



U.S. DEPARTMENT of STATE
Global Engagement Center

GEC Special Report

**EXPORTING PRO-KREMLIN DISINFORMATION:
THE CASE OF NOVA RESISTÊNCIA IN BRAZIL**

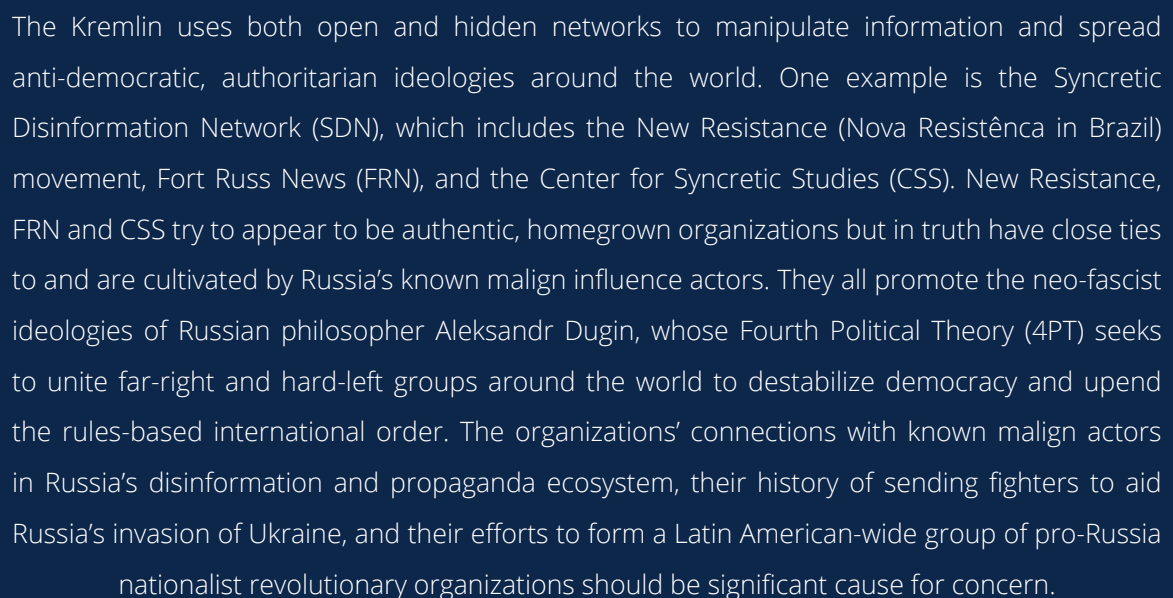


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The Kremlin uses both open and hidden networks to manipulate information and spread anti-democratic, authoritarian ideologies around the world. One example is the Syncretic Disinformation Network (SDN), which includes the New Resistance (Nova Resistência in Brazil) movement, Fort Russ News (FRN), and the Center for Syncretic Studies (CSS). New Resistance, FRN and CSS try to appear to be authentic, homegrown organizations but in truth have close ties to and are cultivated by Russia's known malign influence actors. They all promote the neo-fascist ideologies of Russian philosopher Aleksandr Dugin, whose Fourth Political Theory (4PT) seeks to unite far-right and hard-left groups around the world to destabilize democracy and upend the rules-based international order. The organizations' connections with known malign actors in Russia's disinformation and propaganda ecosystem, their history of sending fighters to aid Russia's invasion of Ukraine, and their efforts to form a Latin American-wide group of pro-Russia nationalist revolutionary organizations should be significant cause for concern.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

New Resistance is a quasi-paramilitary neo-fascist organization operating in South America, Europe, and North America with deep connections to entities and individuals within Russia's disinformation and propaganda ecosystem. Along with the English-language propaganda website Fort Russ News (FRN) and the authoritarian pseudo think tank Center for Syncretic Studies (CSS) – both dormant since February 2022 – New Resistance was formed by a pro-Kremlin disinformation and propaganda network and was inspired by Aleksandr Dugin, a U.S.-sanctioned Russian “philosopher” and the principal proponent of an anti-Western, Russia-led Eurasian imperialist movement. The network, referred to henceforth as the Syncretic Disinformation Network (SDN), aggressively promotes Dugin's Fourth Political Theory (4PT), which seeks to unite far-right and the hard-left movements with the aim of destroying the post-World War II order. New Resistance actively supports authoritarian regimes on both the left and right globally and furthers the Kremlin's geopolitical goals of destabilizing democracies and undermining the rules-based international order.

Nova Resistência, the Brazilian chapter of New Resistance, is particularly active and works to extend the malign influence of New Resistance throughout Latin America. Nova Resistência co-hosts events with Dugin featuring high-ranking Russian officials and holds “academic” seminars and training courses on their YouTube channel and website with local and international professors, historians, and philosophers. Nova Resistência's website – registered in Moscow – regularly publishes pro-Kremlin, pro-authoritarian disinformation comparable in content and timing to outlets with known ties to Russian intelligence. Members of the group have repeatedly met with representatives from Belarus, North Korea, Syria, and Venezuela, and have openly expressed their support for the Iran-backed terrorist organization Hezbollah.

Regionally, Nova Resistência was central to the creation of a group of likeminded “nationalist and revolutionary organizations” across Latin America. The organization's efforts are not limited to political organizing and philosophizing, but also extend into support for paramilitary activities. In addition to Nova Resistência's overt propaganda and disinformation in support of Russia's war against Ukraine, the organization has been involved in efforts to mobilize Brazilians to fight on the side of Russia and its proxies in the Donbas region of eastern Ukraine.

FRN, the Syncretic Disinformation Network's now-dormant media component, disseminated pro-Kremlin disinformation and propaganda on topics ranging from Russia's military operations in Ukraine and Syria, to COVID-19 disinformation, questions about election legitimacy, and propaganda about climate change. When it first began operating in 2014, FRN focused primarily on translating and amplifying Kremlin disinformation and propaganda aimed at foreign audiences, as well as promoting Kremlin-linked websites — including those identified by the U.S. government as being controlled, directed, tasked, or influenced by

Russia's intelligence services or military. Pro-Kremlin Russian-language media, in turn, tried to portray FRN as a credible Western media outlet and quoted its content for domestic propaganda purposes. FRN was shuttered, for reasons unknown, in February 2022 just days before Russia launched its full-scale invasion of Ukraine.

Founded in 2013, the Center for Syncretic Studies (CSS) served as a pseudo-academic veneer for FRN's disinformation and propaganda activities, until it also took an apparent hiatus just days after Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 – again for reasons unknown. CSS was also used to translate many of Aleksandr Dugin's writings, and helped disseminate his ideas through papers, workshops, and seminars.

