 - Daniel Conversano's novel on Amazon.fr

Suavelos' use of proxies

In order to have diversified funding and be able to fund their activities and possibly to remunerate Suavelos' activists, the Suavelos network may need proxies such as companies or non-for-profit organisations. With this in mind, a search on the French

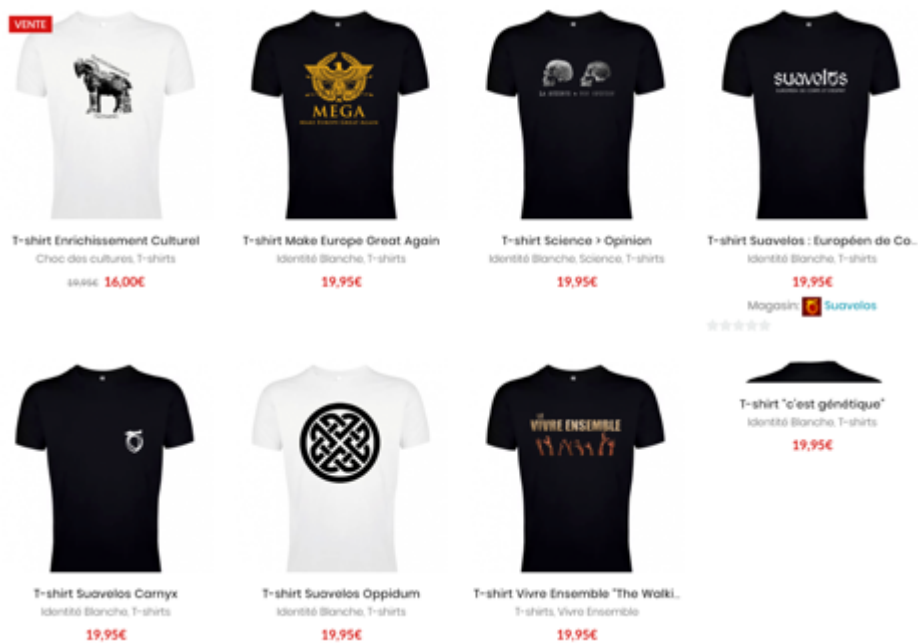
¹¹² See Law 72-546 from 1st of July 1972 on fighting racism, available on https://www.gouvernement.fr/sites/default/files/contenu/piece-jointe/2014/09/loi_du_1er_juillet_1972_-_lutte_contre_le_racisme.pdf

¹¹³ <https://archive.fo/sGNoa>

register for organisations (both profit and not-profit) for the Suavelos name did not return any results. Therefore, we looked at the mandatory legal mentions of different websites managed by the Suavelos network.

Alabastro.eu and non-profit organisation Erasme3000

The website *Alabastro.eu* is hosted on the same domain as *Suavelos.eu*. Alabastro means Alabaster, a clear reference to the white colour of the strong construction material. Alabastro.eu is an online shop for buying white supremacist products such as T-shirts.



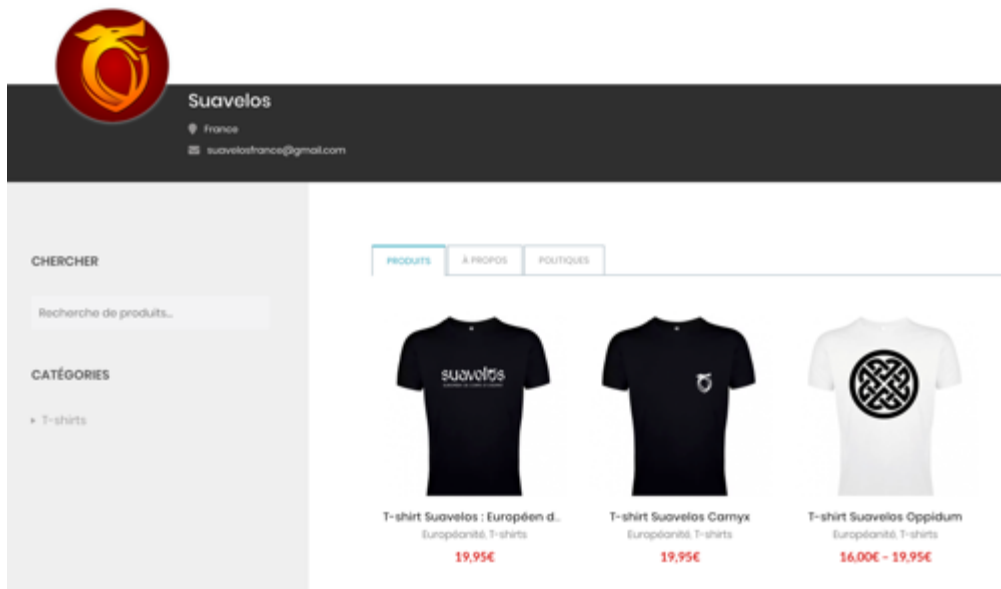
Screenshot 68 - Online shop available on Alabastro.eu

