

March 2022

# SYMBOLS & SLOGANS OF THE RADICAL RIGHT ONLINE: ITALY, GERMANY, FRANCE

---

Italy: Dr Valerio Alfonso Bruno

Germany: Dr Tobias Hof & Maximilian Kreter

France: Dr Jean-Yves Camus

Edited & Presented by Academic Consulting Services Ltd.



Academic  
Consulting  
Services Ltd.

## Table of Contents

<b>Part I: Online use of Slogans, Symbols and Slurs by the Italian Radical Right .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<i>Introduction .....</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Section One: Images and Symbols.....</i>	<i>5</i>
Symbology .....	21
<i>Section Two: Slangs, Slurs, Codes and Key Phrases.....</i>	<i>35</i>
<b>Part II: Radical-Right Symbols, Slogans and Slurs Online: Germany .....</b>	<b>65</b>
<i>Introduction .....</i>	<i>66</i>
<i>Images and Symbols.....</i>	<i>68</i>
I. Mythological Symbols .....	68
III. Celtic symbols .....	76
IV. Other Symbols .....	77
V. Flags .....	83
VI. Lifestyle Symbols .....	85
<i>Language: Codes, Acronyms and Key Phrases .....</i>	<i>88</i>
I. Alpha-Numeric Codes and Acronyms .....	88
II. Key Phrases .....	93
III. Euphemisms.....	95
<i>Techniques.....</i>	<i>97</i>
<b>Part III: Online use of Slogans, Symbols, Codes and Slurs by the French Radical Right .....</b>	<b>99</b>
<i>Introduction .....</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>Images and Symbols.....</i>	<i>106</i>
Radical Right symbols from the past .....	106
Identitarian movement symbols .....	109
National-Revolutionary Symbols .....	112
Pagan Symbols .....	116
Neo-Nazi Symbols .....	122
Additional signs and symbols .....	125
Front national / Rassemblement national [National Front / National Rally] .....	126
<i>Language: Codes, Acronyms and Key Phrases .....</i>	<i>129</i>
Key Phrases.....	131
<b>Report Authors.....</b>	<b>133</b>

# Part I: Online use of Slogans, Symbols and Slurs by the Italian Radical Right

Dr Valerio Alfonso Bruno



**Image 1:** A mural supporting BLM in Rome vandalized by CasaPound activists (3 July 2021). Source: [https://www.ansa.it/lazio/notizie/2021/07/02/europei-roma-murales-in-stile-fascistaresta-in-piedi-italia\\_ffd83389-8750-4580-98db-0b552bc74d8a.html](https://www.ansa.it/lazio/notizie/2021/07/02/europei-roma-murales-in-stile-fascistaresta-in-piedi-italia_ffd83389-8750-4580-98db-0b552bc74d8a.html).

# Introduction

*To Paolo Berizzi  
for his work and his example*

This chapter details the slogans, symbols, key phrases and slurs currently used online by the Italian radical right.<sup>1</sup> It bears noting that the Italian radical right is mostly identified in Italy simply as '*la destra*' [the right], which is misleading or, with an increasingly common label, '*destra sovranista*' [sovereigntist right]<sup>2</sup>: a foreign reader, unfamiliar with Italian politics, may be surprised to discover how ideologically broad is the political spectrum covered by what is called '*la destra*'. In fact, in Italy this term is intended to include everything from the moderate centre right to the fascist extreme right, particularly since the former has been gradually, at least since 2018, eaten up by the radical right.<sup>3</sup> While in the current Italian context 'radical right' (or 'far right') are not generally in use, this report – in keeping with instalments on France and Germany – will identify this term with the illiberal politics and violent extremism underpinning these groups.

A second peculiarity of the Italian radical right is that it currently includes a something unique in contemporary Europe; namely, two political parties of similar political strength: *Fratelli d'Italia*<sup>4</sup> [Brothers of Italy], led by Giorgia Meloni, and *La Lega* [the League], led by Matteo Salvini. Both parties will be discussed at length below. These parties are allies, though they compete for the leadership of the Italian center-right coalition – which is problematic enough – but it also bears noting that the League supports the current Draghi executive, while Brothers of Italy is in opposition. Around those two now-mainstream parties, supported by millions of Italian citizens<sup>5</sup>, gravitates a complex galaxy of fascist and extreme-right movements – some of them widely known – that are

<sup>1</sup> Here 'radical right' is viewed as an umbrella term for political parties, protest movements, cell-based groups ('groupuscules') and self-directed ('lone-wolf') terrorists that harbour anti-minority, authoritarian, and sometimes populist tactics ('the people' vs. 'elites'). This includes individuals and groups who actively incite violence and are politically revolutionary (fascism) as well as movements that are aggressively nativist or racist, in addition to those fundamentally critiquing the democratic constitutional order ('far-right'). For other terms used in this text, such as 'fascist' and 'white supremacist', see the definitions provided at: [www.radicalrightanalysis.com/resources/glossary/](http://www.radicalrightanalysis.com/resources/glossary/) (all websites last accessed 17 December 2021).

<sup>2</sup> See: "Dr. Valerio Alfonso Bruno: The similarities between Brothers of Italy and the League will coexist well after the next general elections (interview by Theodoros Benakis)", European Interest, 13 September 2021 <https://www.europeaninterest.eu/article/dr-valerio-alfonso-bruno-the-similarities-between-brothers-of-italy-and-the-league-will-coexist-well-after-the-next-general-elections/>.

<sup>3</sup> Valerio Alfonso Bruno (2021) "At the next election, Italians have two options: Right or further Right?", openDemocracy, 2 September 2021 <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/countering-radical-right/next-election-italians-have-two-options-right-or-further-right/> and Valerio Alfonso Bruno and Vittorio Emanuele Parsi (2021) "Can Italy's centre-right coalition recover from far-right influence?", Social Europe, 13 May 2021 <https://socialeurope.eu/can-italys-centre-right-coalition-recover-from-far-right-influence> (both accessed 26 September 2021).

<sup>4</sup> For clarity's sake in this report the name of Italian political parties, movements and groups are written in italics only when mentioned for the first time.

<sup>5</sup> According to all the latest opinion polls (EMG, IPSOS, SWG, Tecnè), Brothers of Italy and the League, taken together, would account for about 38-39% of the votes in case of election. Source: <https://www.adnkronos.com/sondaggi-politici-pd-primo-partito-al-21-6-seguito-da-fdi-al-18-9> 4UQptbIKGAzBE6i6NsOpyw (accessed 23 January 2022).

not represented in the Italian Parliament and mostly act on the streets and online. The most prominent of these anti-democratic groups include *CasaPound* and *Forza Nuova* [New Force].<sup>6</sup>

The following report details the principal symbols, slang, coded references and terminology used online by the Italian radical right today, covering both (a) its mainstream component and (b) the extreme right fringes. Regarding the slogans, symbols and codes used by the Italian radical right that have been ‘mainstreamed’ – and go currently under the label of ‘*destra sovranista*’ – Fratelli d’Italia and the Lega activism can be widely observed on social media platforms such as Facebook, YouTube and Twitter. In addition, established newspapers and media platforms such as *La voce del Patriota* [The voice of the Patriot] or *Il Primato Nazionale* [The National Primacy] respectively tied to the Brothers of Italy and the League, represent key sources. This is because they utilise not only information channels but host and provide support for online communities.<sup>7</sup> The part of what follows that explores extreme-right parties and movements, including fascist and post-fascist fringes, will draw upon the social media platforms and, where possible, official websites of those groups.

In analysing the use of symbols, slang, coded references and terminology, it is also important to stress that in Italy both the mainstream populist radical right and the extreme-right groups make extensive use of the Fascist heritage available in Italy, although often in a concealed or indirect manner.<sup>8</sup> The recent investigation of radical-right circles in Milan by the online newspaper Fanpage, labeled ‘Lobby nera’, provides a clear example of that, whereas the word ‘*patriota*’ [patriot] is often used to signify fascist (see paragraph 22 of section two of this chapter of the report).

Importantly, the mainstream component of the Italian populist radical right, but also fascist groups as CasaPound, recently have shown deep influence by American fascist and radical right subcultures. For instance, the already-mentioned *La voce del Patriota* and *Il Primato Nazionale* make extensive use of key phrases, codes and symbols exhibiting the influence of themes ‘imported’ from Trumpism and the mainstreaming of the global radical right.<sup>9</sup> Thus we are witnessing the production of a ‘hybridization’ between (a) codes and symbols of social and political movements belonging to the Italian radical and fascist right; and (b) themes derived from American right-wing extremism<sup>10</sup>. An emblematic example of the hybridization of slogans, symbols and themes currently used by the

<sup>6</sup> Forza Nuova in particular has recently used no-vax and no-green pass demonstrations to gain new visibility, as for the October 2021 storm of the CGIL headquarter in Rome.

<sup>7</sup> Source: the websites of *La voce del Patriota* and *Il Primato Nazionale* are available at the following links <https://www.lavocedelpatriota.it/> and <https://www.ilprimatonazionale.it/> (accessed 26 September 2021).

<sup>8</sup> It is worth a quick mention to the Italian legal framework for this highly sensitive area, substantially covered by the so called *Legge Scelba* (1952) and the *Legge Mancino* (1993). The first, named after Mario Scelba (1901-1991), introduced, among other things, the specific offence of ‘*apologia del fascismo*’ [‘apology or defence of Fascism’]; the second, named after former Interior Minister Nicola Mancino (1931-), condemns phrases, gestures, actions and slogans having as their purpose hate speech, incitement to violence, discrimination and violence on racial, ethnic, religious or national grounds, clearly including the use of emblems or symbols related to fascism.

<sup>9</sup> See: Mainstreaming the *Global Radical Right: CARR Yearbook 2019/2020*, Ed. Eviane Leidig, Stuttgart: Ibidem Verlag, 2020.

<sup>10</sup> See the second part of the chapter for key phrases, codes and symbol of clear fascist origin, such as ‘*Amare la Patria*’ [Love the Homeland], ‘*Doppia morale*’ [Double moral], ‘*Follia di Stato*’ [State folly], ‘*Cultura ed Identità*’ [Culture and Identity] or ‘*Essere nati liberi*’ [Born free]. These are increasingly used and framed within discourses related to areas such as the BLM or LGBT campaigns.

Italian radical right can be found in the self-described 'fascists of the third millennium', CasaPound. The avowedly fascist group, established in 2003, vandalised street art murals inviting Italian soccer players to join the BLM initiative during the UEFA Euro 2020. CasaPound turned them into a fascist call to '*Resta in piedi Italia!*' [Stay up, Italy!], drawing directly from a 1936 image of an Italian football player, replete with Roman, or Fascist, salute (see Image 1 above).

The first part of this chapter focusses upon the online use of key images and symbols, ranging from the Fascist salute to the neo-fascist tricolor flame and Celtic cross. These symbols are relatively rarely seen in 'real life' (with certain notable exceptions, in particular football stadia), while unfortunately the web amplifies them greatly. If some of these symbols, like the Celtic cross, can be considered as a 'common heritage' of most extreme-right parties in Europe, they nevertheless appear to be more frequently used by radical-right and extreme-right parties in Italy. An important part of this chapter's first section addresses symbols utilised by extreme-right youth-wings and 'minor' groups in Italy.<sup>11</sup>

The second part then turns to written codes that are particularly relevant for the Italian radical and extreme right; these are key phrases, code-terms and slurs, ranging from the more old-fashioned and formal as '*Onore*' or '*Patrioti*' to more modern, and appealing to wider audiences, words and slurs '*Professorone*', '*Risorsa*', '*Radical-chic*'. Together, the two sections reproduce some seventy figures, including emblematic photos, symbols and online newspapers titles, while more than forty terms are analysed individually or in small clusters.

---

<sup>11</sup> Without the fundamental works of Italian journalist and author, Paolo Berizzi, much of our knowledge about these groups would not exist. See on Repubblica: [https://www.repubblica.it/protagonisti/paolo\\_berizzi/](https://www.repubblica.it/protagonisti/paolo_berizzi/).



## Section One: Images and Symbols

### Roman Salute



**Figure 1:** Forza Nuova members gathering in Rome 27 October 2018. Source: <https://www.wired.it/attualita/politica/2019/05/17/saluto-romano-reato-gabriele-leccisi-milano/>.

The Fascist, or ‘Roman Salute’ (Figure 1; in Italian ‘*saluto romano*’), may well be considered the most widely-known symbol for the extreme right. Although the Roman Salute constitutes a crime within the Italian legal framework as an ‘apology of Fascism’ (already codified in the *Legge Scelba* of 1952 and *Legge Mancino* 1993 laws), many radical and extreme-right activists and sympathisers, including notable Italian policymakers, continue to use or evoke it, in more or less ambiguous ways, depending upon circumstances. If the fact that the Roman Salute can be widely seen in the media this is also the result of a certain laxity in enforcing the law.<sup>12</sup> In particular, some sentences in Italy have recently established that if the Roman Salute is not directed at (a) practically reestablishing the deceased Fascist party; or (b) the pursuit of anti-democratic and discriminatory actions and aims, then those performing it may not be legally prosecuted.

<sup>12</sup> See: “Quando fare il saluto romano non è reato”, AGI, 9 November 2019 [https://www.agi.it/fact-checking/saluto\\_fascista\\_reato-6515949/news/2019-11-09/](https://www.agi.it/fact-checking/saluto_fascista_reato-6515949/news/2019-11-09/) (accessed 26 September 2021).

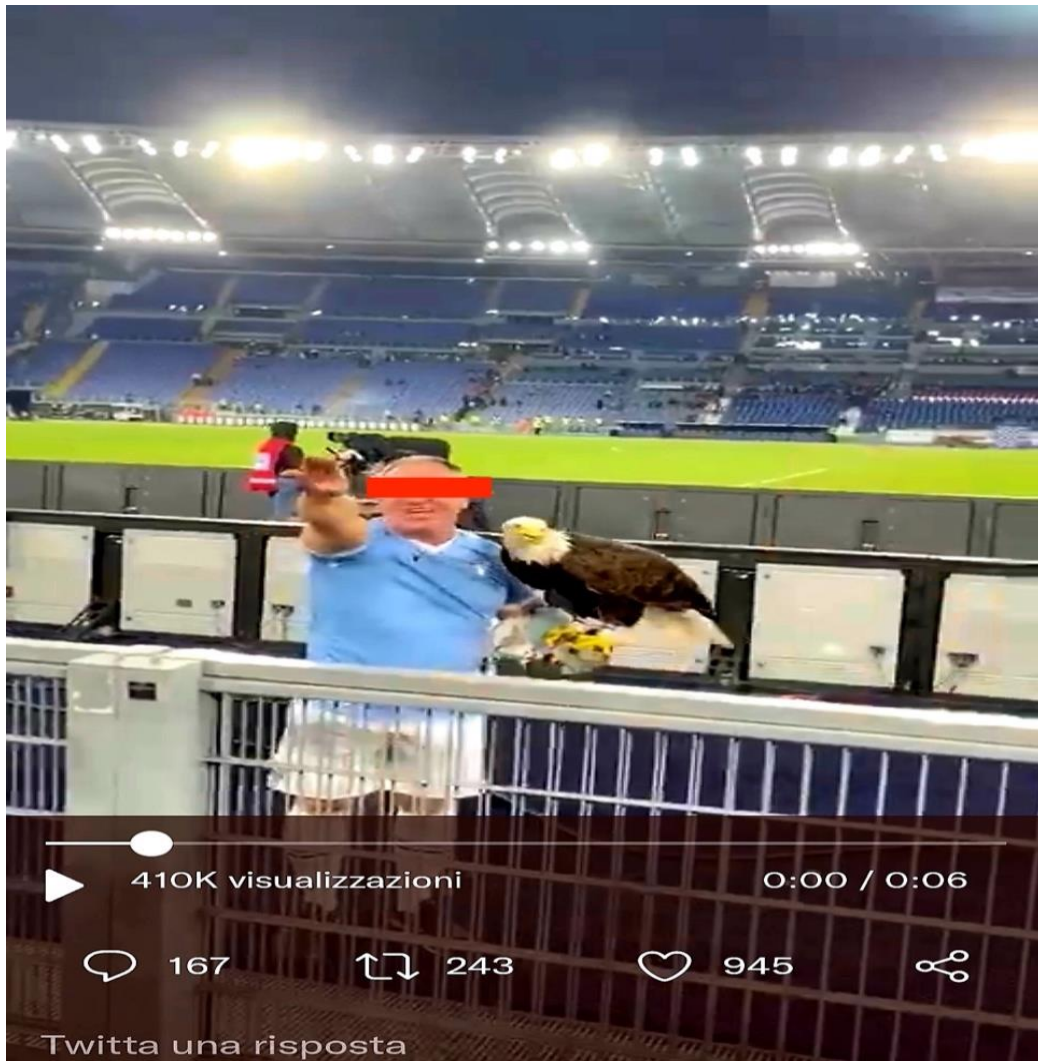


**Figure 2:** Fragment of a video depicting some members of the Town Council of Cogoleto (Genova) performing the Roman Salute during a meeting (27 January 2021). Source: [https://www.agi.it/fact-checking/saluto\\_fascista\\_reato-6515949/news/2019-11-09/](https://www.agi.it/fact-checking/saluto_fascista_reato-6515949/news/2019-11-09/).