The individuals behind the Syncretic Disinformation Network have regularly cooperated with entities connected to U.S.-sanctioned, Russian government-linked actors known for serving as proxies for Moscow's global malign influence operations, including Aleksandr Dugin, Konstantin Malofeyev, and Yevgeniy Prigozhin. Individuals affiliated with SDN also contributed to websites attributed to Russia's intelligence services by the U.S. government. This Network uses Kremlin disinformation and propaganda to attempt to destabilize democracies, engage in support for revanchist military activity through quasi-paramilitary groups, and upend the rules-based international order.

INTRODUCTION

Since the release of the Global Engagement Center's (GEC) [Pillars of Russia's Disinformation and Propaganda Ecosystem special report](#) in August 2020, the counter-disinformation community and international media have increased attention to the use of proxy outlets by Russia's intelligence services and by entities aligned with Russian government interests. Russia's disinformation and propaganda ecosystem consists of five pillars: official government communications, state-funded global messaging, cultivated proxy sources, weaponized social media, and cyber-enabled disinformation. A disinformation narrative often starts in one pillar and is then amplified by other pillars, creating a media multiplier effect. The Pillars report highlighted the Kremlin's use of both Russian intelligence-linked proxy and "fellow traveler" outlets and defines proxy sites as those identified by the U.S. government as being controlled, directed, tasked, or influenced by Russia's intelligence services, military, or other government entities, without publicizing said attribution to the Russian government. Kremlin-aligned "fellow traveler" websites have no direct links to entities that disseminate Kremlin-aligned disinformation but are still deeply enmeshed in Russia's disinformation and propaganda ecosystem. These fellow traveler websites are clearly connected to Russia's disinformation ecosystem based on the similarly false narratives they spread and the malign entities with which they associate. As this report will demonstrate, sometimes a Kremlin-sponsored or Kremlin-aligned outlet is only the most visible layer of a much more sophisticated and obscured network.

In its prime, the Syncretic Disinformation Network consisted of Fort Russ News (FRN), the Belgrade-based Center for Syncretic Studies (CSS), and the international neo-fascist movement New Resistance. FRN was the [self-proclaimed](#) "media wing and project" of CSS and the "central organ" of New Resistance – the only entity in the Network that is still active. The "middle S" in CSS – "Syncretic" – offers insight into the ideological motivations of the network and highlights one of the driving forces behind Russia's disinformation and propaganda ecosystem writ large as it works to influence global audiences.

Syncretism is the merging of different belief systems to allow for more inclusivity across a religious, philosophical, or political landscape. FRN, CSS, and New Resistance all promote the syncretic ideology of Aleksandr Dugin, a Russian philosopher on whom the United States imposed sanctions in 2015. Dugin is the creator and chief proponent of the Fourth Political Theory (4PT), a syncretic, or "Third Way," ideology that seeks to unite the global far-right with the global far-left to defeat "liberalism." In this approach to political philosophy, "liberalism" is the first political theory, while the second political theory is "communism" and the third political theory is "fascism." Dugin's "Fourth Way" is intentionally amorphous, as it is well-served by its ambiguity. It advocates for the destruction of the current liberal international system of order in favor of a new authoritarian, staunchly traditionalist world of "international nationalists." Integral to 4PT is [neo-Eurasianism](#):

“a form of a fascist ideology centered on the idea of revolutionizing Russia’s society and building a totalitarian, Russia-dominated Eurasian Empire. This so-called empire would challenge and eventually defeat its eternal adversary, represented by the United States and its Atlanticist allies, thus bringing about a new ‘golden age’ of global political and cultural illiberalism.” - Anton Shekhovtsov, *Russia and the Western Far Right: Tango Noir*¹

Per Dugin’s own *Foundations of Geopolitics*, central to this ideology is the reconquest of lands once controlled by the Russian Empire and/or the Soviet Union, using military power, destabilization, subversion, and disinformation.²

With chapters on multiple continents, the New Resistance movement seeks to put this political philosophy into practice and to unite with other groups which share this goal. New Resistance is an international neo-fascist, “[national-revolutionary](#)” organization with quasi-paramilitary components. The group spreads its own pro-authoritarian disinformation, strongly supports Russia’s war against Ukraine, has previously supported sending fighters to eastern Ukraine, and maintains overt ties to the leadership of FRN and CSS.

The Brazilian chapter of New Resistance, Nova Resistência, is notable due to its close connections with Dugin and Russian government entities, malign activities, and connections to other syncretic groups in South America and around the world. Additionally, Nova Resistência’s website is [hosted](#) in Moscow, which continues to give a platform to large events co-hosted by the Duginist group. The group had also [promoted](#) Yevgeniy Prigozhin’s [Wagner Group](#), to include strong [praise](#) of the Wagner Group’s and Russia’ activities in Africa.

Through the spread of disinformation and propaganda, these three organizations have promoted a violent, anti-liberal, neo-fascist agenda that serves as an ideological vehicle to destabilize democracies, upend the rules-based international order, and agitate for revanchist military activity in favor of the Kremlin’s strategic goals.

NEW RESISTANCE: IDEOLOGY AND ORIGINS

As it is currently comprised in 2023, New Resistance is an international anti-liberal, revolutionary-nationalist, Eurasianist, quasi-paramilitary organization. It has chapters in Brazil, Europe, and North America, and openly advocates for Dugin's Fourth Political Theory.³ The group is built on the foundation of white supremacist organizations.



Image: Representative symbols of the four political theories as described by Aleksandr Dugin: (from left to right) liberalism, communism, fascism, and Dugin's Fourth Political Theory. The image furthest to the right is also considered a symbol representing chaos, which Dugin suggests the world should "take a step towards" in the terms of political philosophy to go "beyond logocentric culture."⁴

Source: Geopolitika[.]ru

After the leader of one nearly defunct [neo-Nazi white supremacist organization](#) was killed in March 2011, another of the group's self-declared heads [announced](#) that the organization was being dissolved to form New Resistance. Archived versions of the Neo-Nazi white supremacist organization's website from late [October 2011](#) and early [December 2011](#) demonstrate the group's shift to New Resistance. The organization's online news blog, the Green Star, slightly altered its logos and banners when rebranding to New Resistance, and it added new partner blogs on the margins of the website, including Open Revolt!, one of the past "brothers in arms" listed on FRN's website, and evrazia.info, another Eurasianist website. From 2011 to 2014, New Resistance grew further abroad, with chapters appearing across Europe – with new cadres in England, Ulster (Northern Ireland), Spain, and Italy, all under the banner of New Resistance Evropa (NR-E).



Images: Top: Logo of New Resistance's Predecessor Organization. Bottom: New Resistance Logo. The replacement of one symbol with another at the center of the star in these images clearly indicates that these blogs are one in the same. Source: Archived screenshots of The Green Star.

From its early days through at least March 2018, New Resistance stated that it [was](#) “proud to be a part of the Global Revolutionary Alliance” (GRA), a now-defunct international syncretic group whose [manifesto](#) – also available on the Dugin-linked websites [Geopolitica.ru](#) and [4PT.su](#) – advocated for the destruction of the United States, “a country of absolute evil,” by a coalition of international “leftists and rightists.” In the 2012 re-publication of Dugin’s 2009 book *Fourth Political Theory*, the editor cited New Resistance’s predecessor organization as an “English-language online resource” that published content covering events promoting 4PT.