On his public Telegram channel, Yann Merkado brags about the success of a T-shirt with an Adolf Hitler emoji, claiming it to be a bestseller and providing a link to purchase it on the *Alabastro* website.



Screenshot 69 - Yann Merkado publication about an Alabastro product

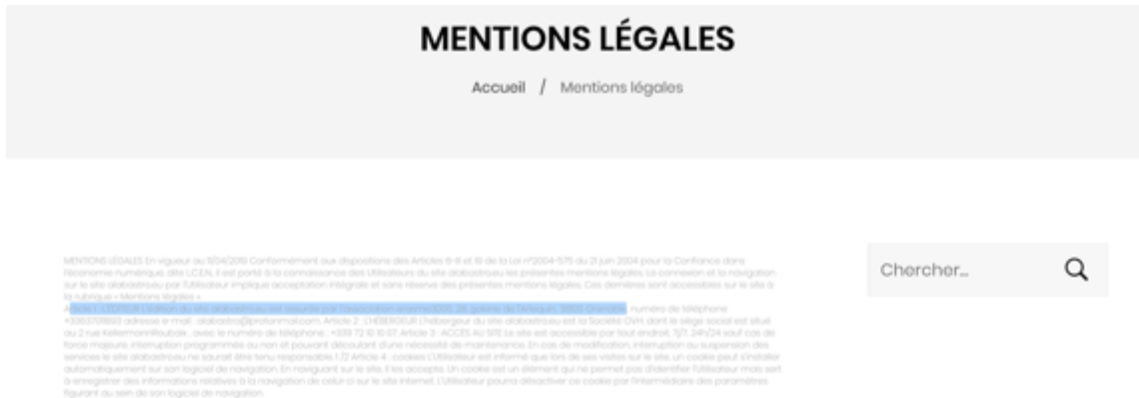
Some of the products display a Suavelos logo, redirecting the user to a dedicated shop inside *Alabastro*¹¹⁴. This could indicate that the Suavelos brand is a specific sub-shop of *Alabastro*'s website.



Screenshot 70 - Dedicated Suavelos webshop on Alabastro.eu: <https://www.alabastro.eu/boutique/suavelos/>

¹¹⁴ <https://www.alabastro.eu/boutique/suavelos/>

The legal mentions of Alabastro.eu indicate that the legal person is an organisation named Erasme3000, located at 28 galerie de l'Arlequin, in Grenoble. It is important to note that Suavelos' co-founder Daniel Conversano is originally from this town.¹¹⁵



Screenshot 71 - Legal mentions of Alabastro.eu¹¹⁶

In looking at the French register of non-profit organisations, we found the organisation *Erasme 3000*, created on the 8th September 2018 at the same address.¹¹⁷

Erasme 3000's objectives, as described in its official and legal submissions, are to “promote the historical and cultural patrimonial of Europe with the aim of building a borderless fraternity between Europeans nationals” and to “spread a modern and concrete vision of our culture through the making and the selling of handcrafted goods”.