**Figure 3:** The Roman Salute by then members of the party Brothers of Italy, during local election campaign in Foggia, September 2020. Source: <https://www.foggiatoday.it/politica/foto-fabio-delli-carri-bruno-longo-saluto-romano.html>.





**Figure 4:** Fragment of a video from Twitter, showing the falconer of SS Lazio football team giving a Roman Salute at supporters chanting “Duce, Duce!” in October 2021. Source: <https://sport.sky.it/calcio/serie-a/2021/10/20/lazio-falconiere-aquila-olimpia-sospeso-saluto-romano>.

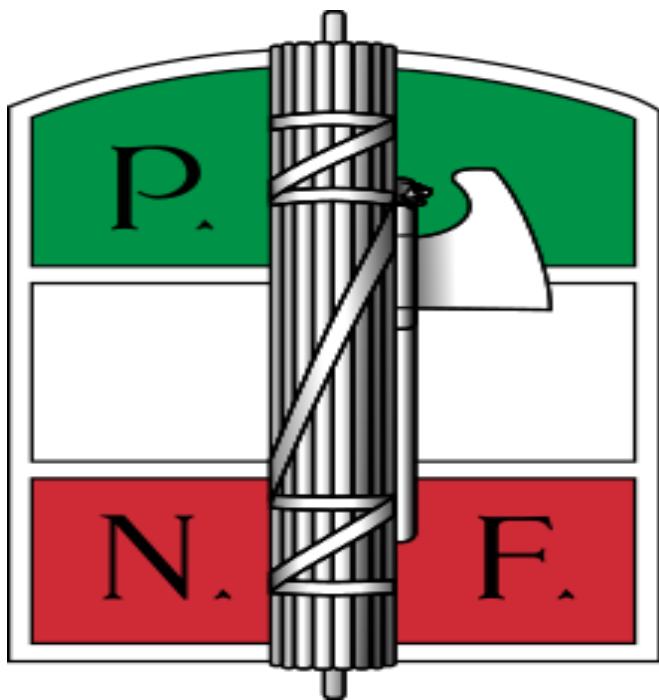
It should come as no surprise that in Italy politicians, even at the national or local level, have performed the Roman Salute in official meetings, as in the small town of Cogoleto (Genova), where several local members of the Town Council performed it in January 2021 (Figure 2).<sup>13</sup> Something similar occurred in Foggia, in September 2020, during a local election campaign (Figure 3), as well as at a sports stadium in Rome during October 2021 (Figure 4).<sup>14</sup> Those events are just few examples of a very vast number of meetings where the Roman Salute has been performed with pride in Italy.

<sup>13</sup> See: “Saluti romani in consiglio comunale a Cogoleto”, Repubblica, 29 January 2021 [https://www.repubblica.it/cronaca/2021/01/28/news/saluti\\_romani\\_in\\_consiglio\\_comunale\\_a\\_cogoleto-284628524/](https://www.repubblica.it/cronaca/2021/01/28/news/saluti_romani_in_consiglio_comunale_a_cogoleto-284628524/) (accessed 26 September 2021).

<sup>14</sup> See: “La mano romana sui Fratelli d'Italia foggiani”, Foggia Today, 24 March 2021, <https://www.foggiatoday.it/politica/foto-fabio-delli-carri-bruno-longo-saluto-romano.html> (accessed 2 October 2021).

### Fascio and the Fascist Eagle

The *Fascio* or '*Fascio littorio*' (Figure 5) and the Fascist Eagle or '*Aquila fascista*' (Figure 6) are now analysed. Alongside the Roman Salute, the Fascio and the Fascist Eagle can be seen as three symbols composing the classic 'triad' of Fascist imagery. These can be frequently seen in Italian football stadia today (Figures 7 and 8).



**Figure 5:** The Fascio [or Fascio littorio] with the initials of the Partito Nazionale Fascista. Source: [https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Partito\\_Nazionale\\_Fascista](https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Partito_Nazionale_Fascista).



**Figure 6:** The Fascist Eagle [Aquila fascista]. Source: <http://www.pietredinciampo.eu/services/il-fascismo-e-la-deportazione-italiana/>.



**Figure 7:** Football ultras from Ascoli football team exhibiting fascist and neo-fascist symbols, such as the Celtic cross and the Fascist eagle. Source: <http://razzismoecalcio.altervista.org/fotogallery-simboli-razzisti.html>.



**Figure 8:** Material seized from the ultras of Foggia football team in November 2019. Note in particular the eagle holding a Nazi swastika. Source: [www.norbaonline.it/dettaglio.php?i=81912](http://www.norbaonline.it/dettaglio.php?i=81912).

Likewise, in Italy today it is easy to find openly fascist groups, such as the *Movimento Fascismo e Liberta* [Fascism and Liberty Movement] exhibiting the symbol of the *Fascio* (Figure 9) on their website. For instance, the explicitly fascist group *Movimento Fascismo e Libertà* incorporates two of these key radical right images in their party logo.





**Figure 9:** Website of the Movimento Fascismo e Libertà, displaying the symbols of the Fascio (left side) and Fascist eagle (right side). Source: <https://fascismoeliberta.info/>.

Yet *Fascismo e Libertà* goes further by explicitly quoting constitutional articles and court rulings supporting the possibility of exhibiting Fascist symbols (Figure 10):

The Constitution of the [Italian] Republic, while absolutely prohibiting the re-organization of the deceased fascist party, does not put any limits to the freedom of manifesting one's own thought, even when it includes for example people, facts and political patterns belonging to fascism. [...] ... is not prohibited the organization and creation of political groups, referring, more or less explicitly to Fascism, in the case these movements *respect the normal democratic dialectic and repudiate the use of violence* as tool of political struggle.

«La Costituzione della Repubblica, mentre vieta in modo assoluto la riorganizzazione del disciolto partito fascista, non pone invece alcun limite alla libertà di manifestare il proprio pensiero, neppure quando la manifestazione abbia per oggetto persone, fatti e disegni politici del fascismo. Pertanto, per costituire reato, l'apologia del fascismo deve consistere in una esaltazione tale da poter portare alla riorganizzazione del partito fascista.»

La Cassazione stessa stabilisce, inoltre, che non è vietata la organizzazione e creazione di gruppi politici che si richiamino più o meno espressamente al Fascismo se questi stessi movimenti **rispettano la normale dialettica democratica e ripudiano l'utilizzo della violenza** come arma di lotta politica.

*Qui di seguito troverete l'archivio delle sentenze di assoluzione del Movimento Fascismo e Libertà*

**Archivio\_Sentenza1.pdf**

**Archivio\_Sentenza2.pdf**

**Figure 10:** The website of the Movimento Fascismo e Libertà quoting (in red) articles of the Italian Constitution and courts rulings allegedly allowing it to use Fascist symbols. Source: <https://fascismoeliberta.info/legalita-del-m-f-l-p-s-n/>.

Similar to what has been said about the Roman Salute, so too the Fascist eagle regularly appears not only at extreme-right demonstrations or in football stadia, can be even carried by local policymakers (Figure 11).<sup>15</sup>



**Figure 11:** Council member of San Giuliano Milanese (Milan) exposing a flag with the Fascist Eagle (May 2019). Source: [/www.milanotoday.it/politica/assessore-san-giuliano-fascismo.html](http://www.milanotoday.it/politica/assessore-san-giuliano-fascismo.html).

<sup>15</sup> See: "San Giuliano, l'assessore con "simpatie" di estrema destra: "Falsità, vorrei si parlasse del mio lavoro per la città"", Milano Today, 14 May 2019 <https://www.milanotoday.it/politica/assessore-san-giuliano-fascismo.html> (accessed 26 September 2021).

### The Letter V in place of 'U'

Use of the letter 'V' in place of the 'U' is another classic symbol for fascist and radical right groups in Italy. Depictions can be seen in both the website (Figure 12) and the current headquarters of CasaPound Italia (Figure 13).



Figure 12: Logo from CasaPound Italia website. Source: <https://www.casapounditalia.org/>.



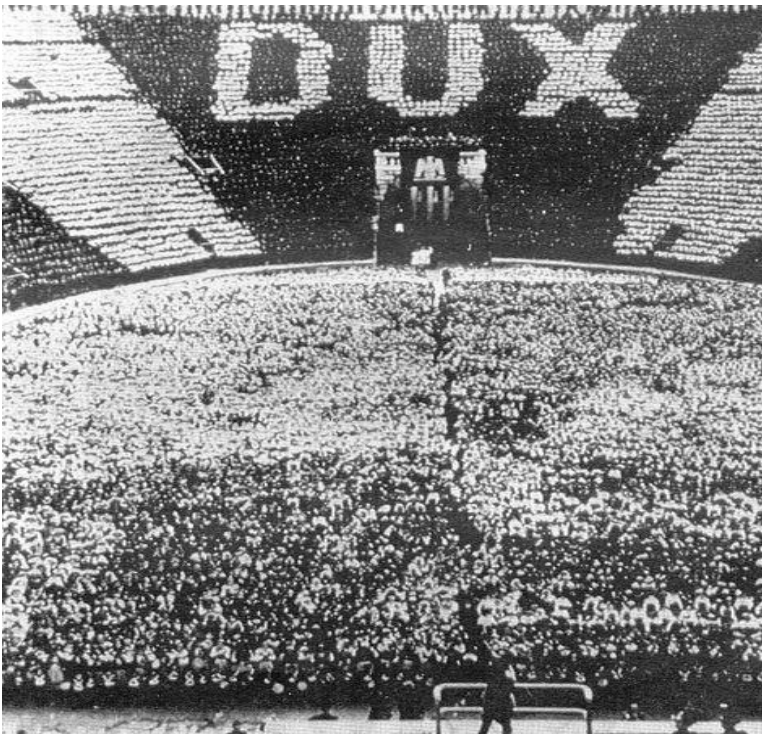
Figure 13: The Headquarters of CasaPound in Rome. Source: [https://www.ilmessaggero.it/roma/news/casapound\\_roma\\_sede\\_in\\_vendita-4467938.html](https://www.ilmessaggero.it/roma/news/casapound_roma_sede_in_vendita-4467938.html).

### DVX / DVX MEA LVX

The letters DVX / DVX MEA LVX in capital letters are also used as symbols to show support for fascism and are quite commonly observed on murals and walls. Once visible at large Fascist gatherings (Figure 14), it remains a hallmark of many far-right and extreme-right groups and movements, in particular fascist and neofascist. On social media platforms such as Facebook, these kinds of symbols



are still widely used by extreme-right sympathizers and communities. In addition, memorabilia, in particular badges, depicting the symbol DVX are relatively easy to buy online (Figure 15).



**Figure 14:** A 'DVX' choreography welcomes Mussolini to the Verona Arena (1938). Source: <https://www.verona-in.it/2016/06/02/maiuscolo-consenso-per-mussolini/>



**Figure 15:** Badges depicting Benito Mussolini as 'DVX', sold online. Similar badges were often distributed during Campo DVX gatherings, organized by Italian Fascist youth organizations functioning between 1926 and 1937, known as Opera Nazionale Balilla [ONB; or simply Opera Balilla]. Source: [www.ebay.it](http://www.ebay.it)

### Tricolor flame and Tricolor Torch

With the tricolor flame it is possible to move from symbols that can be considered properly 'fascist' to symbols that can be labeled as 'neofascist'. In particular, the MSI or '*Movimento Sociale Italiano*'

[Italian Social Movement], and its youth wing, '*Giovane Italia*' [The Young Italy] first adopted the tricolor torch (Figure 16), while the MSI has adopted the tricolor flame since at least 1948 (Figure 17)<sup>16</sup>. The symbol of the tricolor flame has since moved to the party *Alleanza Nazionale* [National Alliance or AN], established in 1995 under the leadership of Gianfranco Fini, until 2009, when the party was absorbed by Silvio Berlusconi's *Popolo della Libertà* [People of Freedom or PDL]<sup>17</sup>. The flame has appeared in the logos of Brothers of Italy only since 2014, first in that of *Alleanza Nazionale* and, since 2017, by enclosing the tricolor flame tout court (Figure 18), as can be seen by the current logo of the party led by Giorgia Meloni (Figure 19), now displaying the tricolor flame visible in the center of the logo<sup>18</sup>.

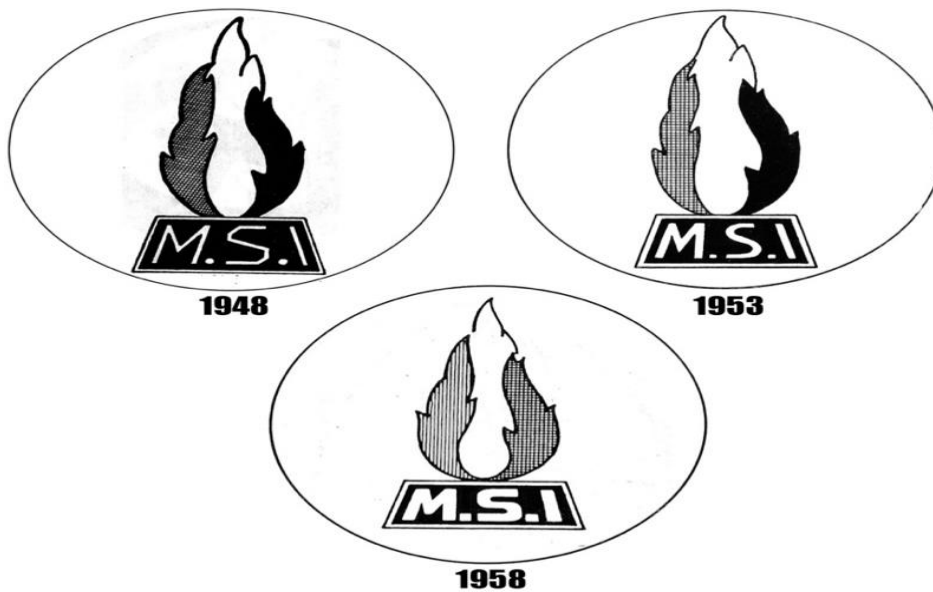


**Figure 16:** On the left the Tricolour Torch ['Fiaccola Tricolore'], symbol firstly used by The Young Italy ['Giovane Italia'], the youth wing of the MSI or Italian Social Movement between 1954 and 1971. On the right the Tricolour Flame ['Fiamma Tricolore'], symbol of the MSI, established in 1946 by veterans of the Repubblica Sociale Italiana, including Giorgio Almirante (1914-1988), and lately incorporated in 1995 in the party *Alleanza Nazionale*. Source: [https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiaccola\\_tricolore](https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiaccola_tricolore).