New Resistance’s ideology is not openly fascist itself, though it grew out of an openly neo-Nazi predecessor and still adheres to Dugin’s neo-fascist 4PT ideology. Dugin and his followers [frequently espouse](#) antisemitic and other religiously and ethnically prejudicial beliefs, despite Dugin’s own “denunciation” of racism and his claims that globalization and liberalism are racist, not his ideology. While Dugin professes to be anti-racist, critics have pointed out Dugin’s “open praise for certain aspects and figures of the Nazi movement,” especially the Ahnenerbe, a [“think tank”](#) whose research Nazi officials used to attempt to justify Holocaust policies. Dugin criticizes German National Socialism for its overt use of racism, but Dugin’s philosophy for a new world order also includes racist ideas.

Dugin views the physical mixing of cultures, traditions, religions, and ethnic identities as something that corrupts civilizations. Such beliefs appeal to and play into the ideologies of white nationalists and other racist groups. Dugin also [openly promotes](#) the introduction of “disorder into internal American activity” by “encouraging all kinds of separatism and ethnic, social and racial conflicts, actively supporting all dissident movements – extremist, racist, and sectarian groups, thus destabilizing internal political processes in the U.S.” Dugin may denounce “racism,” but he is undeniably willing to inflame racial and ethnic tensions to further his political agenda.

Furthermore, Dugin has a history of praising fascism in his speeches that are aimed at Russian audiences. In his article [“Fascism - Borderless and Red,”](#) Dugin puts forth his vision for a new Russian socialist society (“National Bolshevism”) in which he quotes the words of French fascist writer Robert Brasillach, who [stated](#), “I see how in the East, in Russia, fascism is rising – a fascism borderless and red.”

The fusion, or syncretization, of these seemingly contradictory views is the primary selling point of Dugin’s ideology: to appeal to extremists on both sides of the political spectrum. Such a belief system allows far-left individuals to denounce fascism and promote socialist tenets, while simultaneously—perhaps unknowingly—promoting fascism.

EURASIANISTS IN BRAZIL

New Resistance promotes a blend of revolutionary neo-fascist, anti-liberal, Kremlin-aligned positions. The movement's Brazilian chapter, Nova Resistência, is by far the most developed and active branch of the movement, as evidenced by its online activity. Despite being a Brazil-based organization, it has notable connections to and promotes the ideas of a large volume of pro-Kremlin disinformation, supporting the rise of a Eurasian Empire to eclipse the West. Its [leadership](#) consistently pushes Kremlin-aligned disinformation narratives.

According to an [interview](#) with the head of NR-E and as found in [archived](#) pages of Nova Resistência's website, novaresistencia.org, the group was created in January 2015 under the leadership of Raphael Machado. Sometime in early 2020, NR-E and Nova Resistência split, [allegedly](#) because of Machado's efforts to influence and infiltrate Brazilian political parties under false pretenses. An [archived](#) page from NR-E's website stated that "NR-E and [Nova Resistência] are ideologically and functionally independent and autonomous, fraternal organizations."

Nova Resistência took this schism a step further, stating as of March 2020 on its "[About Us](#)" page that "our organization is entirely independent and sovereign, to the point of having clearly antagonistic positions on several issues vis-à-vis other supposed groups that use the same name as ours abroad."

One of the most significant and concerning reasons for the split was raised by the head of the NR-E in an interview with *Tribuna da Imprensa Livre*:

"Machado's ultimate goal for [Nova Resistência]? Probably to continue to act as a proxy for Russian and Chinese agents... It may be something to keep in mind that in the nine years we have known Machado we have not been aware of him working even one day ... money seems likely to be coming in from somewhere else for something other than an honest day's work."

Nova Resistência's website, novaresistencia.org, is currently hosted on [IP address](#) 93.88.76.39, which is located in Moscow and is administered by Advanced Solutions LLC, a company which also administers the website of the infamous Russian ransomware group DarkSide. Novaresistencia.org [shares](#) this IP address with several domains and subdomains of disinformation outlets, including katehon.com, geopolitika.ru, and other Dugin-affiliated websites. Nova Resistencia was historically [registered](#) to Sergey A. Kiselev, an [individual](#) who has worked for several Dugin-affiliated entities.

Nova Resistência's [content](#) is ideologically consistent with other New Resistance sites, but it also generates its own Kremlin-aligned content. For example, the group's [front page](#) on August 7, 2021, featured articles spreading conspiracy theories and disinformation about George Soros, Bill Gates, Greta Thunberg, COVID-19 vaccines, the assassination of Haitian President Moïse, and so-called "U.S.-backed color revolutions," as well as articles on Russia's national security strategy, the Yellow Vests, and anti-LGBTQ content. Not only has every one of these themes been used in Russian disinformation operations in the recent past, even the style, layout, and sheer diversity of anti-Western narratives on the site closely resemble sites previously attributed by the Global Engagement Center to Russian intelligence services. Today, Nova Resistência's front page [regularly features](#) anti-Western, pro-Kremlin narratives.

Russian state-disinformation outlet Sputnik Brazil also amplifies Nova Resistência. In a lengthy October 2022 article titled, "[Brazil Needs Multipolarity: How Dugin Influences Ideas of the Nova Resistência Group](#)," Sputnik detailed Nova Resistência's platform, as well as its claimed ties to members of a Brazilian political party. Additionally, according to Sputnik and Nova Resistência member Lucas Leiroz, the organization succeeded in helping get its first council member elected in the city of Cuité, Paraíba.

For years, Nova Resistência has amplified the Kremlin's disinformation and propaganda narratives targeting Ukraine. In addition to past support for Kremlin-aligned paramilitary activities in the Donbas region of eastern Ukraine, the group [consistently publishes](#) anti-Ukraine, pro-Kremlin articles on its website. For example, the group has furthered Kremlin disinformation narratives such as those alleging that U.S. military [biolabs experimented](#) on Ukraine's civilians; that Ukraine's leadership is filled with [so-called American-backed](#) neo-Nazis; that Western "experts" [fabricated](#) the atrocities committed by Russia's forces in Bucha; and that Ukraine is preparing to use a "dirty bomb" on its own territory. Nova Resistência's social media accounts also [amplify](#) some of Russia's leading state propagandists, such as [Vladimir Solovyov](#).

Not unlike the Kremlin's use of [antisemitism](#) to advance its geopolitical aims, both Nova Resistência and its head Raphael Machado openly [promote](#) antisemitic narratives. Machado has repeatedly shared antisemitic tweets and graphics on his Twitter account (see below), including those [tying](#) so-called "Ukrainian neo-Nazism" together with "Israeli Zionism." The website regularly features [antisemitic and anti-Zionist](#) articles with antisemitic tropes. The group also frequently features [convicted](#) French antisemite ideologue Alain Soral in its [content](#).