Association : **ERASME 3000** No d'annonce : **551**
 Identification R.N.A. : **W381020338** Paru le : **08/09/2018**

No de parution : **20180036**
 Département (Région) : **Isère (Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes)**
 Lieu parution : **Déclaration à la préfecture de l'Isère.**
 Type d'annonce : **ASSOCIATION/CREATION**

Déclaration à la préfecture de l'Isère. **ERASME 3000.** *Objet* : promouvoir le patrimoine historique et culturel de l'Europe dans le but de forger une fraternité sans frontières entre ressortissants européens ; développer un lien social actif et d'une citoyenneté européenne solidaire à travers l'écriture, l'audiovisuel, les activités sportives et culturelles ; encourager une initiative personnelle, engagée dans la défense de nos valeurs républicaines de liberté, de démocratie et de laïcité ; diffuser une vision moderne et concrète de notre culture à travers la fabrication et la vente d'objets artisanaux *Siège social* : 28, galerie de l'Arlequin, 38100 Grenoble. *Date de la déclaration* : 30 août 2018.

Screenshot 72 - Erasme 3000 official submission

¹¹⁵ <https://youtu.be/s0PpGb3nZDo?t=623>

¹¹⁶ <https://archive.fo/mSV8r>

¹¹⁷ https://www.journal-officiel.gouv.fr/publications/assoc/pdf/2018/0036/JOAFE_PDF_Unitaire_20180036_00551.pdf

It is noteworthy to mention that the location of this non-profit organisation matches the address of Grenoble’s city council social action service (CCAS). Grenoble city council bought this building in 2016,¹¹⁸ and moved to it 2017. It seems that the CCAS provides a service of fiscal registration for organisations as we found 70 other companies with an identical location.¹¹⁹



Screenshot 73 - Similar companies located at Grenoble social action service

In parallel, our research for a VAT number for Erasme3000 were fruitless, which could mean that Suavelos’ profit activities are under the annual exoneration threshold¹²⁰ of €62,250.

Another association as a proxy?

In January 2019, on the Suavelos YouTube channel *Frequence Occident*, members of Suavelos indicated that they had a new project.¹²¹ The project is an association that they have created with a “board composed with 7 Suavelos members”.



Fréquence Occident 1.05 : Gilets Jaunes

Screenshot 74 - Frequence Occident video mentioning the association

As described in the video, the non-profit association is designed to pool resources and fund community projects such as content production, training, or the funding of office rentals. The video also reveals that the association could fund more communitarian

¹¹⁸ <https://www.placegrenet.fr/2016/01/18/grenoble-se-paie-siege-credit-agricole-rationaliser-foncier/73497>

¹¹⁹ <https://archive.fo/WmQrg>

¹²⁰ <https://www.impots.gouv.fr/portail/professionnel/exoneration-de-certains-impots>

¹²¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PG1nWmgzONs&t=7714s>

actions to develop “live zones inside and outside the country” in case of “civilization collapse”. Not to mention the association could fund a cash bonus for babies born within the Suavelos community, with the aim of sustaining “intra-communitarian natality”. At 2:10:16, it also stated that the deposit for the “summer camp,” i.e. the Edelweiss camp, has been paid for by the association.

This organisation, which is never named, is designed “to become an economical power for the network”. They also decided to brand themselves as patriots “for juridical reasons”, as the French law forbids the creation of racist organisations¹²². The members fee for the association is €10/month per member.

As the association is never named in the video, the following question remains: Could the association that is mentioned in the *Frequence Occident* video be the same organisation that manages the Alabastro shop (Erasme3000)?

Derivative funding: Advertisements

Another funding source of the website is from online advertisements. As described by the Global Disinformation Index, “the ad-tech system is currently supplying oxygen – and money – to domains that disinform. This is happening inadvertently through online adverts being placed on domains that disinform, which is providing these domains with funding and a platform to amplify their messages.”¹²³