<sup>16</sup> The image is from "I simboli della Discordia", 9 February 2017 <http://www.isimbolidelladiscordia.it/2017/02/la-fiamma-del-msi-lungo-70-anni-di.html> (accessed 29 September 2021).

<sup>17</sup> See: Pietro Gattinara and Caterina Froio (2021). Italy: The Mainstream Right and its Allies, 1994–2018. In T. Bale & C. Rovira Kaltwasser (Eds.), *Riding the Populist Wave: Europe's Mainstream Right in Crisis* (pp. 170-192). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. In particular pp. 180-181.

<sup>18</sup> On the dynamics that brought AN to merge into the PDL in 2008 see Giorgia Meloni's *Io sono Giorgia. Le mie radici, le mie idee*. Milan: Rizzoli, 2021.



**Figure 17:** The MSI party logo between 1948 and 1958. Source: <http://www.isimbolidelladiscordia.it/2017/02/la-fiamma-del-msi-lungo-70-anni-di.html>.



**Figure 18:** From right to left: The MSI-DESTRA NAZIONALE party logo (1992), the ALLEANZA NAZIONALE logo (1993), the first party logo of Fratelli d'Italia (2012), the second party logo of Fratelli d'Italia with inside the ALLEANZA NAZIONALE logo (2014), and the current logo of Fratelli d'Italia, having completely enclosed the original MSI tricolour flame (2017- present). Source: <https://www.romatoday.it/blog/sartoria-politica/nuovo-simbolo-fratelli-d-italia.html>.



**Figure 19:** The current party logo of Brothers of Italy (2017- present). The one on the right includes the name of Giorgia Meloni. The MSI tricolour flame is clearly displayed in both. Source: <https://www.fratelli-italia.it/tesseramento/>.

### The Celtic cross

Along with the tricolour flame, the Celtic cross represents one of the most widely used symbols within the Italian extreme-right. From Forza Nuova to the football ultras of many Italian teams, the Celtic cross is exhibited in varied occasions, from extreme-right street parades and demonstrations to football events (Figures 20 to 22).



**Figure 20:** Roberto Fiore, founder and leader of Forza Nuova, posing close to a Celtic cross. Source: <https://www.artribune.com/professioni-e-professionisti/politica-e-pubblica-amministrazione/2018/03/elezioni-cultura-stefano-monti/attachment/roberto-fiore-leader-di-forza-nuova-e-alle-sue-spalle-una-bandiera-con-la-croce-celtica-simbolo-diffuso-in-molti-partiti-neofascisti/>.





**Figure 21:** The flag of Forza Nuova with flags portraying the Celtic cross during an extreme-right gathering in the city of Molfetta (Apulia Region) in October 2007. Source: <http://liberatorio.altervista.org/provocatori-di-estrema-destra-sbarcano-a-molfetta/>.



**Figure 22:** Ultras of the Hellas Verona football team displaying the Celtic cross and Nazi swastika during a football match, June 2019. Source: <https://giuliettochiesa.globalist.it/sport/2019/06/04/gli-ultras-dell-hellas-verona-festeggiano-la-serie-a-inneggiando-al-nazismo-2042407.html>.

### The Swastika

Unsurprisingly, the swastika is widely used by Italian extreme-right movements and groups. The use of the swastika is a particularly worrying phenomenon during football matches, when ultras, in particular in pair with the Celtic cross and fascist slogans and gestures, as the Roman Salute, feel free to display it (Figure 23).



**Figure 23:** Some common flags during football matches in Italy. From left to right it is possible to notice, among others: the swastika, the fascist eagle, the Celtic cross and a portrait of Mussolini. Source: [https://www.corriere.it/english/gallery/2006/01\\_Gennaio/30/svasti.shtml](https://www.corriere.it/english/gallery/2006/01_Gennaio/30/svasti.shtml)

### The ultras' fascist banners

While some key Fascist mottos will be analyzed in the second part of this chapter (paragraph 30), we report here only the use made by the extreme-right football ultras of fascist mottos, including praises of Mussolini, in the form of banners, either in football stadiums or during events as demonstrations and parades (Figures 24 to 27).



**Figure 24:** Banner from the ultras of SS Lazio that reads 'Hysaj, worm, Lazio is fascist!' The episode happened as Lazio player Elseid Hysaj in July 2021 had posted a video singing 'Bella Ciao', the song of the Resistenza partigiana [Italian resistance movement] in Italy. Source: <https://www.romatoday.it/sport/striscione-laziali-fascisti-hysaj-verme.html>.





**Figure 25:** A banner during a football match in Italy reads: '*Rome is fascist*'. Source: <https://espresso.repubblica.it/attualita/2017/10/25/news/ultras-di-roma-e-lazio-divisi-dal-tifo-ma-uniti-dall-ideologia-siamo-tutti-curve-nord-1.312815/>.



**Figure 26:** Ultras of Juventus in Bologna, December 2017, displaying a fascist eagle (left side), a Celtic cross (center) and a banner that reads the fascist motto '*Me ne frego*' [I do not care!]. Source: <https://www.blitzquotidiano.it/sport/juventus-ultra-camicia-nera-trionfera-2802803/>.



**Figure 27:** Lazio supporters in Milan for a football match, posing in Piazzale Loreto displaying the Roman Salute and holding a banner that reads 'Onore a Benito Mussolini' [Honor to Benito Mussolini] in April 2019. Source: <https://www.lastampa.it/cronaca/2019/04/24/news/onore-a-mussolini-e-saluti-fascisti-a-milano-lo-sfregio-degli-ultra-della-lazio-1.33697380>.

## Symbology

The report now moves on to analyze the symbology used by the main Italian extreme-right movements and groups<sup>19</sup>. For clarity's sake, we first consider extreme-right movements which span across Italy, in particular (a) CasaPound, (b) Forza Nuova, (c) Movimento Sociale Fiamma Tricolore and the already mentioned (d) Fascismo e Libertà - Partito Socialista Nazionale. Subsequently we consider symbols used by smaller extreme-right groups, classifying those according to their geographical area of action.

### CasaPound (2003-up to present)

*CasaPound* was established in Rome in 2003 and counts around 20.000 members, according to the latest data available. Within the galaxy of Italian extreme-right groups, it is the most well-known, as since 2008 it is a fully-fledged political party with bases spanning Southern to Northern Italy and with international links, ranging from the Greek criminal political party Golden Dawn to the German far-right and neo-Nazi political party Der III. Weg. CasaPound has a youth wing, *Blocco Studentesco* [Student Block], and a journal, the already mentioned *Il Primato Nazionale* established in 2013, with important ties to Salvini's the League. CasaPound's logo is a turtle, which, according to the group, is because the animal brings with it its own house. The shell of the turtle is an octagon, with four white lines and the four black triangles and arrows converging to form the Nazi iron cross (Figure 28).



**Figure 28:** On the left the logo of CasaPound, a turtle with an octagonal shell forming a German Iron Cross. On the right the logo of the youth wing Blocco Studentesco, whose logo is white lightning, derived from the British Union of Fascists' logo. Source: <https://www.casapounditalia.org/>.

<sup>19</sup> See: "Italia nera: la mappa dei nuovi fascisti", Adnkronos, 1 December 2017, [https://www.adnkronos.com/ultradestra-chi-sono-i-nuovi-fascisti\\_4M6CR8wLBWe4OQ75le0bsX?refresh\\_ce](https://www.adnkronos.com/ultradestra-chi-sono-i-nuovi-fascisti_4M6CR8wLBWe4OQ75le0bsX?refresh_ce) (accessed 2 October 2021).



## Forza Nuova (1997-2021?)<sup>20</sup>

*Forza Nuova* ['New Force' or FN] is, or until recently was, an extreme-right neofascist and ultra-nationalist political party. It was founded in 1997 by Roberto Fiore and Massimo Morsello<sup>21</sup>. It is present across all Italian regions and has often run independently from other coalitions, with its own symbol, as at the general elections of 2008 and 2013. In December 2020 its national secretary, Roberto Fiore, announced that *Forza Nuova* will federate into a bigger political subject named *Italia Libera* ['Free Italy'], together with purportedly "members of the no-mask movements, *Gilet arancioni* ['Orange vests'], former communists, former M5S members"<sup>22</sup>, including the versatile Carlo Taormina, lawyer, politician, jurist and academic, a former MP for *Forza Italia* and *M5S*, who has also served as Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of the Interior in 2001 within Berlusconi's cabinet<sup>23</sup>. *Forza Nuova* has always distinguished itself by its violent actions and hateful rhetoric, particularly via homophobic and xenophobic stances, while in recent months it has demonstrated against the EU digital COVID certificate or other health measures, calling them a '*dittatura sanitaria*' ['health dictatorship']<sup>24</sup>. *Forza Nuova* has recently (2020) changed its symbol (Figure 29, left side), with the old one replaced by a black, highly stylized swallow in futurist style<sup>25</sup> (Figure 29, right side). The movement has also a youth wing, named *Lotta Studentesca* ['Student Struggle' or LIS] and is part of the pan-European platform party Alliance for Peace and Freedom<sup>26</sup> (Figure 30, respectively left side and right side).

<sup>20</sup> Since years there is an ongoing debate within the Italian Parliament on the possibility that *Forza Nuova* may disbanded. However, it is important to note that party leaders had already made public the decision to create a new political subject.

<sup>21</sup> Recently *Forza Nuova* has been back in the limelight in all Italian and to some degree broader European media, as it led a violent assault against the headquarters of CGIL, the main trade union of workers in Italy, during a demonstration against the certification called 'green-pass' in Rome on 9th October 2021. Subsequently, its two current leaders, Fiore and Castellino, were arrested along with ten other people, while in Italy there is an open debate on the possibility of dissolving *Forza Nuova* and other openly neofascist parties and movements. See: "Assalto alla Cgil a Roma, i leader di Forza nuova e l'ex Nar «Pantera»: così i neofascisti si mischiano alla piazza no vax", 11 October 2021, *Il Corriere della Sera*, [https://www.corriere.it/cronache/21\\_ottobre\\_11/assalto-sede-cgil-roma-forza-nuova-castellino-fiore-biagio-passaro-aronica-pantera-e27941a0-29f5-11ec-bcd6-9bba3a47f3bc.shtml](https://www.corriere.it/cronache/21_ottobre_11/assalto-sede-cgil-roma-forza-nuova-castellino-fiore-biagio-passaro-aronica-pantera-e27941a0-29f5-11ec-bcd6-9bba3a47f3bc.shtml) (accessed 17 October 2021).

<sup>22</sup> See: "Forza Nuova si scioglie: nasce Italia Libera con gilet arancioni e no mask contro la "dittatura sanitaria". Dentro anche l'avvocato Taormina", *Il Fatto Quotidiano*, 14 December 2020, <https://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2020/12/14/forza-nuova-si-scioglie-nasce-italia-libera-con-gilet-arancioni-e-no-mask-dentro-anche-lavvocato-di-cogne-carlo-taormina/6036814/> (accessed 3 October 2021); "Destra, Forza Nuova si scioglie e confluisce in Italia Libera con gilet arancioni e no mask", *Repubblica*, 14 December 2021, [https://www.repubblica.it/politica/2020/12/14/news/destra\\_forza\\_nuova\\_italia\\_libera-278346830/](https://www.repubblica.it/politica/2020/12/14/news/destra_forza_nuova_italia_libera-278346830/) (accessed 3 October 2021).

<sup>23</sup> See: Carlo Taormina at [https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlo\\_Taormina](https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carlo_Taormina) (accessed 3 October 2021).

<sup>24</sup> In fact, it was precisely during a no-vax-inspired demonstration against the health certification green-pass that the *Forza Nuova* party once again came to the forefront of national and international media. See: "Forza Nuova: Calls grow in Italy to ban far-right group after protest violence", 11 October, *Euronews*, <https://www.euronews.com/2021/10/11/forza-nuova-calls-grow-in-italy-to-ban-far-right-group-after-protest-violence>, (accessed 17 October 2021).

<sup>25</sup> See: Siena: "Forza Nuova presenta il suo nuovo simbolo; una rondine stilizzata, come simbolo di libertà e di resurrezione, che campeggia all'interno di un cerchio tricolore con l'acronimo FN", *Centri Italia News*, 20 July 2020, <https://www.centritalianews.it/siena-forza-nuova-presenta-il-suo-nuovo-simbolo-una-rondine-stilizzata-come-simbolo-di-liberta-e-di-resurrezione-che-campeggia-allinterno-di-un-cerchio-tricolore-con-lacr/> (accessed 3 October 2021).

<sup>26</sup> See: <http://www.forzanuova.eu/apf/> (accessed 3 October 2021), the page of APF <https://npd.de/apf-alliance-for-peace-and-freedom/> and also the well documented Wikipedia page on the party: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alliance\\_for\\_Peace\\_and\\_Freedom](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alliance_for_Peace_and_Freedom) (accessed 17 October 2021).



**Figure 29:** The old logo of Forza Nuova (left) and the new logo (right) with the black Swallow. Source: <http://www.isimbolidelladiscordia.it/2020/07/forza-nuova-cambia-simbolo-una-rondine.html>



**Figure 30:** Left, the Lotta Studentesca logo, depicting a roman gladius. Right, the logo of the APF (a woman riding a Taurus), the pan-European platform Alliance for Peace and Freedom, that Forza Nuova contributed to establishing in 2015, currently headed by Roberto Fiore, the leader of FN. About the logo, the website of the party itself clarifies: “The logo chosen to identify the Alliance for Peace and Freedom takes inspiration directly from Greek mythology, recalling the legend of a lady named Europa and her relation with Zeus. This is one of the first sources where the name of Europa appears. Myth tells how Zeus fell in love with this wonderful lady and turned himself into a white bull in order to approach her. It is then this image of a woman riding a bull that arrives nowadays with all its meaning and referrals to an ancient culture and tradition. We strongly believe that this icon represents exactly the idea of Europe that the Alliance has. A Europe based on ancient concepts and deep roots in history. A Europe different from the one we are living these days which is only ruled by economical agreement and it’s slave of bankers and institutions.”. Source: <https://web.archive.org/web/20080523094238/http://www.europeannationalfront.org/>.

### Fascismo e Libertà - Partito Socialista Nazionale (1991-present)

We have seen above the group Fascismo e Libertà - Partito Socialista Nazionale, even taking it as an exemplary case study, for the ability by neo-fascist movements in Italy to quietly bypass the Constitution of the Italian Republic and the Scelba and Mancino laws regarding the crime of '*apologia del fascismo*'. We also report here all a series of posters and flyers (Figures 31 to 35) freely accessible to the public on the website of the openly declared neofascist movement, that describes itself as "against violence and anti-democratic logic" and that it "has no intention to bring back to life the defunct Italian Fascist Party"...