Raphael Machado
@camaradamachado

The links between Ukrainian neo-Nazism and Israeli Zionism are ancient, deep and public.

But there are people who are still amazed when we talk about.

Today is an AZOV delegation in Israel. The representative of the neo-Nazis says there are dozens of Jews fighting in the formation.

[Translate Tweet](#)

Raphael Machado
@camaradamachado



Images: Two screenshots of antisemitic tweets by Nova Resistência head Raphael Machado. In the left image, Nova Resistência head Machado repeats antisemitic disinformation narratives. In the right image, he shares a meme furthering antisemitic conspiracy theories. Source: Raphael Machado on Twitter (@camaradamachado).

Nova Resistência also promotes the activities of now-deceased Yevgeniy Prigozhin's [Wagner](#) Group, as well as Russia's and the People's Republic of China's (PRC) interests in Africa. In addition to stating its own "support" for the Wagner Group, Nova Resistência advocates for the creation of similar private security/mercenary groups in other regions of the world. In a September 2022 [Telegram post](#) and a March 2023 [article](#), the group wrote of its hope for a Brazilian counterpart to Wagner, stating, "we look forward to a Brazilian analogue to project our influence on the 'non-peaceful resolution of conflicts' in Iberian America, Africa and other regions of the planet that ask us for help." Similarly, in a December 2022 [Telegram post](#), Nova Resistência promoted the activities of the Wagner Group in Africa alongside praise for the PRC's economic engagement across the continent. The post reads, "With the Wagner Group, African countries hope to neutralize the terrorist servants of imperialism. With China, they expect investments in infrastructure and economic progress."

In addition to pushing Kremlin-aligned content, Nova Resistência has an especially close relationship with Aleksandr Dugin. Its website [once listed](#) Dugin, Andre Luiz Dos Reis, and Luiz Campos as co-editors (all are now no longer listed as such on the site), and still features propaganda art with Dugin's likeness alongside artwork praising Syria's President Bashar al-Assad. Dugin included a link to the organization's Telegram channel in [a post](#) on Twitter listing channels to which he recommends his followers subscribe. He also occasionally appears in virtual [interviews](#) with Nova Resistência's leadership posted on the group's [YouTube channel](#).

According to an [announcement](#) from the CSS and a YouTube [video](#) from Nova Resistência, Dugin kicked off the Brazilian group's first congress in São Paulo – from April 19-21, 2019 – with a 20-minute video message. Paul Antonopoulos from the CSS physically attended the congress to both present a

lecture and read out a message on behalf of the head of FRN and CSS. Nova Resistência's YouTube channel also regularly features third-party content and interviews with Dugin, and on July 11, 2023, the channel [published](#) a glowing Portuguese-language endorsement from him.



Images: Left Image: List of Nova Resistência Editorial Staff, no longer present on the website. Right Image: Nova Resistência propaganda artwork featuring Dugin. While Andre Luiz Dos Reis and Luiz Campos are no longer listed on the website, Dugin and pro-Dugin propaganda are still prominently featured. Source: Nova Resistência website (novaresistencia[.]org; recently [archived](#))

Nova Resistência's relationship with Dugin and the Russian government recently reached new heights. On April 29, 2023, the group [co-hosted](#) the first [Global Conference on Multipolarity](#) with Dugin, members of the [nascent pro-Kremlin](#) International Russophile Movement, and the anti-Western [PRC-oriented](#) Thinkers Forum. Russian Foreign Minister Sergey [Lavrov](#) and Foreign Ministry spokesperson Maria [Zakharova](#) [delivered](#) remarks promoting multipolarity and BRICS, following [Dugin's](#) conference introduction. Russia's Foreign Ministry [website](#), [Russian embassies](#), Russian [state media](#), Dugin's [Geopolitica.ru](#), [U.S.-sanctioned](#) and indicted oligarch Konstantin Malofeyev's media outlets, and other pro-Kremlin proxy media outlets highlighted the conference. Speakers and attendees of the conference [represented](#) approximately 60 countries from around the world. As co-hosts, Nova Resistência received top billing for the conference, with Raphael Machado [delivering](#) concluding remarks for the day-long event. Shortly after the conference, a now-deleted user created a Wikipedia [page](#) for the group on the website. Possibly taking inspiration from the Global Conference on Multipolarity, Nova Resistência then [hosted](#) the first "Ibero-American and Caribbean Conference on Multipolarity" on July 8, 2023, again featuring Dugin as a speaker.



Image: Aleksandr Dugin (central) addresses the Global Conference on Multipolarity. Nova Resistência head Raphael Machado (second from bottom right) and leading member Lucas Leiroz (bottom right) spectate. Source: Nova Resistência YouTube channel.

Nova Resistência and its members hold “academic” seminars and [training courses](#) on their YouTube channel and website with local and international [professors](#), [historians](#), and philosophers in a continued effort to insert Duginist ideas and Kremlin-aligned disinformation into Brazilian political discourse. Raphael Machado and other members have hosted multiple [events](#) on the 4PT ideology and related themes, many at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ). One member of Nova Resistência, Lucas Leiroz, hosted a five-part lecture series titled “Major Contemporary Geopolitical Issues,” including a session on “Hybrid War in Washington and American Elections.”

Leiroz, a self-described International Law Researcher at UFRJ, also bills himself as a contributor to InfoBRICS ([linked](#) to the GRU), CGTN (Chinese state media), the American Herald Tribune ([allegedly](#) an Iranian disinformation proxy site), and Global Research ([identified](#) by the Global Engagement Center as a part of Russia’s disinformation and propaganda ecosystem). Notably, Leiroz has written approximately [760 articles](#) for the GRU-linked InfoBRICS since February 2020, many of which were [republished](#) afterward on Global Research.

A few of these articles appeared on other Russian intelligence-linked outlets, such as the [U.S.-sanctioned, FSB-linked](#) SouthFront. Leiroz also appeared on Zvezda, a Russian television network run by the Russian Ministry of Defense, and has given virtual [lectures](#) to at least one university in Russia. In April 2023, Leiroz [presented](#) a disinformation-laden report on “Ukraine’s use of chemical weapons against Russians in [the] Donbas [region of Ukraine]” at a conference organized by the Russian Mission in Geneva.

Like its estranged NR-E cousins, Nova Resistência supports authoritarian regimes on both the left and right globally. Via an affiliated fringe organization, [Disidente Politico do DE](#), and through its own outreach, Nova Resistência members have held events with government representatives from [Syria](#),⁵ and [North](#)

[Korea](#), as well as with organizations supporting the [Iranian regime](#).⁶ In June 2023, the group conducted an exclusive [interview](#) with the Belarusian Ministry of Defense spokesperson, and recently hosted several Belarusian officials in Brazil. Nova Resistência also supports the Iran-backed terrorist organization [Hezbollah](#)⁷ and expresses its backing for the controversial pan-Africanist movement led by Dugin associate [Kemi Seba](#) on its Facebook pages. Seba has [engaged](#) closely with political operatives linked to the now deceased oligarch and Wagner Group leader Yevgeniy Prigozhin, notably to seek to influence elections in Madagascar.