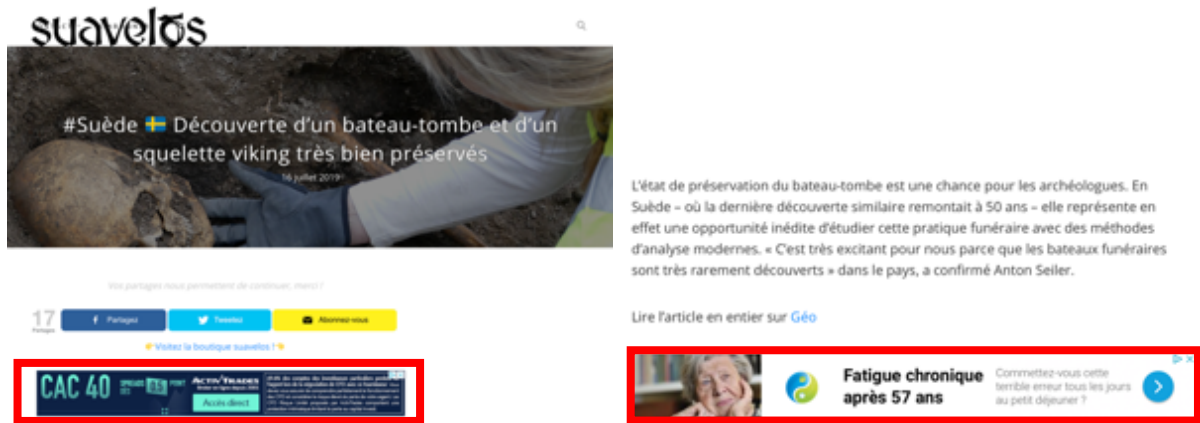
Online advertisements can be achieved by different platforms through targeted advertisements, like Google AdSense or Doubleclick, or related and similar sponsored content, such as Taboola.

Accordingly, Suavelos.eu uses both of these websites to display advertisements and consequently receive funding from such advertisements.

¹²²

https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Loi_du_10_janvier_1936_sur_les_groupes_de_combat_et_milices_priv%C3%A9es

¹²³ https://disinformationindex.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/GDI_Report_Screen_AW2.pdf

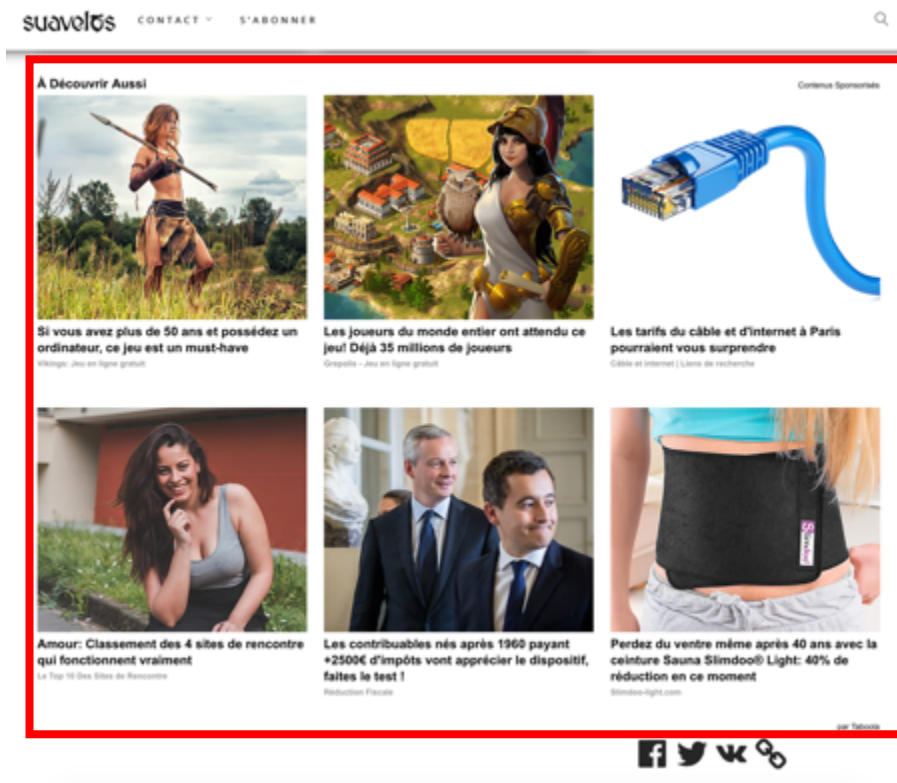


Screenshot 75 - Google Doubleclick advertisement on Suavelos.eu

According to Google’s policy on hateful content¹²⁴, it is forbidden for users to monetise “content that encourages others to believe that a person or group is inhuman, inferior or worthy of being hated on the basis of their race or ethnic origin, religion, disability, age, nationality, veteran status, sexual orientation, gender, gender identity or any other characteristic that is associated with systemic discrimination or marginalization”.