**Figure 31:** A poster of the movement Fascismo e Libertà for a 2021 subscription campaign, recites: "Always loyal to the ideal. Join us!", with a photo of Benito Mussolini that stands out above the logo of the movement. Source: <https://fascismoeliberta.info/volantini-m-f-l-p-s-n/>.



# MOVIMENTO FASCISMO E LIBERTÀ



Stampato in proprio

## ADERISCI!

Segreteria Nazionale  
[www.fascismoeliberta.info](http://www.fascismoeliberta.info)  
[segreteria@fascismoeliberta.info](mailto:segreteria@fascismoeliberta.info)

**Figure 32:** A poster from the Segreteria Nazionale of the Movimento Fascismo e Libertà that reads 'SUBSCRIBE!' below the logo of the movement. Source: <https://fascismoeliberta.info/volantini-m-f-l-p-s-n/>.

# MOVIMENTO



IL PRIMO MOVIMENTO DICHIARATAMENTE FASCISTA LEGALMENTE  
 RICONOSCIUTO DALLE PROCURE DELLA REPUBBLICA ITALIANA

## ORA DICO BASTA NÈ A DESTRA, NÈ A SINISTRA!

## ADERISCI AL M.F.L. ABBIAMO BISOGNO DI TE

Stampato in Proprio

**Figure 33:** An in-house printed poster of the Movimento Fascismo e Libertà that reads "The first movement openly fascist legally recognized by the public prosecutors' offices of the Italian Republic". Below it goes on: "NOW I SAY ENOUGH, NEITHER THE RIGHT OR THE LEFT!". And "JOIN THE MFL, WE NEED YOU". Source: <https://fascismoeliberta.info/volantini-m-f-l-p-s-n/>.

# MOVIMENTO FASCISMO E LIBERTA'



**CONTRO LA PARTITOCRAZIA  
ANTIFASCISTA NATA DALLA  
“RESISTENZA” E CONTRO  
CHIUNQUE RINNEGHI E TRA-  
DISCA LA GRANDE EREDITA’  
NAZIONALE E SOCIALE AFFI-  
DATACI DA MUSSOLINI**

**ADERITE!**

**Figure 34:** “AGAINST THE ANTIFASCIST PARTITOCRACY BORN OUT OF THE “RESISTENZA” AND AGAINST WHOEVER REPUDIATES AND BETRAYS THE GREAT NATIONAL AND SOCIAL HERITAGE ENTRUSTED US BY MUSSOLINI. JOIN!” stands out below the logo of the Movement Fascismo e Libertà. Source: <https://fascismoeliberta.info/volantini-m-f-l-p-s-n/>.

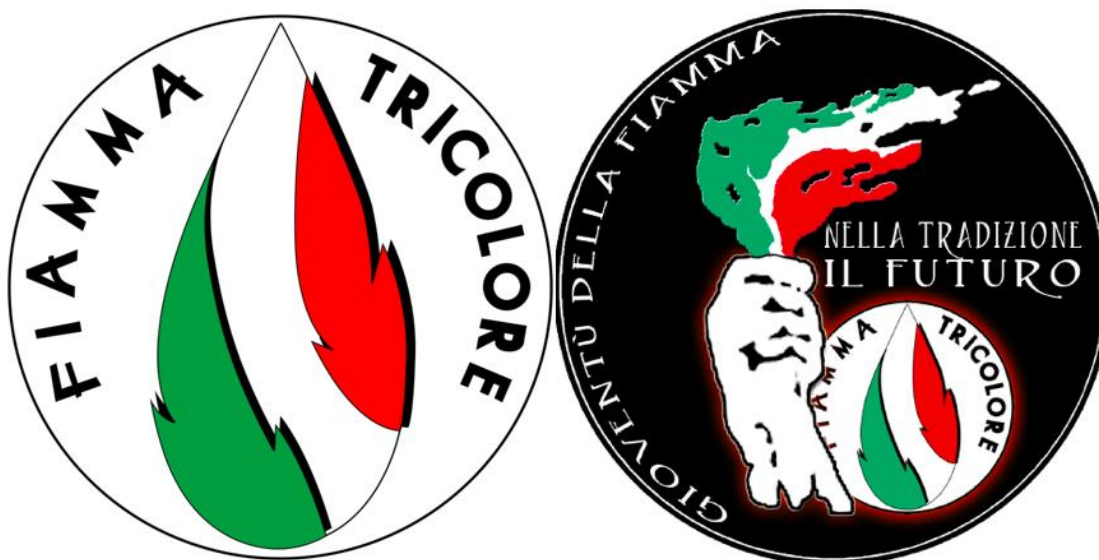


**Figure 35:** Posters produced by the Movimento Fascismo e Libertà. On the left Gabriele D’Annunzio (1863-1938), Italian poet, playwright and army officer during World War I, with the text “My life lived like ten-thousand”, on the right, Giovanni Gentile (1875-1944), neo-Hegelian idealist philosopher, educator, and fascist ideologue and politician, with the text “Men who always

reason do not make history”, and below “DO NOT GET LOST IN THE CHATTER, JOIN US”. Source:  
<https://fascismoeliberta.info/volantini-m-f-l-p-s-n/>.

### Movimento Sociale Fiamma Tricolore (1995-present)

The *Movimento Sociale Fiamma Tricolore* [‘Social Movement Tricolour Flame’], known simply as *Fiamma Tricolore* [‘Tricolour Flame’], is an Italian neo-fascist political party, founded on 3 March 1995 by Pino Rauti and other exponents of the MSI - Destra Nazionale who opposed the allegedly post-fascist turn of Fiuggi (a small town not far from Rome, where a key MSI conference was held), preferring to continue its typical activity. In the past the party has had some collaborations with formations linked to the center-right, however it currently takes positions of political autonomy. The Movimento Sociale Fiamma Tricolore (Figure 36) is widespread and rooted nationwide and is very active on social media platforms, especially Facebook, for which it has a dedicated page for each Italian region, from Abruzzo to Trentino Alto Adige<sup>27</sup>. The Movement also has a youth section called *Gioventù della fiamma* [‘Youth of the Flame’] which is also very active online though the main social media, within high schools and via the party’s newspaper *Il Missino* (Figure 37).



**Figure 36:** On the left the logo of the party ‘Movimento Sociale Fiamma Tricolore’ while on the right the logo of the youth-wing ‘Gioventù della Fiamma Tricolore’, which is reproduces the original logos of the MSI. Source: <https://www.fiammatricolore.org/>.

<sup>27</sup> See: <https://msft.altervista.org/web-e-social/> (accessed 18 October 2021).

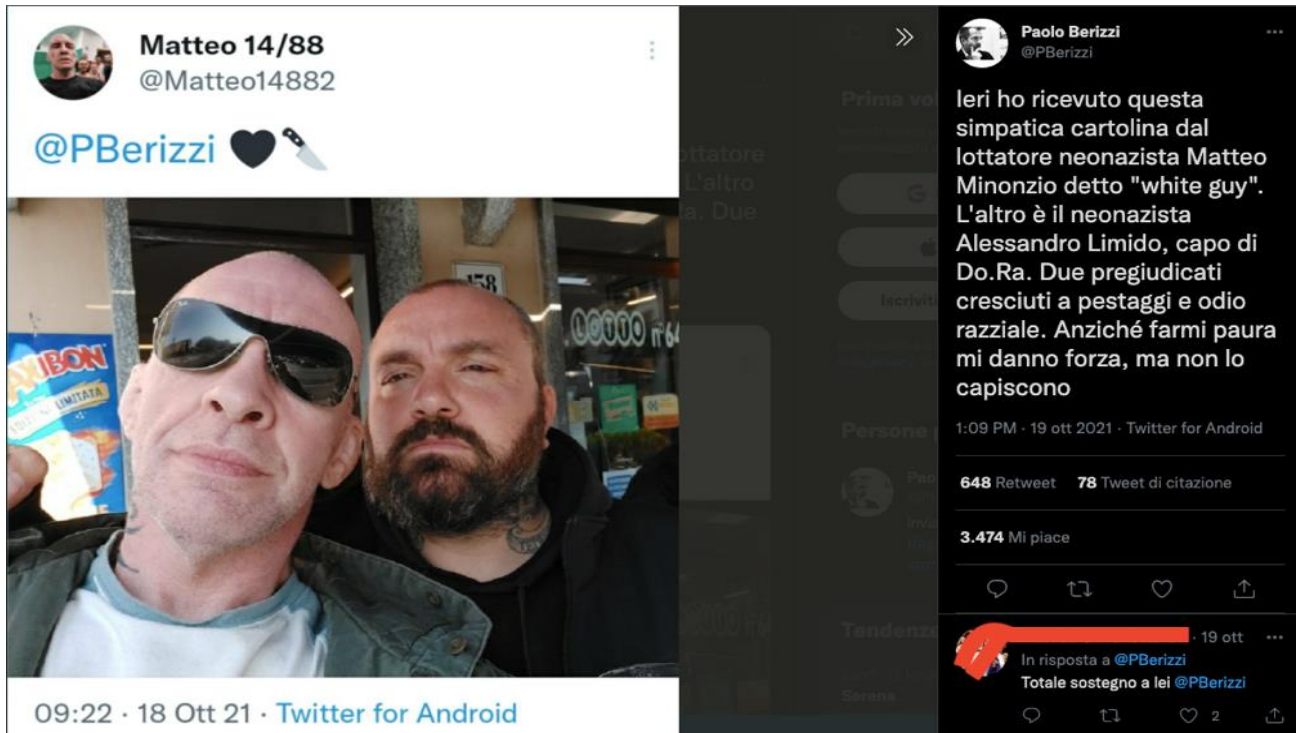


**Figure 37:** On the left young members pose in a photo during a meeting of the Gioventù della Fiamma Tricolore in Cosenza in January 2016. Source: <https://ilmissino.jimdofree.com/2016/01/31/verbale-della-riunione-provinciale-giovent%C3%B9-della-fiamma-cosenza/>; on the right a poster distributed outside schools in the province of Novara (Piedmont Region), displaying a Roman handshake, that reads: GIOVENTU' DELLA FIAMMA TRICOLORE. BEYOND RIGHT AND LEFT, POPULAR, SOCIAL, NATIONAL. The Left wants you addicted, helpless and homologated. The Right wants you indifferent arriviste and remote-controlled. We want you: STRONG, FREE AND REBEL! Source: <https://www.novaratoday.it/politica/volantinaggio-fiamma-tricolore-liceo-artistico-casorati-novara.html>.

### Other 'minor' neofascist and neo-Nazi movements in Italy

It is possible to say that CasaPound, Forza Nuova, the Movimento Sociale Fiamma Tricolore, with their youth-wings, and the Movimento Fasciamo e Libertà, represent the most important actors within the Italian extreme-right, both in terms of (a) longevity and (b) geographical distribution. They have existed for several decades and they are spread throughout the Italian peninsula. However, together with these four parties and movements, there are a number of 'minor' extreme-right neofascist and neo-Nazi movements of more recent formation and which are located only in specific areas (in particular, but not exclusively and with several exceptions, in the North-East of Italy and Rome). There is not much information on these groups publicly available. The main source is represented by journalist investigations, such as the ones produced by Paolo Berizzi, currently the only journalist in Europe under police escort because of Neo-Nazi threats (Figure 38), or the undercover investigations provided by the online journal Fanpage. Berizzi's investigations represent the main source currently available to identify those extreme-right neofascist and neo-Nazi groups (see Figure 39 and table in the following pages).





**Figure 38:** The Repubblica journalist and writer Paolo Berizzi being harassed on Twitter by the leader of Do.Ra and a neo-Nazi fighter, on 18 October 2021, with a black heart and a knife. The journalist has also been at the center of a media investigation conducted within extreme-right circles of Milan by an infiltrated Fanpage journalist, which has discovered, among other things, that member of Brothers of Italy were mocking Berizzi for his investigations on neofascist and neo-Nazis movements. Source: <https://avantilive.it/linchiasta-sulla-lobby-nera-sconvolge-il-partito-della-meloni/>; see also: <https://it.blastingnews.com/cronaca/2021/10/inchiasta-sulla-lobby-nera-i-video-sarebbero-fedeli-alle-100-ore-di-girato-003372220.html>.

## I MOVIMENTI DELL'ULTRADESTRA



**Manipolo  
d'Avanguardia**  
(Bergamo)



**Fascismo e Libertà-  
Partito socialista  
nazionale**  
(Italia)



**CasaPound**  
*In Europa ha  
legami con Alba  
Dorata e Jobbik*



**Lealtà Azione**  
(Lombardia)



**Fasci Italiani  
del Lavoro**  
(Mantova e Palermo)



**Veneto Fronte  
Skinheads**  
(Vicenza)



**Do.Ra.**  
*Comunità militante  
dei dodici raggi*  
(Varese)



**Avanguardia  
Nazionale**  
(Roma)



**Skin4Skin**  
(Milano)



**Militia**  
(Roma)



**Fortezza  
Europa**  
(Verona)



**Hammerskin**  
(Milano)



**Generazione  
Identitaria**  
(Milano)



**Forza Nuova**  
*In Europa aderisce  
alla "Alliance for peace  
and freedom"*






**Rivolta Nazionale**  
(Roma)

P&G Infograph

**Figure 39:** The symbols of some of the most representative extreme-right parties and movements in Italy. Source:  
[https://www.adnkronos.com/ultradestra-chi-sono-i-nuovi-fascisti\\_4M6CR8wLBWe4OQ75le0bsX?refresh\\_ce](https://www.adnkronos.com/ultradestra-chi-sono-i-nuovi-fascisti_4M6CR8wLBWe4OQ75le0bsX?refresh_ce).



Please see here a table with the main groups, divided by geographical location, and the relevant logo or symbol:

Name and location	Logo or symbol
<p><i>Fasci Italiani del Lavoro</i><sup>28</sup></p> <p>Two headquarters: Mantova (Northern Italy) and Palermo (Southern Italy)</p>	
<p><b>Area: Rome</b></p>	
<p><i>Avanguardia Nazionale</i><sup>29</sup></p>	
<p><i>Militia</i><sup>30</sup></p>	

<sup>28</sup> Source: [https://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2019/03/22/news/fascismo\\_mantova\\_fasci\\_italiani\\_del\\_lavoro\\_sermide-222244402/](https://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2019/03/22/news/fascismo_mantova_fasci_italiani_del_lavoro_sermide-222244402/) (accessed 30 October 2021).

<sup>29</sup> Source: [https://www.repubblica.it/politica/2016/06/25/foto/riecco\\_avanguardia\\_nazionale\\_sciolta\\_per\\_fascismo-142765612/1/](https://www.repubblica.it/politica/2016/06/25/foto/riecco_avanguardia_nazionale_sciolta_per_fascismo-142765612/1/) (accessed 30 October 2021).

<sup>30</sup> Source: [https://roma.corriere.it/roma/notizie/cronaca/10\\_maggio\\_22/militia-contrattacca-nuove-sedi-1703065769699.shtml](https://roma.corriere.it/roma/notizie/cronaca/10_maggio_22/militia-contrattacca-nuove-sedi-1703065769699.shtml) (accessed 30 October 2021).

*Rivolta Nazionale*<sup>31</sup>



**Area: Northern Italy**

*Lealtà Azione (Lombardy)*<sup>32</sup>



*Skin4Skin (Milan)*<sup>33</sup>



<sup>31</sup> Source: [https://www.ilmessaggero.it/roma/cronaca/rivolta\\_nazionale\\_28\\_ottobre\\_neofascisti-3320219.html](https://www.ilmessaggero.it/roma/cronaca/rivolta_nazionale_28_ottobre_neofascisti-3320219.html) (accessed 30 October 2021).