In late May 2022, Nova Resistência announced the formation of the *Comité Central de Liberación Americana* (“Central Committee on American Liberation”) to serve “as a meeting place between multiple nationalist and revolutionary organizations at the international level that share our ideology.” The group consists of the [Junta Nacionalista del Peru](#) (Nationalist Junta of Peru) and the [Centro de Estudios Crisolistas](#) of Perú, [Aurora Colombia](#) and [Vanguardia Nacional - CEPC](#) (National Vanguard) of Colombia, [Plataforma Multipolar](#) of Argentina, the openly [Anarcho-Fascist](#) and [Satanist Coordinadora Nacional Tempestista](#) (aka CNT1611) of Mexico, and [Círculo Patriótico Chile](#) (Chile Patriotic Circle, aka [Praxis Patria](#)), among others.

Each of these organizations promotes ideas similar to those promulgated by Nova Resistência, [shares](#) graphics promoting Duginism and engages in [mourning](#) the death of Darya Dugina,⁸ and amplifies pro-Russian narratives and the ideology of Aleksandr Dugin in other forms. For example, the Peruvian Junta Nacionalista del Peru and the Centro de Estudios Crisolistas both advance [Crisolism](#), which, in broad terms, is the Peruvian version of Dugin’s Fourth Political Theory.



*Image: [Graphic](#) of Nova Resistência’s announcement of the *Comité Central de Liberación Americana*. Nova Resistência’s announcement of the group’s formation – and the small Eurasianist chaos symbol on the flag to the left – demonstrate its leading role in the group. Source: Nova Resistência’s defunct Instagram page.*

Within Brazil, Nova Resistência also seeks to make further inroads with at least one political party through its links to intellectuals associated with the party. Although Nova Resistencia claims that some of their members are involved with populist politics, there are no other public sources to corroborate this claim.

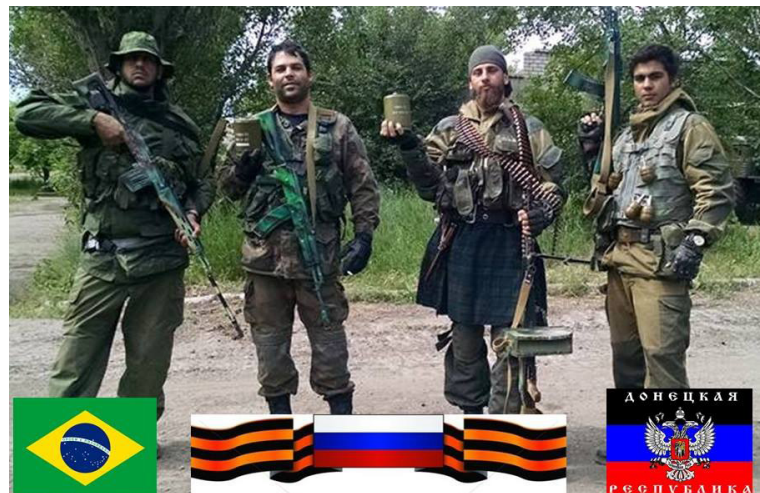
SUPPORT FOR PARAMILITARY ACTIVITY AND VIOLENCE

Nova Resistência also extends its information manipulation and malign influence efforts into paramilitary activity. Nova Resistência's militant rhetoric and advocacy for radical local and global political change are evident in [hundreds](#) of propaganda [posters](#) and [pamphlets](#) posted and distributed in Brazil and online, through the sale of its [merchandise](#), and in their very public appreciation for weapons, airsoft guns, and self-defense training. Per open-source social media posts and photos, Nova Resistência's members appear to be organized in a paramilitary manner and have produced [military style dog-tags](#) for themselves that identify each of them as a "soldier of Nova Resistência."

In addition to their [overt](#) propaganda and disinformation in support of Russia's proxies in the so-called Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics in eastern Ukraine, Nova Resistência has had substantial connections to efforts to send Brazilians to fight in Ukraine. Machado [reportedly](#) heads the Frente Brasileira de Solidariedade com a Ucrânia ("the Brazilian Front for Solidarity with Ukraine," or BFSU), a group supporting Russia's proxies in the Donbas region of eastern Ukraine. In a 2015 [article](#), Machado claimed that within "a few months after setting up BFSU in 2014, around 150 people reached out looking for more information about how to fight in [the] Donbas." Machado himself later detailed his involvement in these efforts in a September 2022 pro-Russia [Twitter post](#).

BFSU, together with Unité Continentale (Continental Unity), an affiliated French, Serbian, and Brazilian Duginist volunteer group fighting on behalf of the so-called "Luhansk People's Republic," has worked hard to [send Brazilians to Ukraine](#). In December 2014, the Unité Continentale Facebook page [announced](#) "with pride ... the arrival of two more dear Brazilian comrades and friends to Novorossiia today, sent with the help of Nova Resistência."

According to BFSU's [Facebook page](#), at least two of the Brazilians fighting in the Donbas region of eastern Ukraine traveled to Moscow in August 2015 to receive medals from Igor Girkin (also known by the nom de guerre Igor Strelkov), an EU-sanctioned Russian citizen who served as Minister of Defense of the so-called "Donetsk People's Republic" and played a key role in Russia's purported annexation of Crimea, which is part of Ukraine's sovereign territory.⁹



Images: Left: Brazilian fighters, including Lusvarghi at right-center in the Donbas region of eastern Ukraine. Right: Brazilian fighters in the Donbas holding their Brazilian passports and a Brazilian flag in front of the flag of Unité Continentale. Nova Resistência's repetitive use of pro-Russian imagery and content, as well as its support for Russian military activity against Ukraine, demonstrates its close alignment with Moscow. Source: Unité Continentale Facebook [page](#).

It is possible that Nova Resistência and other affiliated groups have also provided financial support to Brazilians and others fighting in the Donbas region of eastern Ukraine through [transfers](#) to the bank account of a then-member of Unité Continentale. It is not clear whether Nova Resistência continues to support the transfer of fighters and funds to Russia's side of the war against Ukraine, though, as mentioned, their ideological support remains evident.

Nova Resistência's most notable support for Brazilians in the Donbas is the case of its advocacy and propaganda for [Rafael Lusvarghi](#), a Brazilian who led a unit on behalf of Russia's proxies in the Donbas region in 2014 and 2015. In October 2016, Lusvarghi was arrested by the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU), convicted in January 2017 for "creating a terrorist organization" and "recruiting mercenaries for terrorists," and sentenced to 13 years in prison. Throughout his time fighting in the Donbas and his subsequent imprisonment, Lusvarghi became a propaganda icon for Russia's proxy forces in Ukraine and elsewhere. He was released as a part of a high-profile prisoner exchange between Ukraine and Russia's proxy forces in December 2019, but was later [arrested](#) in Brazil for drug trafficking and illegal possession of ammunition "at the request of other people," per Brazilian authorities.