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[https://support.google.com/adsense/answer/1348688#Content that advocates against an individual group or organization](https://support.google.com/adsense/answer/1348688#Content%20that%20advocates%20against%20an%20individual%20group%20or%20organization)



Screenshot 76 - Taboola sponsored content on Suavelos.eu

According to Taboola’s terms of use¹²⁵, Taboola users are not allowed to use their sites “in connection with material “that contains hate speech, whether directed at an individual or a group, and whether based upon the race, disability, sex, creed, national origin, religious affiliation, marital status, sexual orientation, gender identity, or language of such individual or group”.

In 2019, The International Advertisement Board (IAB) released a mechanism for publishers to increase their transparency and list their authorised resellers through a file called ads.txt¹²⁶. Through this file, the Suavelos website therefore makes a publicly available list of advertisers it accepts revenue from.

¹²⁵ <https://www.taboola.com/fr/terms-of-use>

¹²⁶ <https://iabtechlab.com/ads-txt/>

Adstxt	Jul 2018	Aug 2019
Google Direct	Jul 2018	Aug 2019
ADL Reseller	Jul 2018	Aug 2019
AppNexus Reseller	Jul 2018	Aug 2019
ContextWeb Reseller	Jul 2018	Aug 2019
Comet Cox Media Reseller	Jul 2018	Aug 2019
FreeWheel Reseller	Jul 2018	Aug 2019
Fyber Reseller	Jul 2018	Aug 2019
Google Reseller	Jul 2018	Aug 2019
Improve Digital Reseller	Jul 2018	Aug 2019
IndexExchange Reseller	Jul 2018	Aug 2019
Light Reseller	Jul 2018	Aug 2019
OpenX Reseller	Jul 2018	Aug 2019
Outbrain Reseller	Jul 2018	Aug 2019
PubMatic Reseller	Jul 2018	Aug 2019
RhythmOne Reseller	Jul 2018	Aug 2019
RubiconProject Reseller	Jul 2018	Aug 2019
SmartAdServer Reseller	Jul 2018	Aug 2019
Sovrn Reseller	Jul 2018	Aug 2019
SpotXChange Reseller	Jul 2018	Aug 2019
Teads Reseller	Jul 2018	Aug 2019
Tremor Video Reseller	Jul 2018	Aug 2019
AdYouLike Reseller	Jul 2018	Aug 2019
ORC International Reseller	Jul 2018	Aug 2019
GumGum Reseller	Jul 2018	Aug 2019
Taboola	Jul 2018	Aug 2019
Google AdSense Integrator	Dec 2018	Aug 2019
Smartclip Reseller	Apr 2019	Aug 2019

Screenshot 77 - List of Authorised digital resellers on Suavelos.eu

It is very difficult to provide an estimation of the revenue generated by advertisements that have circulated on Suavelos' network. The question also remains as to who the end recipient of this advertisement revenue is in order to fully comprehend if the advertisement platforms have directly contributed to funding Suavelos' activities.

Calls to action

The influence of white supremacist ideologies in recent terrorist attacks such as the El Paso shooting on the 3rd August 2019¹²⁷ clearly shows these groups are a threat to democratic and multicultural societies.

This report has exposed a very small but very organised network that continues to succeed in producing, spreading, and gaining revenue from disinformation, showing how disinformation can be used to promote a hateful agenda. The significance of this alone is, therefore, crucial.

¹²⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2019_El_Paso_shooting

Therefore, we call for the implementation of specific actions:

- Enforcement of online platforms' terms of use policies regarding the funding of hate speech and disinformation;
- More transparency on the management of large Facebook pages in order to assess ownership and subsequently comprehend disseminated cross-page publications;
- More transparency on – and labelling of – automated posting on social platforms;
- More transparency on algorithmic recommendations;
- More scrutiny of incentivised platforms that are regularly hijacked to fund illegal activities.