<sup>32</sup> Source: [https://www.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/11/20/news/lealta\\_azione\\_documentario\\_sky-212139492/](https://www.repubblica.it/cronaca/2018/11/20/news/lealta_azione_documentario_sky-212139492/) (accessed 30 October 2021). On Lealtà Azione see the second part of the already mentioned Fanpage undercover investigation 'Lobby Nera', dealing with the ties between Salvini's League and *Lealtà Azione* supporters, "Il barone Jonghi e la valigetta piena di soldi per finanziare i politici della Lobby Nera", Youtube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=leN4-Dtk81A>.

<sup>33</sup> Source: [https://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2017/11/29/news/l\\_avanzata\\_della\\_galassia\\_neofascista-300875340/](https://milano.repubblica.it/cronaca/2017/11/29/news/l_avanzata_della_galassia_neofascista-300875340/) (accessed 30 October 2021).

*Hammerskin* (Milan as Italian  
headquarter)<sup>34</sup>



*Generazione Identitaria* (Milan as  
Italian headquarter)<sup>35</sup>



*Manipolo d'Avanguardia* (Bergamo)<sup>36</sup>



*Do.Ra. or Comunità Militante dei Dodici  
Raggi* (Varese)<sup>37</sup>



<sup>34</sup> Source: [https://www.repubblica.it/politica/2021/09/03/news/feste\\_neofasciste\\_parlamentari-316321053/](https://www.repubblica.it/politica/2021/09/03/news/feste_neofasciste_parlamentari-316321053/) (accessed 30 October 2021).

<sup>35</sup> Source: <https://m.famigliacristiana.it/articolo/che-cos-e-e-che-cosa-vuole-il-movimento-generazione-identitaria.htm> (accessed 30 October 2021).

<sup>36</sup> Source: <https://www.bergamonews.it/tag/mab-manipolo-davanguardia/> (accessed 30 October 2021).

<sup>37</sup> Source: <https://www.varesenews.it/2021/10/denuncia-daspo-9-militanti-dei-do-ra-presenti-alla-manifestazione-no-green-pass-milano/1393041/> (accessed 30 October 2021).

*Fortezza Europa (Verona)*<sup>38</sup>



*Veneto Fronte Skinheads (Vicenza)*<sup>39</sup>



<sup>38</sup> Source: <https://www.osservatorioantisemitismo.it/articoli/fortezza-europa-movimento-di-estrema-destra/> (accessed 30 October 2021). The city of Verona can be considered a unique case within the Italian extreme right, the hotbed of many extreme right-wing movements in Italy, as argued recently by Paolo Berizzi in *E' gradita la camicia nera. Verona, la città laboratorio dell'estrema destra tra l'Italia e l'Europa*, Milan: Rizzoli, 2021. In particular, Berizzi's latest work provides insights on the modus operandi and the strategies of actors interested in the cooperation between radical right politics and ultraconservative religion, referring to the city of Verona as "the laboratory of the extreme right between Italy and Europe". It is not by chance that the much-discussed World Congress of Family of 2019, defined eloquently by both Pope Francis and Cardinal Pietro Parolin "The substance is correct, the method is wrong" was held in Verona. <https://www.osservatorioantisemitismo.it/articoli/paolo-berizzi-e-gradita-la-camicia-nera-verona-la-citta-laboratorio-dellestrema-destra-tra-litalia-e-leuropa-rizzoli-milano-2021-17-euro/> (accessed 30 October 2021).

<sup>39</sup> Source: <https://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2018/01/27/veneto-fronte-skinheads-30-anni-di-ideologia-dalla-lotta-al-mondialismo-capitalista-alle-celebrazioni-dei-gerarchi/4117776/> (accessed 30 October 2021).



## Section Two: Slangs, Slurs, Codes and Key Phrases

The following list of slang, slurs, codes and key phrases is presented with one important caveat: it is entirely possible for these words to be used in their conventional, dictionary defined or everyday ways. For example, someone might refer in Italy to ‘patriota’ or ‘patrioti’<sup>40</sup> [patriot and patriots] and this denotes, in most cases, “one who loves and supports his or her country” or “a person who loves their country and, if necessary, will fight for it”<sup>41</sup>. However, when related to extremists and within certain circles, the use of words such as those below is more likely to signal commitment to activism in radical-right and extreme groups. In fact, in the case of ‘patriota’, the word is often invoked as a synonym for ‘fascist’ or ‘comrade’. This has been well documented recently, with the already mentioned journalistic investigation labeled ‘Lobby nera’ [Black lobby] conducted by the Italian journal Fanpage. In one of the videos of the investigation, it is possible to several times hear Roberto Jonghi Lavarini (whose nickname is *il barone nero*, ‘the black baron’<sup>42</sup>) explaining carefully to the undercover journalist how the word ‘patriota’ is still unfortunately necessary, in a precautionary way as a coded signifier, instead of ‘fascist’<sup>43</sup>.

In the selection of the list, we have deliberately opted to focus on a few names of personalities who have become polemical points of reference for the narratives of the Italian radical right, such as Paolo Berizzi, Laura Boldrini and Roberto Saviano, while for reasons of space we leave out many others, especially international ones (Soros, Trump, Orbán, Gates), with a few exceptions (e.g., Putin). We have also tried to maintain a suitable balance between slang, slurs and key phrases or words in order to give space not only to terminology used by the populist radical right but also to that of extreme-right movements and groups, even though the line between the two can often be blurred.

### ***Banchieri, servi dei banchieri, camerieri dei banchieri***

Bankers, bankers' servants, bankers' waiters

1. The use of the slang ‘bankers’ in a negative and allusive sense (bankers' servants or bankers' waiters) is well documented as far as the current Italian radical and extreme right is concerned. In particular, it is used widely by both (a) the mainstream radical right, the League (Figure 40) and Brothers of Italy<sup>44</sup> and (b) extreme-right neofascist movements and groups (for instance,

<sup>40</sup> For clarity's sake in this second part of the report the slangs, slurs, codes and key phrases are written in italics only when mentioned for the first time.

<sup>41</sup> These definitions of ‘Patriot’ are taken respectively from Merriam-Webster Dictionary (<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/patriot>) and the Cambridge Dictionary (<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/it/dizionario/inglese/patriot>).

<sup>42</sup> See: “Roberto Jonghi Lavarini, chi è «il barone nero» della strana alleanza con il deputato ultrà Carlo Fidanza”, Corriere della Sera, 2 October 2021, [https://milano.corriere.it/notizie/politica/21\\_ottobre\\_02/facciamo-blackla-strana-alleanza-deputato-ultrae-barone-lavarini-a42e646e-2344-11ec-a45c-030a2f8f22e2.shtml](https://milano.corriere.it/notizie/politica/21_ottobre_02/facciamo-blackla-strana-alleanza-deputato-ultrae-barone-lavarini-a42e646e-2344-11ec-a45c-030a2f8f22e2.shtml) (accessed 22 October 2021).

<sup>43</sup> Source: <https://avantilive.it/linchiasta-sulla-lobby-nera-sconvolge-il-partito-della-meloni/> and <https://www.fanpage.it/backstair/story/lobby-nera/> (accessed 22 October 2021).

<sup>44</sup> See: “Cashback, Meloni: ‘Camerieri dei banchieri siedono a Palazzo Chigi, ora pensano ad una riffa’”, 25 Settembre 2020”, Blasting News, <https://it.blastingnews.com/politica/2020/09/cashback-meloni-camerieri-dei-banchieri-siedono-a-palazzo-chigi-ora-pensano-ad-una-riffa-003206968.html> (accessed 23 October 2021); see also “VISCO, MELONI: ORO È DEGLI ITALIANI NON DEI

Movimento Fascismo e Libertà). As far as the mainstream right is concerned, however, a fundamental difference can be seen starting with the election of Mario Draghi, former president of the European Central Bank, as Prime Minister from February 2021. Notably Salvini's League, part of Draghi's government, has begun to use the slang 'bankers' less and less for obvious reasons of political opportunism.



**Figure 40:** A poster from the League political campaign for the election of the European Parliament (26 May 2019). It reads: “STOP! BUROCRATS, BANKERS, GOODMEN AND BARCONS”. Source: [https://www.facebook.com/legasalvinipremier/photos/stop-burocrati-banchieri-buonisti-e-barconi-meno-5-domenica-26-maggio-dalle-7-al/2372409512801961/](https://www.facebook.com/legasalvinipremier/photos/stop-burocrati-banchieri-buonisti-e-barconi-meno-5-domenica-26-maggio-dalle-7-al-2372409512801961/).

---

BANCHIERI, FDI PRONTA A SCENDERE IN PIAZZA SE NECESSARIO”, Fratelli-italia.it, 3 May 2019, <https://www.fratelli-italia.it/2019/03/05/visco-meloni-oro-e-degli-italiani-non-dei-banchieri-fdi-pronta-a-scendere-in-piazza-se-necessario/> (accessed 23 October 2021). Meloni still uses the slang 'bankers', as it possible to read from her book when considers the persona of Mario Draghi and the political parties that opted to support the executive led by Draghi.

## **Barconi**

Barges or barconi

2. 'Barges' is the sadly well-known word used by the Italian media to describe the makeshift boats often used by immigrants, upon payment of large sums of money to criminal organizations, to arrive clandestinely on Italian coasts, particularly from North Africa. However, some Italian radical-right politicians have made 'barconi' slang to identify an allegedly uncontrolled invasion of Italy's borders by illegal immigrants (Figure 40 again). Matteo Salvini in particular became known for exploiting the issue strategically, with an intense campaign while he held the role of Minister of the Interior in the so-called 'yellow-green coalition' (first Conte government June 2018 - September 2019). In fact, for preventing some boats with people in poor condition on board, Salvini is currently under trial by the Italian judiciary<sup>45</sup>.

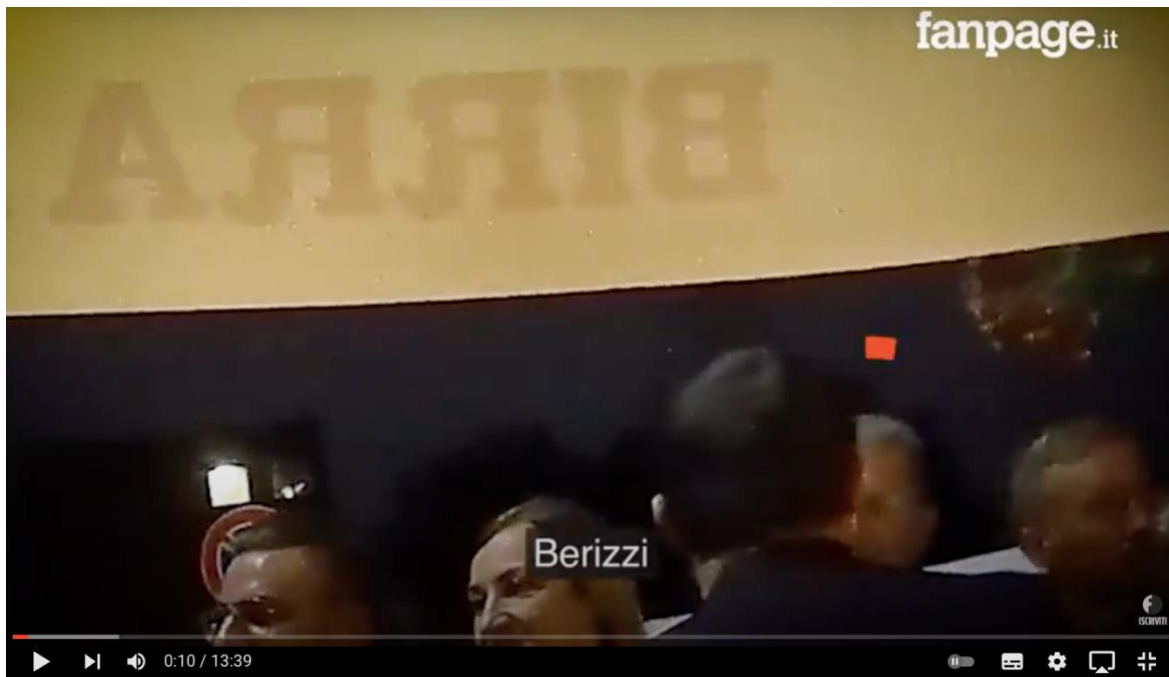
## **Berizzi**

Paolo Berizzi

3. Paolo Berizzi's fundamental contribution to the knowledge, identification and even cataloguing of extreme right-wing movements and groups in Italy has been mentioned several times in this report. He is one of the journalists most exposed to the wrath of the neofascist and neo-Nazi extreme right. In the already mentioned Fanpage investigation called 'Black Lobby', the name 'Berizzi' is repeatedly mocked, made the object of insults and sarcasm. For example, when the guests attending a dinner to raise funds for the October 2021 municipal elections in Milan in favour of Fratelli d'Italia are asked to take a photo, they are also asked to 'say cheese' with the name 'Berizzi' (Figure 41)<sup>46</sup>. During the presentation of his latest essay in Verona *E' gradita la camicia nera* [The black shirt is welcome], Berizzi could not find a venue to be shown in the city (until January 2022) with the municipality defending itself: "We have not received a request to that effect".

<sup>45</sup> See: "Open Arms, processo a Salvini: udienza rinviata al 17 dicembre", Adnkronos, 23 October 2021, [https://www.adnkronos.com/open-arms-al-via-il-processo-con-salvini\\_8b2gXBFg8xa6U7mfvNKVC](https://www.adnkronos.com/open-arms-al-via-il-processo-con-salvini_8b2gXBFg8xa6U7mfvNKVC) (accessed 23 October 2021).

<sup>46</sup> See: "On this the YouTube video of Fanpage investigation 'Lobby Nera', in particular from 10:30, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5kToJIMiDnE&t=1s> (accessed 23 October 2021).