Images: Left: Circled faces from left to right: Dugin, Machado, Lusvarghi at a conference. Brazil. Right: From left to right: Luiz Davi (another Brazilian fighter in Ukraine) and Lusvarghi holding the Eurasianist flag associated with Dugin and his Fourth Political Theory. Dugin appears to be the "nexus" between Nova Resistência's pro-Russian Eurasianist ideology and their drive to previously support sending Brazilians to fight for Russia against Ukraine. Source: Nova Resistência's defunct Facebook page.

Another Brazilian fighter named Rodolfo (nom de guerre “Magayver”) arrived in the Donbas region of eastern Ukraine two months after Lusvarghi and [claims](#) to have become acquainted with him through Machado’s BFSU Facebook group. Likely due to his recruiting role, Raphael Machado takes significant credit for Lusvarghi’s efforts in the Donbas and popularity according to Facebook messages allegedly obtained by a blog dedicated to following the Nova Resistência’s activities. Per one screenshot visible below, Machado writes, “Rafael Lusvarghi himself was just another nothing and thanks to me, today he is seen as a Greek Hero.”

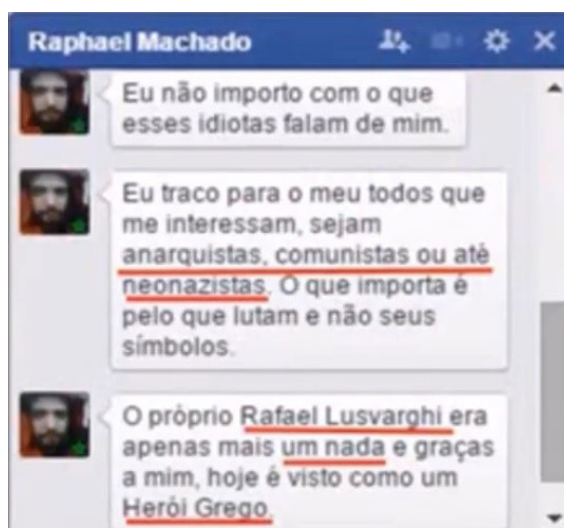


Image: Machado [claiming](#) credit for Lusvarghi’s popularity, demonstrating how he sees himself as responsible for Lusvarghi’s romanticized image. Source: Desmascarando a Nova Resistência blog.

Nova Resistência produced numerous articles and propaganda posters in support of Lusvarghi including the artwork pictured below. FRN published at least [two joint articles](#) with NR-E and their Brazilian counterparts in support of Lusvarghi in May and December 2019, respectively. Authored by the “FRN Editorial Board” and dated prior to the split between NR-E and Nova Resistência, the latter of these two articles includes a “Statement from New Resistance - Brazil, Endorsed by New Resistance Evropa & North America” that [calls](#) Lusvarghi “our countryman and friend.”



Image: Lusvarghi propaganda and promotional images from Fort Russ News. The left [image](#) clearly displays the Nova Resistência logo and is stylized like other Nova Resistência propaganda posters. Source: Fort Russ News’ defunct website.

FORT RUSS NEWS: ANOTHER PURVEYOR OF PRO-KREMLIN DISINFORMATION AND PROPAGANDA

Fort Russ News (FRN) was an English-language website that [described](#) itself as the “media wing and project of the Belgrade-based NGO, the Center for Syncretic Studies [CSS]”, and the “central organ of the nascent social movement, New Resistance.” FRN’s [stated mission](#) was to provide “partisan journalism” focused on “anti-imperialist struggles,” to promote a “multipolar world,” and to counter “corporate disinformation.” It claimed to be funded by contributions from its readers. FRN launched in 2014, but its website is down as of the drafting of this report, while its social media accounts have not been updated since February 2022.

While operational, FRN’s “partisan journalism” website published propaganda, disinformation, and conspiracy theories, most with a [pro-Kremlin](#) angle. For example, in November 2021, the outlet published [articles stating](#) that there is no diplomatic solution to the situation in eastern Ukraine, and that Russia should take over the country with military force. FRN also promoted [Moscow’s disinformation](#) denying that the Russian Federal Security Service (FSB) used a [chemical weapon](#) in the [attempted assassination](#) of Russian opposition figure Aleksey Navalny in August 2020. FRN falsely depicted the poisoning as an [anti-Russia campaign](#), a [false flag operation](#), a [conspiracy](#) of German doctors, and an act of [self-promotion](#) by Navalny.

FRN repeated the Kremlin’s false claims about other issues, such as the illegitimate presidential elections in Belarus, the role of [NATO](#), alleged antisemitism in [Ukraine](#), and the Assad regime’s use of [chemical weapons](#) in Syria. After not publishing any new articles between May and October 2021, FRN published and re-published several articles in November 2021 promoting Kremlin disinformation and propaganda narratives related to Russia’s military buildup near Ukraine’s borders. One article entitled [“Russia’s Response - Peacekeeper or Liberator? ‘R2P’ or ‘Humanitarian Intervention?’”](#) called for Russia to invade Ukraine to once and for all push back against what it described as provocations from Ukraine and countries of the West. FRN also resumed publishing articles with false claims about the origins of [COVID-19](#) and [COVID-19 vaccines](#) at that time, restarting its long history of spreading disinformation around the pandemic, in line with Russia’s overall disinformation objectives (See Annex 1).

FRN: PARTNER IN RUSSIA'S DISINFORMATION AND PROPAGANDA ECOSYSTEM

FRN began operating in 2014 as a [blog](#) entitled “Fort Russ” and regularly cited links to several disinformation outlets [identified](#) by the U.S. government as fronts for the Russian intelligence services. These included SouthFront, which [receives taskings](#) from the FSB, as well as the Strategic Culture Foundation (SCF) and Oriental Review, both [directed](#) by the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service (SVR). Additionally, the blog highlighted Russian [state-owned](#) [Ukraina.ru](#) and Colonel Cassad, a blog written by Stalinist Crimea-based author Boris Rozhin, who was also a [columnist](#) for the defunct Russian Federal News Agency (RIA FAN), an outlet under sanction by the U.S. government. RIA FAN was a part of the global malign influence network financed by now-deceased Russian oligarch Yevgeniy Prigozhin. In [2015](#), the blog’s homepage prominently featured links to Russian state-funded foreign propaganda outlets RT and Sputnik.