**Figure 41:** A screenshot of the video from the Fanpage investigation 'Lobby Nera', in which it is shown how guests, attending a dinner to raise funds for the October 2021 municipal elections in Milan in favour of Fratelli d'Italia, are asked to 'say cheese' with the name 'Berizzi'. Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5kToJIMiDnE&t=1s>

### ***Bibbiano/Parlateci di Bibbiano***

Bibbiano/Tell us about Bibbiano

4. The case of Bibbiano in the province of Reggio Emilia has been a scandal regarding the illicit foster care of children and has been the subject of an investigation by the judiciary called 'Angels and Demons'. The affair occupied the front pages of the newspapers for several weeks, with the news talking about the 'brainwashing' carried out on children in order to remove them from their parents. The case came to light in June 2019 when 18 precautionary measures were executed against as many people considered part of an illicit system of foster care of minors who had been removed from their families of origin. The Italian authorities investigated not only the mayor of Bibbiano, Andrea Carletti, an exponent of the Democratic Party (whose sentence was annulled a few months later<sup>47</sup>), but also social workers, psychologists and freelancers accused for various reasons of having altered the mechanism of foster care throughout the territory of the Val d'Enza, in the province of Reggio Emilia<sup>48</sup>. For months the Italian right-wing, from the League to Fratelli d'Italia and Forza Nuova, but also exponents of other parties, have ridden the emotional wave of the case, speaking of a 'Bibbiano system' that would have consisted in conspiracies of taking children away from their parents and handing them over to members of the LGBT community, described as "ogres of the rainbow lobby to whom the children were handed over"<sup>49</sup>. Banners and the hashtag

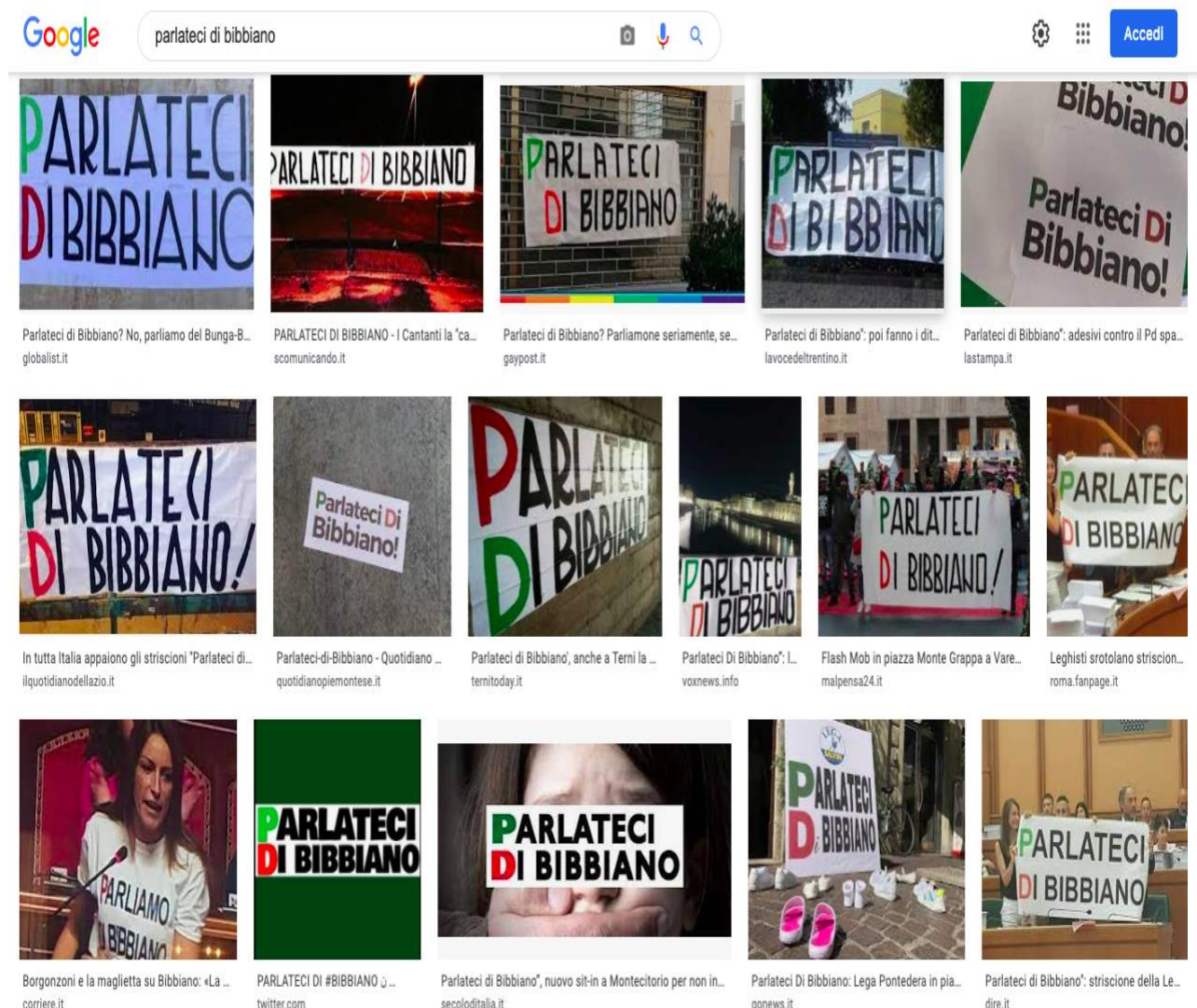
<sup>47</sup> See: "Bibbiano, la Cassazione: "Non c'erano elementi per la misura" per il sindaco Andrea Carletti (Pd)", Il Fatto Quotidiano, 14 January 2020, <https://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2020/01/14/bibbiano-la-cassazione-non-cerano-elementi-per-la-misura-per-il-sindaco-andrea-carletti/5670168/> (accessed 23 October 2021).

<sup>48</sup> See: "Cosa è successo a Bibbiano, il riassunto completo della vicenda", TPI, 21 July 2019, <https://www.tpi.it/cronaca/bibbiano-bambini-cosa-e-successo-20190721376074/> (accessed 23 October 2021).

<sup>49</sup> See: "'Parlateci di Bibbiano': poi fanno i dittatori difendendo chi minaccia i figli degli altri", La Voce del Trentino, 30 August 2019, <https://www.lavocedeltrrentino.it/2019/08/30/parlateci-di-bibbiano-poi-fanno-i-dittatori-difendendo-chi-minaccia-i-figli-degli-altri/> (accessed 23 October 2021); "INSABBIANO SCANDALO BIBBIANO: LEGGE BAVAGLIO DA CONSIGLIERE PD VICINA



#parlateciDiBibbiano (#talk aboutBibbiano) became popular on the streets and on social media in Italy (Figure 42). The investigation later revealed that there was no 'system' in place in Bibbiano and that these were only a few isolated cases<sup>50</sup>.



**Figure 42:** A simple online search through Google still shows (23 October 2021) hundreds of banners, hashtags, images and memes of the allegedly 'System of Bibbiano'. It is important to note how the letters 'P' and 'D' have been reproduced using the color of the symbol/logo of the PD (Partito Democratico). Source: [www.google.it](http://www.google.it)

### **Boldrini e Saviano**

Laura Boldrini and Roberto Saviano

5. Laura Boldrini<sup>51</sup> is an Italian politician and former UN official, member of the Chamber of Deputies since 2013 and former President of the Chamber of Deputies in the XVII legislature; Roberto Saviano<sup>52</sup>, Italian writer, essayist, and screenwriter, is among the most appreciated scholars of criminal organizations in the world. For several years up to present days they have been enemies of

A LADRA DI BAMBINI", Vox News, 19 July 2019, <https://voxnews.info/2019/07/19/pd-insabbia-lo-scandalo-bibbiano-legge-bavaglio-presentata-da-consigliere-vicina-alla-ladra-di-bambini/> (accessed 23 October 2021).

<sup>50</sup> See: "Quelli che davvero dovrebbero chiedere scusa per Bibbiano non lo faranno", Esquire, 4 December 2019, <https://www.esquire.com/it/news/attualita/a30120318/bibbiano-scuse/> (accessed 23 October 2021).

<sup>51</sup> Source: Wikipedia page for Laura Boldrini [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Laura\\_Boldrini](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Laura_Boldrini).

<sup>52</sup> Source: Wikipedia page for Roberto Saviano [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roberto\\_Saviano](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roberto_Saviano).

the Italian radical right and extreme right. On the internet it is possible to find hundreds of polemical references to Boldrini and Saviano, spread by circles of clear extreme-right inspiration. In the past, sites have even been discovered, some of them funded by gray individuals lacking any transparency, intent on producing fake news about the two (Figure 43)<sup>53</sup>. Boldrini and Saviano have become icons of everything the Italian 'sovereignist' right wing detests (Figure 44).

IL CASO

## Bufale virali su Saviano e Boldrini, smascherato account

21 luglio 2018 | 19.47  
LETTURA: 3 minuti



**Figure 43:** An article from Adnkronos (see footnote below) denounces the existence of an account creating fake news about Laura Boldrini and Roberto Saviano. The statement by Boldrini reads “There are no Italians in difficulty, only people who like to complain instead of rolling up their sleeves and getting to work”, while the one under Saviano reads “Honestly, I’d rather save refugees and my illegal brothers than help some whiny, spoiled Italian earthquake victims”.

<sup>53</sup> See: “Bufale virali su Saviano e Boldrini, smascherato account”, Adnkronos, 21 July 2018, [https://www.adnkronos.com/bufale-virali-su-saviano-e-boldrini-smascherato-account\\_6dqXguCmegQlStZPqWM3c7?refresh\\_ce](https://www.adnkronos.com/bufale-virali-su-saviano-e-boldrini-smascherato-account_6dqXguCmegQlStZPqWM3c7?refresh_ce) (accessed 23 October 2021).



**Figure 44:** Posters from the League's electoral campaign meetings in December 2018. On the left side a photo of Laura Boldrini reading: "SHE WILL NOT BE THERE", on the right side a photo of Roberto Saviano reading: "HE WILL NOT BE THERE". Source: <https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/politica/boldrini-saviano-co-testimonial-lega-campagna-salvini-1610765.html>.

### ***Buon senso***

Common sense

6. 'Buon senso' is a key phrase used regularly by the Italian radical right. In fact, leaders and exponents of the Lega and Fratelli d'Italia often use 'common sense' as indicating, populistically, a contrast between them, on the one hand, and the 'radical-chic' and 'professor' elites of the left (Figure 45). 'Buon senso', in addition to indicating the presumed belonging of the radical-right leaders to the people, has also taken on another meaning since the pandemic of Covid-19. This new meaning is related to the scientific expertise that has marked the political debate recently. For example, in the case of the so-called 'green-pass' certification or with regard to anti-Covid vaccines, the populist radical right has often referred to 'common sense' to entrench itself behind complicated and uneasy defense of anti-vax positions.





**Figure 45:** A poster for the international conference held in Milan on 8 April 2019 “Towards a common sense Europe! People rise up”. Source: <https://twitter.com/matteosalvinimi/status/1114587156255846401>.

### **Buonisti**

Gooders or do-gooders

7. ‘Buonisti’ is a slur used by both the mainstream populist right and the far right in Italy (Figure 40 again). The *gooders or do-gooders* would be the representatives of the left that, in a purported hypocritical way, favor, at least according to the radical right, illegal and uncontrolled immigration, the criminality that threatens the order of the citizens and of the Italian armed forces. Moreover, the ‘buonisti’, in the narrative of the Italian radical right, are often intellectuals and elites remote from the people, who secretly favor a homologation that would lead to the loss of concepts such as identity, homeland, nation and the traditional family (Figure 46).





**Figure 46:** Upper-left: Giorgia Meloni in the newspaper *Libero*. The title reads: Giorgia Meloni shuts up pro- homologation do-gooders: "John Lennon's song? If one doesn't know English, it's beautiful." Source: <https://www.liberoquotidiano.it/news/spettacoli/televisione/23939834/giorgia-meloni-in-onda-canzone-john-lennon-se-uno-non-conosce-inglese-bella.html>; on the upper-right side, the newspaper *Il Giornale* titles: The do-gooders throw away the mask: "We import people from Africa". Source: <https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/politica/i-buonisti-gettano-maschera-importiamo-persone-dall-africa-1949814.html>; below the newspaper *Il Tempo* titles: "Carabinieri in the emergency room, Salvini vents against the gooders". Source: <https://www.iltempo.it/politica/2021/08/09/news/carabinieri-pronto-soccorso-sfogo-matteo-salvini-contro-buonisti-28259854/>.

### ***Burocrati/Burocrati di Bruxelles***

Bureaucrats/Brussels Bureaucrats

8. Both the mainstream populist right and far-right movements in Italy have the European Union as a target, especially the 'Brussels bureaucrats' (Figure 40 again and Figure 47). The main difference lies in the fact that while the latter maintains an attitude of naked and hard Euroscepticism, the

former alternates between strong criticism of the European institutions, especially the European Commission, and moments of softer Euroscepticism. In the case of Salvini's League, starting with the Draghi government (February 2021), it is possible to say that the component of Euroscepticism has almost disappeared but will most probably come back during the next political campaign.



**Figure 47:** On the left, Giorgia Meloni on Facebook (May 2021) writes: "Unbelievable! European bureaucrats write to RAI to say that the EU can be criticized, BUT the criticism must be "correct". That means shared by the EU. We are beyond the paradoxes of Orwell in 1984 #anniventi". On the right, Matteo Salvini on Twitter (October 2018) writes: "The time of the Brussels bureaucrats is over. Values, pride, freedom of peoples and nations: in May the revolution of common sense will arrive throughout Europe. We are ready.". Source: <https://m.facebook.com/giorgiameloni.paginaufficiale/posts/10159199425622645>; [https://twitter.com/matteosalvinimi/status/1049711686704406528?ref\\_src=twsrc%5Etfw](https://twitter.com/matteosalvinimi/status/1049711686704406528?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw)

## **Camerata**

Comrade

9. 'Camerata' is a typical slang word used by fascist radical-right and far-right supporters and members to greet one another. Differently from 'patriota', the term camerata, to a lesser extent than 'fascist', it is meant for close circles and is not referred to openly (in the videos of investigation 'Lobby nera' it is possible to see how the slang is used on many occasions).

## **Capitalismo, capitalismo della sorveglianza, capitalismo liberal-progressista**

Capitalism, surveillance capitalism, liberal-progressive capitalism, unbridled capitalism

10. 'Capitalismo' and in particular the term in its many variants such as 'surveillance capitalism', 'liberal-progressive capitalism', 'unbridled capitalism', is widely used by Italian far-right groups, movements and parties (Figure 48), while it is relatively less used by mainstream right-wing parties,

although lately the ‘sovereignist’ radical right, in particular Giorgia Meloni, has started a related internal debate and is raising these issues again<sup>54</sup>. In particular, the concept of capitalism is criticized by movements and parties such as Forza Nuova, CasaPound or the Fascism and Freedom Movement, as complementary to that of forced globalization<sup>55</sup>.



**Figure 48:** A subscription campaign poster that reads “JOIN US: IT IS FOR ITALY. The Movement Fascism and Liberty IS AGAINST corruption, unrestrained capitalism, the EU anti-social impositions, banking seigniorage, organized crime, illegal immigration, privileges of MPs, drugs liberalization. DEFEND ITALY AND ITALIANS”. Nota bene on the upper left corner the logo of the movement with the roman fasces and on the upper right corner the fascist eagle. Source: <https://fascismoeliberta.info/volantini-m-f-l-p-s-n/>.

### *Città inclusiva/inclusione*

#### Inclusive city/inclusion

11. ‘Inclusive city’ and ‘inclusion’ are terms widely used by the Italian right, both in its radical and far-right components, especially by newspapers, magazines and circles connected to them. ‘Inclusive city’ is used in an extremely mocking and sarcastic way when news involving cities with a high rate of immigration is reported in Italy. In particular, when a case involving an immigrant citizen occurs, journalists emphasize how policies aimed at welcoming and including immigrants are destined to fail; while on the contrary, disorder is invariably emphasized. Moreover, this type of

<sup>54</sup> See: “Contro l’antifascismo strumentale, la Destra rivendichi la sua storia e pensi al futuro”, La voce del patriota, 20 October 2021, <https://www.lavocedelpatriota.it/contro-lantifascismo-strumentale-la-destra-rivendichi-la-sua-storia-e-pensi-al-futuro/> (accessed 26 October 2021).

<sup>55</sup> See: “Il leader di Casapound si racconta: “Sogno un progetto con il comunista Rizzo””, Affari Italiani, 24 May 2020, <https://www.affaritaliani.it/politica/il-leader-di-casapound-si-racconta-sogno-un-progetto-con-il-comunista-rizzo-674381.html> (accessed 26 October 2021).



news selection, manipulation and emphasis of certain aspects of reality is also used to comment on foreign news events, from the closest to the most distant.