In [2016](#), FRN’s homepage promoted [Katehon](#), a Moscow-based quasi think tank that proliferates virulent anti-Western disinformation and propaganda led by Konstantin Malofeyev, a Russian businessman sanctioned by the [United States](#) and the [European Union](#) for funding Russia’s proxy forces in Ukraine and other [individuals](#) with clear links to the Russian state and the Russian intelligence services. In [2017](#), FRN added the Dugin-led Russian proxy website [Geopolitica.ru](#) to its homepage, which serves as a platform for Russian ultra-nationalists to spread disinformation and propaganda targeting Western and other audiences. In [2018](#), FRN revamped its website, and the [references](#) to RT and Sputnik in the outlet’s mission statement were removed. Other explicit endorsements of Russia’s disinformation and propaganda entities were also largely obfuscated with the exception of the SCF, whose logo FRN continued displaying until [August 2020](#), when the SCF was [exposed](#) as an SVR front.

For additional forensics on FRN’s attempts to obfuscate their past, see Annex 2.

Pro-Kremlin Russian-language media outlets have frequently referenced Fort Russ News, framing its pro-Kremlin propaganda as if it were coming from an independent and credible Western source, and allegedly reflecting a broad [admiration](#) of Russia in the West. For example, the state-owned [Inosmi.ru](#) translated FRN’s articles titled “Putin – a hope for democracy,” “Russia helps without asking anything in return,” and “Putin – the grand chess master of global politics.” Pro-Kremlin outlets, such as the Malofeyev-owned [Tsargrad](#), [Izvestiya](#), [Ren TV](#), and [RIA FAN](#), republished these false narratives with deceiving headlines like [“In the United States, Putin is called the ‘most consistent supporter of democracy’”](#) or [“In the United States, people are in awe of Russian authorities’ support of the public during the pandemic.”](#) [News Front](#), a U.S.-sanctioned disinformation outlet that works with the FSB, [praised](#) FRN as “one of the main independent alternative English-language” media reporting on the events in the Donbas and Syria.

For more forensics on FRN’s evolution as a proliferator of pro-Kremlin disinformation, see Annex 3.

FRN: DEEP CONNECTIONS WITH RUSSIA'S DISINFORMATION APPARATUS

FRN's interactions with other entities within Russia's disinformation and propaganda ecosystem were not limited to mutual promotion. In fact, several FRN staff members have contributed to many of these outlets, while FRN has served as a platform for pro-Kremlin propagandists.

In 2016, for example, Eduard Popov, a Russian analyst who had previously headed one of RISS's regional branches, became a [guest author](#) at FRN. Popov [contributed previously](#) to Geopolitica.ru, while [SCF](#) and [RT](#) identified him as a leading expert at the Institute of the Russian Diaspora, which according to the [Washington Post](#) and the [Estonian Foreign Intelligence Service](#), is a front organization for the psychological warfare Unit 54777 of Russian military intelligence, commonly known as the GRU. In 2018, Popov wrote about his cooperation with FRN, [praising](#) the outlet for its "huge [media] support" of Russia's proxy forces in eastern Ukraine.

According to The New York Times, U.S. intelligence officials have identified additional entities serving as front groups for the GRU, including InfoBRICS.org, OneWorld.press, and InfoRos (under [U.S. sanctions](#)), which [disseminate](#) "messaging and disinformation drafted by the [Russian] intelligence officials." Paul Antonopoulos, FRN's former staff [member](#) and a [Research Fellow](#) at CSS, writes for both [InfoBrics](#) and [OneWorld.press](#). In 2017, an Australian media outlet ABC [reported](#) that Antonopoulos was "forced to resign" from his job as a deputy editor at Al Masdar News, a pro-Bashar al-Assad regime website, "after it was revealed he had posted race hate comments 10 years ago on the neo-Nazi website, Storm Front." Antonopoulos has also written for [Geopolitica.ru](#) and [Global Research](#), and appeared on [RT](#). One of OneWorld.press's [main](#) contributors and the administrator of its page on the Russian social media platform [VKontakte](#), is a [self-described](#) "Moscow-based American political analyst," affiliated with FRN and [CSS](#). He is FRN's [guest author](#) and has [hosted FRN's staff members](#) on his [podcast](#) on [Sputnik](#). In addition to [Sputnik](#), his work is published by several pro-Kremlin propaganda and disinformation outlets including [Global Research](#), [Geopolitica.ru](#), [Katehon](#), and the SVR-directed [Oriental Review](#).

THE CENTER FOR SYNCRETIC STUDIES (CSS): AN AUTHORITARIAN THINK TANK

The pseudo think tank CSS was based in Belgrade, Serbia, and – while active – promoted international syncretic ideas and movements in an effort to degrade the post-WWII rules-based world order. The New York Times [wrote](#) in August 2020 that CSS is “believed to have ties to Russian intelligence.” CSS [translates](#) Dugin’s writings and cooperates with known Kremlin disinformation entities and individuals. For example, in 2016 it [hosted](#) Leonid Savin, editor of [Geopolitica.ru](#), former chief editor of [Katehon](#), contributor to the [SCF](#) and [reportedly](#), the chief editor of the U.S.-sanctioned [USA Really](#). The previously mentioned Eduard Popov serves on the [advisory board](#) of the Journal of Syncretic Studies, CSS’s publication.

On its [“About” page](#), CSS claims it has “advised organizations, government advisers, political parties, and social movements against policies which will have an ultimately adverse effect on either pluralist institutions or the rights of vulnerable and marginalized groups, including whole peoples and nations.” CSS purports it developed “the New Resistance project as a phenomenological model – one possible model of many – that the above-mentioned organizations and individuals can utilize for educational purposes; to understand one way of many that the work we are developing could be realized.”

CSS states that the “model project” New Resistance “utilizes modern tropes, memes (etc.) based in the last century’s experience with populisms, whether left or right (problematic categorical framings in their own right, to be sure), to create its scale model for crisis management proposals... While they [the right and the left] continue to redefine themselves, this requires an open dialogue and free discourse, which the Center has established itself as a part of.”

CSS, and its open espousal of authoritarianism, functions as the link between the pro-Kremlin disinformation outlet FRN and New Resistance, and as an allegedly international manifestation of Dugin’s syncretic, often fascist, views, which promote violence and threaten the information environment through the spread of disinformation and malign influence.

CONCLUSION

New Resistance, FRN, and the CSS are closely linked entities that form a Syncretic Disinformation Network targeting Western and Latin American audiences with pro-Kremlin disinformation and propaganda. While attempting to appear as authentic homegrown institutions and organizations, in truth they have close ties to – and appear to be cultivated by – Russia’s known malign influence actors. Based on the well-documented influence operations of the Russian government around the world, the Network’s disinformation, propaganda, and support for paramilitary activities have largely supported the Kremlin’s foreign policy goals of destabilizing Western democracies and upending the rules-based international order.