### ***Confini (difendere i confini), difendere il popolo Italiano***

Defense of the border, defense of the Italian people

12. The 'defense of the border' and the 'defense of the Italian people' are two key phrases widely used online, both by the radical right and the extreme right (Figure 49). As this very recent article in the Voice of the Patriot well highlights, according to the sovereignist and patriot right, the first duty of a Minister of the Interior should be to 'defend the borders' and the Italian coasts from immigrant landings (Figure 50).



**Figure 49:** The very same article on the 'defense of the borders' of Italy published on the same day (October 22, 2021) by the official website of Fratelli d'Italia (top) and by the 'sovereignist' newspaper La voce del Patriota (below). Source: <https://www.fratelli-italia.it/2021/10/22/migranti-meloni-sea-watch-pronta-a-far-sbarcare-piu-di-400-migranti-sulle-nostre-coste-difendere-i-confini-dovrebbe-essere-priorita-di-un-ministro-dellinterno-ma-il-nostro-si-chiama-lamorgese/> and <https://www.lavocedelpatriota.it/migranti-meloni-sea-watch-pronta-a-far-sbarcare-piu-di-400-immigrati-sulle-nostre-coste/>.





**Figure 50:** ‘DVX MEA LVX’ from a Facebook page (accessed 28 September 2021). The text reads as follows: “You call me fascist because I love my land and my people. You call me fascist because I love food and tastes from my land. You call me fascist because I want an iron justice against whoever commits a crime. You call me fascist because I believe in family. You call me fascist as I defend the Italian people from the stranger. As you can see I defend my values, call me FASCIST for me it is an honor, it means I am not a traitor!”. Source: Facebook.

### ***Controllo sociale, controllo e omologazione***

Social control, control and approval

13. ‘Social control’ forms along with ‘forced globalization’ and ‘extinction’ a conceptual triad much used by both the now mainstream, radical, populist right and the far right. The issue of social control has been much debated in recent years with the Covid-19 pandemic, especially when first the Conte government, and then the Draghi government, imposed measures of different kinds to try to contain the problem. In the first case through lockdowns extended to commercial activities with outbreak of riots, for example in Naples, Rome and other cities in October 2020<sup>56</sup>, while in the second case, one year later in October 2021 in Rome, but also in Milan, Trieste and other Italian cities, with the compulsory requirement of the so-called green-pass certification<sup>57</sup>.

### ***Dittatura/dittatura sanitaria***

Dictatorship / health dictatorship

14. During the ‘no-green pass’ demonstrations held in October in Italy, the far right was particularly vocal in its ability to channel frustration and discontent. Above all, Forza Nuova managed to use the narrative based on the slogan of ‘dictatorship’, or even better, of ‘sanitary dictatorship’, in order to

<sup>56</sup> See: “Rivolta a Napoli contro il lockdown, condannate due persone. Per il Viminale erano «azioni preordinate». L’ombra di clan, ultras e neofascisti – I video”, Open, 24 October 2020, <https://www.open.online/2020/10/24/coronavirus-rivolta-napoli-lockdown-giorno-dopo-assalti-polizia-giornalisti-aggredditi-ombra-ultras-neofascisti-video/> (accessed 26 October 2021).

<sup>57</sup> See: “Green Pass, vertici di Forza Nuova Castellino e Fiore tra i 12 arrestati dalla polizia dopo gli scontri a Roma: 600 identificati, 38 agenti feriti”, Repubblica, 10 October 2021, [https://roma.repubblica.it/cronaca/2021/10/10/news/12\\_arresti\\_green\\_pass\\_per\\_scontri\\_roma\\_anche\\_vertici\\_forza\\_nuova-321595270/](https://roma.repubblica.it/cronaca/2021/10/10/news/12_arresti_green_pass_per_scontri_roma_anche_vertici_forza_nuova-321595270/) (accessed 26 October 2021).

gain visibility<sup>58</sup> (Figure 51). However, the slang of 'health dictatorship' is also increasingly being embraced by the sovereigntist media, as well as populist radical right-wing newspapers and news platforms<sup>59</sup>.

## Forza Nuova, Fiore: "No a dittatura sanitaria, pronti a disobbedienza"

24 ottobre 2020 | 12.52  
LETTURA: 2 minuti

Il leader di FN: "Ieri in piazza il popolo e noi dalla loro parte, in programma manifestazioni nei prossimi giorni". Calenda: "Forza Nuova va sciolta"



ANSA.it - Lazio - **Forza Nuova, sabato in piazza contro dittatura sanitaria**

## Forza Nuova, sabato in piazza contro dittatura sanitaria

Estrema destra si raduna a Roma, "senza partiti né politica"

Redazione ANSA

ROMA

01 settembre 2020  
11:56  
NEWS

Suggerisci

Facebook

Twitter

Altri

A+ A- A

Stampa

Scrivi alla redazione

Pubblicità 4w



- RIPRODUZIONE RISERVATA

CLICCA PER INGRANDIRE

(ANSA) - ROMA, 01 SET - "Italia libera".

**Figure 51:** Two examples of the use of the slang 'dittatura sanitaria' by Forza Nuova. On the left the title reads: "Forza Nuova, Fiore: No to the health dictatorship, we are ready to disobedience". Source: Adnkronos, 24 October 2021; on the right, the titles reads: "Forza Nuova, Saturday in the squares against the health dictatorship. Source: Adnkronos, 1 September 2020. See also related footnote.

## Estinzione

### Extinction

15. 'Estinzione' is a key term for the Italian radical right, while it is also used by many center-right mainstream newspapers in a superficial way. However, this superficial use is no less dangerous<sup>60</sup>. What distinguishes the 'extinction' narrative used programmatically by the radical and extreme right in Italy, from an emphasized demographic decline, is that extinction would be the outcome of policies supported by the enemies of national peoples, through forced and homologating

<sup>58</sup> See: "Forza Nuova, Fiore: "No a dittatura sanitaria, pronti a disobbedienza"", Adnkronos, 24 October 2021, [https://www.adnkronos.com/fiore-no-a-dittatura-sanitaria-pronti-a-disobbedienza\\_4AXTCbvo7i4kghhoP4hxVB](https://www.adnkronos.com/fiore-no-a-dittatura-sanitaria-pronti-a-disobbedienza_4AXTCbvo7i4kghhoP4hxVB), (accessed 1 November 2021); "Forza Nuova, sabato in piazza contro dittatura sanitaria", Ansa, 1 September 2020, [https://www.ansa.it/lazio/notizie/2020/09/01/forza-nuova-sabato-in-piazza-contro-dittatura-sanitaria\\_533a1918-b1a1-443d-8e1a-612eb25951ef.html](https://www.ansa.it/lazio/notizie/2020/09/01/forza-nuova-sabato-in-piazza-contro-dittatura-sanitaria_533a1918-b1a1-443d-8e1a-612eb25951ef.html) (accessed 1 November 2021).

<sup>59</sup> See: "Dittatura sanitaria? C'è chi propone il governo militare", La voce del patriota, 29 July 2021, <https://www.lavocedelpatriota.it/dittatura-sanitaria-ce-chi-propone-il-governo-militare/>; "Dittatura sanitaria? Una forzatura, ma le limitazioni ci sono: perché in questo dibattito anche la cultura si è ammalata", Libero Quotidiano, 26 July 2021, <https://www.liberoquotidiano.it/news/commenti-e-opinioni/28111400/dittatura-sanitaria-forzatura-limitazioni-ci-sono-perche-in-questo-dibattito-anche-cultura-si-e-ammalata.html> (accessed 1 November 2021).

<sup>60</sup> See: "Gli italiani sono in via di estinzione", Agenzia Giornalistica Italia, 20 March 2017 [https://www.agi.it/cronaca/bambini\\_mamme\\_calor\\_nascite\\_bonus\\_mamme-1602476/news/2017-03-20/](https://www.agi.it/cronaca/bambini_mamme_calor_nascite_bonus_mamme-1602476/news/2017-03-20/) (accessed: 30 October 2021).

globalisation. In particular, international progressive elites would create plans and conspiracies to replace the 'real Italians' with 'new Italians'<sup>61</sup> (Figures from 52 to 54).



VISITA LA MAPPA  
DELLE OPERE 8XMILLE.



Home > FarodiRoma > Prima pagina > I "nuovi italiani" non ci salvano dall'estinzione. Fanno pochi figli anche loro,....

Prima pagina Sociale

## I "nuovi italiani" non ci salvano dall'estinzione. Fanno pochi figli anche loro, denunciano i dati dell'Istat (di C. Meier)

Di redazione - 13/07/2020



### PRIMO PIANO



G20. Sintonia tra Draghi e Xi Jinping sul multilateralismo. Il presidente cinese denuncia le speculazioni anticinesi sull'origine del Covid



G20. Putin chiede perché si lasciano popoli privi di vaccini ma non si approva Sputnik V



G20. Un manifesto di protesta contro Bolsonaro



Torture e abusi sessuali durante gli interrogatori a Guantanamo

**Figure 52:** An article from the newspaper Il Faro di Roma, 13 July 2020, that reads: "The 'new Italians' are not saving us from extinction. They, too, have few children, ISTAT data show". Source: <https://www.farodiroma.it/i-nuovi-italiani-non-ci-salvano-dallestinzione-fanno-pochi-figli-anche-loro-denunciano-i-dati-dellistat/>.



**Figure 53:** On the left a page from CasaPound's newspaper Il Primato Nazionale, 22 October 2021, that reads: "Italians go extinct but nobody cares". On the right a page from the newspaper Libero Quotidiano, 12 May 2019, that reads: "Vittorio Feltri, the document and the confirmation: too many immigrants, Italians at risk of extinction. Source: <https://www.ilprimatonazionale.it/approfondimenti/gli-italiani-si-estinguono-ma-non-importa-a-nessuno-211719/> and <https://www.liberoquotidiano.it/articolo/vittorio-feltri-il-documento-e-la-conferma-troppi-immigrati-italiani-a-rischio-estinzione/>

<sup>61</sup> See on this CARR Report *Radical-Right Symbols, Slogans and Slurs Online*, by John E Richardson: <https://www.radicalrightanalysis.com/2020/05/04/a-guide-to-online-radical-right-symbols-slogans-and-slurs/>.



[www.liberoquotidiano.it/news/italia/13460853/vittorio-feltri-allarme-demografico-troppi-immigrati-italiani-rischio-estinzione.html](http://www.liberoquotidiano.it/news/italia/13460853/vittorio-feltri-allarme-demografico-troppi-immigrati-italiani-rischio-estinzione.html).



**Figure 54:** The newspaper La Verità, 4 October 2019, with a title that reads: “Yet nobody thinks about the extinction of the Italians”.  
Source: <https://www.laverita.info/ma-nessuno-pensa-allestinzione-degli-italiani-2625047233.html>.

### Gender/teoria gender e DDL Zan

Gender/gender theory and DDL Zan

16. A simple online search reveals that ‘gender’ and ‘teoria gender’ are among the words most used by the Italian radical right in their narratives. The newspapers<sup>62</sup> linked to the sovereignist right report almost daily articles or statements by politicians concerning, for example, the alleged imposition of gender theory in Italian schools, or the dangerousness of the so-called DDL Zan<sup>63</sup>. The DDL Zan, which takes its name from its creator, PD MP Alessandro Zan, envisaged tougher penalties against crimes and discrimination against homosexuals, transsexuals, women and disabled people. This proposal has sparked public debate in Italy and exacerbated divisions in parliament and across the political spectrum. According to the text of the bill, crimes related to homophobia would be equated with those sanctioned by Article 604 bis of the Penal Code, which combats racism and hatred on religious grounds, punishing discrimination based on sex, gender, sexual orientation,

<sup>62</sup> Using the search function for the word ‘gender’ within newspapers of sovereignist area will be found hundreds of articles. For instance: La voce del patriota: <https://www.lavocedelpatriota.it/?s=genderhttps://>; Il Giornale: <https://www.ilgiornale.it/cerca.html?q=genderhttps://>; Libero Quotidiano: [www.liberoquotidiano.it/search/?keyword=gender](https://www.liberoquotidiano.it/search/?keyword=gender).

<sup>63</sup> See: “Lgbt+ è caccia alle streghe: professoressa costretta alle dimissioni per essersi schierata contro l’ideologia gender”, La voce del patriota, 30 October 2021, <https://www.lavocedelpatriota.it/lgbt-e-caccia-alle-streghe-professoressa-costretta-alle-dimissioni-per-essersi-schierata-contro-lideologia-gender>; “Ddl Zan. Rauti (Fdi): no al pensiero unico imposto dall’ideologia gender”, La voce del patriota, 13 July 2021, <https://www.lavocedelpatriota.it/ddl-zan-rauti-fdi-no-al-pensiero-unico-imposto-dallideologia-gender/>; “Putin stronca l’ideologia progressista: “In Russia niente gender e cancel culture””, Il Primato Nazionale, 22 October 2021, <https://www.ilprimatonazionale.it/esteri/putin-stronca-cosideologia-progressista-russia-gender-cancel-culture-211731/>; “Così i prof insegneranno la teoria gender nelle scuole”, Il Giornale, 21 February 2017, <https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/cronache/cos-i-prof-insegneranno-teoria-gender-nelle-scuole-1367305.html>.



gender identity and disability with up to four years' imprisonment. The bill also establishes a national day against homophobia, lesbophobia, biphobia and transphobia, to promote a more widespread "culture of respect and inclusion and to counter prejudice, discrimination and violence motivated by sexual orientation and gender identity". Zan's law was held up for several months due to obstructionism by the League, which has always maintained that the Italian Constitution already outlaws these crimes. On 27 October 2021, DDL Zan was shelved by the Senate, with 154 votes in favour of shelving it and 131 against, the request not to examine the law article by article and to proceed by secret ballot was approved. The text will not return to committee for another six months<sup>64</sup>.

### ***Globalizzazione/globalizzazione forzata***

Globalization/ forced globalization

17. The concept of globalization understood more and more as 'forced globalization' has received an important impetus during the period of the Covid-19 pandemic. If previously it was used mainly within narratives related to conspiracy theories (see for instance the website of [Altireinfo.org](https://www.altreinfo.org)<sup>65</sup>), today it is used programmatically by the leaders of the radical right and extreme right in Italy. In the words of one of the leaders of CasaPound, Simone Di Stefano: "[...] So, in fact, all these categories (the no-globals, the people of Seattle, the radical left, etc.) in twenty years have completely abandoned the critique of capitalism - at least a serious critique, which goes beyond the rejection of the McDonald's sandwich and the can of Coca Cola - and today they are all in the front line to build a forced globalization, made of uncontrolled immigration and cancellation of peoples' identities."<sup>66</sup>

### ***Identità, Nazione, Tradizione e Comunità***

Identity, Nation, Tradition and Community

18. 'Identity', 'Nation', 'Tradition' and 'Community' are terms which, despite their diversity, are used by politicians and the media of the radical right to form a very precise semantic area. In the narrative elaborated by the radical right, that conceptual area is identified as 'forced globalization' imposed by capitalism and the transnational elites, which would like to produce a 'homologation' of the peoples or even bring them to 'extinction' (Figure 54) through the support of illegal immigration, gender theories, feminism, multiculturalism, or the rights of the LGBT community. For this reason, both the mainstream radical right and the extreme right make use of these terms, as can be seen from some of the headlines in the most representative newspapers. Upon these pillars, some Italian political parties are trying to establish strong international networks between different conservative

<sup>64</sup> See: "Cos'è il DDL Zan e cosa ne pensa la gente delle discriminazioni di genere?", IPSOS, 27 October 2021, <https://www.ipsos.com/it-it/ddl-zan-opinioni-italiani-discriminazioni-genere> (accessed 31 October 2021).