New Resistance’s Brazilian offshoot organization, Nova Resistência, poses an especially concerning risk in Latin America as it serves as a proponent and representative organization of the neo-fascist, destabilizing ideology of Aleksandr Dugin. The organization’s growing connections with known malign actors and outlets in Russia’s disinformation and propaganda ecosystem, routine creation and amplification of Kremlin-aligned narratives, efforts to send fighters to the Donbas in eastern Ukraine, and successful formation of a Latin American-wide group of pro-Russia nationalist revolutionary organizations are cause for concern and warrant additional research.

Dugin’s syncretic ideology is at the core of the overall Syncretic Disinformation Network’s activity and the primary driver of the Kremlin-aligned agendas of the organizations in the Network. This ideology is growing in influence throughout the world – especially in Latin America – through this Network.

The Syncretic Disinformation Network interacts with other pillars of Russia’s disinformation and propaganda ecosystem, amplifying Russia’s state media and proxy websites, as well as contributing content to outlets that function as fronts for Russian intelligence services. While there is no direct evidence that New Resistance, Nova Resistência, FRN, or the CSS are controlled by Russian intelligence services, the organizations have the hallmarks of other proxy websites and organizations that the FSB, GRU or SVR are known to direct, task or influence.

ANNEXES

Annex 1: A Brief History of FRN's COVID-19 and Vaccine Disinformation

In line with other pro-Kremlin media, FRN [disseminated](#) disinformation on the COVID-19 pandemic, including false claims [describing](#) the pandemic as a “global false alarm,” [sowing doubts](#) about the accuracy of COVID-19 tests, [downplaying](#) the threat from the virus, discrediting efforts to fight the pandemic and the [organizations](#) that do so, and [depicting](#) the pandemic as a conspiracy by governments and private businesses to profit. According to [EUvsDisinfo](#), FRN was a “forerunner in the [conspiracy theory] campaign against Bill Gates,” a frequent [target](#) of pro-Kremlin media. The outlet’s website features a “GatesofHell” browsing tag with articles accusing Bill Gates and his former wife Melinda French Gates of worshipping [Satan](#), being [responsible](#) for the COVID-19 pandemic, and having a “[god-like willingness to experiment](#) with human lives.”

Annex 2: Additional Forensics into FRN's Attempts to Obfuscate Their Past

FRN attempted to try to obfuscate the historical connections between all the different New Resistance movements and sub-organizations. Beginning in March 2020, FRN [began](#) describing itself as the “central organ of New Resistance – Evropa, and New Resistance – North America,” with an asterisk stating “not to be confused with the Open Revolt! organization of the same name and similar logo.” In fact, Open Revolt!, by available archived [evidence](#), is the same neo-Nazi, Duginist organization that grew out of New Resistance’s [predecessor](#) organization. The sites [openrevolt.info](#) and [syncreticstudies.com](#) both linked to one another as early as July 2013, and New Resistance’s predecessor organization similarly [linked](#) to openrevolt.info at least as early as February 2012.

Beginning in [May 2020](#) and continuing until its website went offline in February 2022, FRN removed any caveats on its “About” page, declaring that it “serves as the central organ for the nascent social movement, New Resistance.” With its stated early links to RT, Sputnik, and multiple outlets and contributors linked to Russian intelligence and its earlier [statement](#) that “it is essential for the West to hear Russia’s side of the story,” FRN’s self-proclaimed role as the “central organ” what amounts to an international neo-fascist, national revolutionary vanguard organization operating in Europe, North America, and South America is a cause for deeper investigation.

Annex 3: Additional Forensics into FRN's Evolution as a Proliferator of Disinformation

After the Fort Russ blog evolved into a fully functioning website, it expanded the number of outlets within Russia's disinformation and propaganda ecosystem that it promoted. In [2015](#), for example, the website's homepage prominently featured links to Russian state-funded foreign propaganda outlets RT and Sputnik. FRN's stated [mission](#) was modified to describe its main focus as covering issues related to the "world-island" of Eurasia" and explicitly mentioned RT and Sputnik's amplification of Fort Russ's content as an example of its success. The FSB-linked SouthFront was included on Fort Russ's "brothers in arms" (later renamed "fraternal sites") list as late as [2016](#).

In [2016](#), FRN's homepage promoted [Katehon](#), a Moscow-based quasi think tank that proliferates virulent anti-Western disinformation and propaganda led by Malofeyev and other [individuals](#) with clear links to the Russian state and the Russian intelligence services. In [2017](#), FRN added to its homepage the Russian proxy website [Geopolitica.ru](#) which serves as a platform for Russian ultra-nationalists to spread disinformation and propaganda targeting Western and other audiences. Inspired by the Eurasianist ideology of Aleksandr Dugin (who also sits on the [supervisory board](#) of Katehon), Geopolitica.ru views itself as caught in a perpetual information war against the Western ideals of democracy and liberalism.

In 2017, FRN [stated](#) that it had "friends, allies, and contacts" at RT. Yet in [2018](#), FRN revamped its website, and the [references](#) to RT and Sputnik in the outlet's mission statement were removed. Other explicit endorsements of Russia's disinformation and propaganda entities were also largely obfuscated with the exception of the SCF, the logo of which FRN continued displaying until [August 2020](#), when the SCF was [exposed](#) as an SVR front. Also in 2020, FRN began [identifying](#) itself as "the media wing" of the CSS and the "[central organ of New Resistance – Evropa, and New Resistance – North America.](#)"

ENDNOTES

¹ Shekhovtsov, Anton. 2017. *Russia and the Western Far Right: Tango Noir*. Routledge.

² Dugin, Aleksandr. *The Foundations of Geopolitics: The Geopolitical Future of Russia*. Arktogejja. 1997.

³ Dugin's philosophy is outlined in his book, *Fourth Political Theory*, published in 2009 by Arktos.

⁴ Dugin, Aleksandr. 2009. *Fourth Political Theory*. Arktos. Pg. 209. Also available online here: <https://archive.ph/UB5eB>

⁵ Other examples: <https://archive.ph/eIHhT>; <https://web.archive.org/web/20210814215901/https://www.facebook.com/novaresistenciabrasil/photos/1158474670996598>

⁶ Other examples: <https://archive.is/Yvj2r>; <https://archive.ph/5rswb>; <https://archive.is/zfqYj>

⁷ Other examples: <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/lvPCZ>; <https://ghostarchive.org/archive/K9dhD>

⁸ Darya Dugina, daughter of Aleksandr Dugin, was killed in a car bombing on the outskirts of Moscow on August 20, 2022. Dugina was an outspoken supporter of Russia's war against Ukraine and a frequent purveyor of Kremlin disinformation, including claiming that Russia's April 2022 massacre of civilians in Bucha, Ukraine was staged.

⁹ Girkin was arrested on charges of inciting extremism on July 21, 2023. As of the publication of this report, he will remain in a pre-trial detention center until December 18, 2023.



GEC Special Report:

EXPORTING PRO-KREMLIN DISINFORMATION: THE CASE OF NOVA RESISTÊNCIA IN BRAZIL



United States Department of State
Global Engagement Center