<sup>65</sup> See: "La globalizzazione è finita, tra un po' useranno l'esercito contro di noi", [Altireinfo.org](https://www.altreinfo.org/attualita/2268/la-globalizzazione-finita-tra-un-po-useranno-esercito-contro-di-noi/), <https://www.altreinfo.org/attualita/2268/la-globalizzazione-finita-tra-un-po-useranno-esercito-contro-di-noi/> (accessed 31 October 2021).

<sup>66</sup> See: "Il leader di Casapound si racconta: "Sogno un progetto con il comunista Rizzo"", [Affari Italiani](https://www.affaritaliani.it/politica/il-leader-di-casapound-si-racconta-sogno-un-progetto-con-il-comunista-rizzo-674381.html), 24 May 2020, <https://www.affaritaliani.it/politica/il-leader-di-casapound-si-racconta-sogno-un-progetto-con-il-comunista-rizzo-674381.html> (accessed 31 October 2021).

and radical right-wing and nationalist parties, both at European and broader international levels (Figure 56).



**Figure 55:** A title from the online edition of the Italian newspaper Il Giornale, that reads: “The pride of identity in the hubbub of social media”, 2 June 2019. Source: <https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/politica/lorgoglio-dellidentit-nel-chiasso-dei-social-1704917.html>.



**Figure 56:** An article from the newspaper La voce del Patriota, 31 May 2021, with a photo Giorgia Meloni in Warsaw with VOX leader Santi Abascal and Polish Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki. The title reads: “Nation, tradition, community: Central European conservatism is the model”. Source: <https://www.lavocedelpatriota.it/nazione-tradizione-comunita-il-conservatorismo-eurocentrale-fa-da-modello/>.

**Monopensiero, pensiero unico**

Single-mindedness and single thinking

19. The use of the slang 'monopensiero' (that can be translated as *single-mindedness* or *single thought*) and 'pensiero unico' increased in the newspapers of the sovereignist area during the Covid-19 pandemic. The slang, as it is possible to see from online articles (Figure 57) is often accompanied by the adjectives 'correct' (or 'politically correct'), 'dominante', 'globalizzato'.

Roma, 18 set – Il **monopensiero correct** colpisce pure i profumi. Per l'esattezza le **etichette** con le diciture che identificano le fragranze 'per uomo' o 'per donna'. Bandite d'un tratto, stracciate perché non più in linea con la fluidità gender, la sola contemplabile, la sola ammissibile in particolare nel mondo dello spettacolo e della moda. **Via dunque l'esaltazione dell'uomo che non deve chiedere mai, vade retro fascino e grazia femminili**, i profumi devono essere unicamente genderless. Dunque niente etichetta che ne consigli l'utilizzo all'uomo anziché alla donna.



**Così bandiscono le diciture "uomo" e "donna" dai profumi**

### **Francesca Totola, una ricercatrice tenace**

ha il raro dono dell'accuratezza. Non propone mai un articolo senza prima aver verificato, analizzato, confrontato – con minuzia quasi maniacale – tutti i dati da lei menzionati. Una scrupolosa attenzione unita alla tenacia di chi ha deciso di procedere in direzione contraria rispetto al **monopensiero dominante**. Attenzione e tenacia, elementi fondamentali per chiunque voglia realizzare inchieste degne di questo nome e che di conseguenza appaiono assai scomode.

Da anni collabora con *Il Primato Nazionale* e i suoi pezzi hanno contribuito a **scoperchiare vasi di Pandora** e a svelare le zone d'ombra del **globalismo**, delle Ong, del business dell'accoglienza e delle frequenti fake news proposte dai media correct. Non a caso il suo primo libro, *Inferno Spa*, a distanza di tre anni dall'uscita nelle librerie è ancora essenziale per comprendere la ben oliata nave su cui si muovono speculatori internazionali, uomini d'affari e pervicaci costruttori della cosiddetta "società aperta". **Un lavoro certosino, encomiabile e coraggioso**. Un viaggio nell'affarismo petaloso che ci aiuta tuttora a leggere le mosse sulla scacchiera dei fautori dell'abolizione dei confini e dell'abbattimento delle identità.

### **Presentazione**



Questo sito raccoglie quanto negli ultimi anni ho scritto, o detto, sui temi che più mi stanno a cuore, e in particolare: la vita, che oggi si manifesta anche nella sua sfolgorante versione sintetica quale manufatto (eu)geneticamente assemblato; la famiglia, che ci appare anch'essa artificialmente rifratta in un caleidoscopio di grottesche controfigure; la formazione delle giovani generazioni, snaturata dentro una scuola che è ridotta ormai a parodia di se stessa, ovvero a un incrocio tra un luna park e un laboratorio di rieducazione etico-sociale collettiva.

Del resto, addomesticare tutti per via istituzionale – dall'asilo all'università – al **monopensiero globalizzato**, alle idee effimere e alla omologazione coatta serve a predisporre quel materiale umano omogeneo e obbediente che, sollevato dall'onere del ragionamento perché acquattato in un sicuro e confortevole stato di analfabetismo, confluisce felice nella massa inerte a trazione mediatica. Strutturalmente incapace di intralciare le simmetrie del potere.

**Figure 57:** Examples of the online use of the slang 'monopensiero'. On the top left and top right two articles from CasaPounds's newspaper, *Il Primato Nazionale*, appeared respectively on 18 September 2021 and 27 August 2021. Below an online article from the website *Redazione Italia* (no date available). Source: <https://www.ilprimatonazionale.it/cronaca/ultima-fesseria-correct-via-uomo-donna-etichette-profumi-207743/>; <https://www.ilprimatonazionale.it/cultura/direzione-rivoluzione-francesca-totola-morale-sinistra-205200/>; and [https://www.redazioneitalia.it/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=13668:elisabetta-frezza-presentazione&catid=2&Itemid=10](https://www.redazioneitalia.it/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=13668:elisabetta-frezza-presentazione&catid=2&Itemid=10).

20. The slang 'pensiero unico' is more widely used than 'monopensiero' (Figure 58), however they both refer to a narrative stressing the role of not-well- specified foreign forces and ideologies (such as the politically correct, the progressive and liberal left, globalization, gender theory) allegedly compressing identities and traditions of the Italian people.



**Figure 58:** An example of the online use of ‘pensiero unico’, with the logo of Azione Universitaria, now youth-wing organization belonging to Brothers of Italy. The online article from La voce del Patriota, 21 December 2019, reads “AU Rome launches the new website. Against the pensiero unico in the universities”. Source: <https://www.lavocedelpatriota.it/au-roma-lancia-il-nuovo-sito-contro-il-pensiero-unico-nelle-universita/>.

***Onore/ Molti nemici, molto onore/Tanti nemici, tanto onore***

Honor/ Many enemies, much honor/ Many enemies, much honor

21. ‘Onore’ is a word that the Italian radical right and extreme right like to use widely, also in a manipulative manner (Figure 59).





**Figure 59:** Online manipulation of the use of the word 'onore' from the newspaper Il Primato Nazionale, 16 July 2021, with a title that reads: "'Honour and mediocre souls": Viali's chilling speech before the final". Source: <https://www.ilprimatonazionale.it/sport/onore-anime-mediocri-discorso-brividi-viali-prima-finale-video-201539/>.

Use of the word depends very much on the context and it is not possible to generalize. However, it is also undeniable that honor, and in particular some fascist mottos such as 'Molti nemici, molto onore' or 'Tanti nemici, tanto onore', can be used very explicitly to emphasize specific political affiliation (Figure 60).



**Figure 60:** A tweet posted by the League’s leader Matteo Salvini’s official account on 29 July 2018, stating ‘Tanti nemici, tanto onore’ (‘Many enemies, much honor’). Source: <https://twitter.com/matteosalvinimi/status/1023500457229070336>.

### ***Patriota e patrioti***

Patriot and Patriots

22. As mentioned above, ‘patriota’, depending on the context and with due caveats, can be considered as a synonym of ‘fascist’ (Figure 61).

# Francesco Cuomo, candidato ultrà di Fratelli d'Italia: "Io fascista? Direi patriota"

di Concetto Vecchio



▲ Francesco Cuomo con il candidato sindaco del centrodestra a Roma, Enrico Michetti

*In lista a Roma per le elezioni comunali, dice: "Ignoravo che il mio fosse un tatuaggio nazista. Diabolik? Un amico da stadio, come tanti altri. L'aggressione ultrà a un poliziotto? È una brutta storia con un lieto fine, la mia fedina è pulita"*



L'ascolto è riservato agli abbonati

01 SETTEMBRE 2021

2 MINUTI DI LETTURA



Francesco Cuomo, candidato di Fratelli d'Italia a Roma, è vero che la chiamano "il camerata"?



**Figure 61:** From la Repubblica, 1 September 2021, a title that reads "Francesco Cuomo, Brothers of Italy ultras candidate: "Me, a fascist? I would say a patriot". Source:

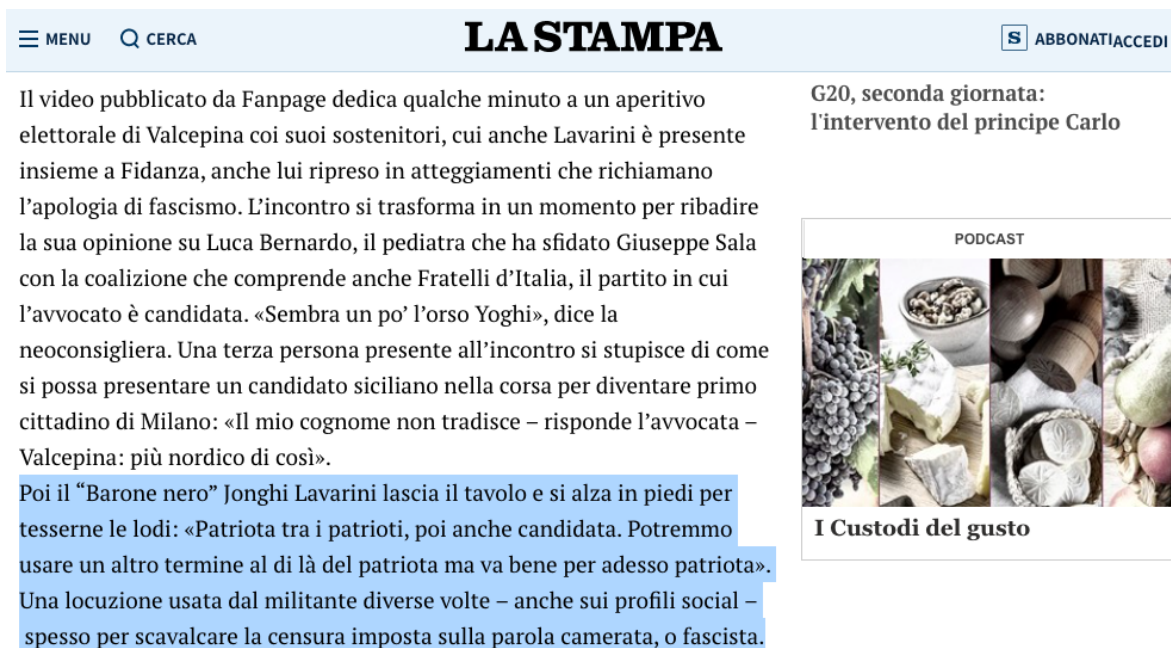
[https://www.repubblica.it/politica/2021/09/01/news/il\\_candidato\\_ultra\\_di\\_fratelli\\_d\\_italia\\_io\\_fascista\\_direi\\_patriota\\_-316152380/](https://www.repubblica.it/politica/2021/09/01/news/il_candidato_ultra_di_fratelli_d_italia_io_fascista_direi_patriota_-316152380/).

This has been well documented recently, with the (mentioned above) journalistic investigation 'Lobby nera' conducted by the journal Fanpage. In one of the videos of the investigation, it is possible to hear several times Roberto Jonghi Lavarini (alas *il barone nero*, 'the black baron') explaining carefully to the undercover journalist, how the word 'patriota' is still unfortunately necessary, in a precautionary way, instead of 'fascist'<sup>67</sup> (Figures 62 and 63).

<sup>67</sup> See: In particular at the minute 11:00 of the video "Abbiamo le lavatrici per fare il black": così il big di Fdi vuole finanziare la campagna elettorale". Source: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5kToJIMiDnE&feature=emb\\_title](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5kToJIMiDnE&feature=emb_title) (accessed 31 October 2021). See also: "Chiara Valcepina consigliera a Milano, nell'inchiesta di Fanpage diceva di Bernardo: "Sembra l'orso Yoghi"", La Stampa, 5 October 2021, <https://www.lastampa.it/politica/2021/10/05/news/chiara-valcepina-consigliera-a-milano-nell-inchiesta-di-fanpage-diceva-di-bernardo-sembra-l-orso-yoghi-1.40776780/>



**Figure 62:** A snippet from the video of Fanpage's investigation titled 'Lobby nera', where it is explained that 'patriota' is the 'clean' synonymous of fascist. Source: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5kToJIMiDnE&feature=emb\\_title](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5kToJIMiDnE&feature=emb_title).



**Figure 63:** A selection (highlighted) from the article of La Stampa, 5 October 2021, "Chiara Valcepina consiglia a Milano, nell'inchiesta di Fanpage diceva di Bernardo: "Sembra l'orso Yoghi"". It reads: "[...] Then "Black Baron" Jonghi Lavarini left the table and stood up to sing her praises: «Patriot among patriots, then also a candidate. We could use another term beyond patriot but it's okay for now patriot». A phrase used by the militant several times - even on social profiles - often to override the censorship imposed on the word comrade, or fascist." Source: <https://www.lastampa.it/politica/2021/10/05/news/chiara-valcepina-consigliera-a-milano-nell-inchiesta-di-fanpage-diceva-di-bernardo-sembra-l-orso-yoghi-1.40776780/>.



### ***Politicamente corretto***

Politically correct

23. The 'Politically correct' is certainly one of the favorite polemical targets of the Italian radical right. Political correctness is the tool that the 'pensiero unico', in the words of Giorgia Meloni, uses to 'attack the family, the homeland, religious or gender identity'<sup>68</sup>. The 'dictatorship of political correctness' has become a topos for the Italian sovereignist media and can be found everywhere online<sup>69</sup>. It is worth recalling here a passage from an article titled "Gli Stati Uniti e la dittatura del politicamente corretto" (The US and the politically correct dictatorship), from CasaPound's newspaper, Il Primato Nazionale, which in 2015 was already stating "Today, this dictatorship of political correctness, that we have imported from overseas, tends to debase and flatten any kind of difference by trying to standardise, to the detriment of every yearning for identity enhancement, which is branded as racism, while at the same time advocating the values of personalism and individualism that lead to a form of selfishness that demands more and more personal rights. This is a form of selfishness that leads to demanding more and more personal rights, shielding one's own emotional victimhood from one's duties towards the society of which one is a part, thus putting one's own private needs before the 'common good', which should be the founding principle of every civilisation, as per the 'social pact' of Hobbesian memory"<sup>70</sup>.

### ***Professoroni***

"Important" or "big" professors

24. 'Professoroni' is a slur used particularly by the populist radical-right's politicians and media. According to Treccani, the first to propose the term were Matteo Renzi and Maria Elena Boschi in 2014. Initially, the term referred to the technicians of the Monti government, and had a less derisive meaning<sup>71</sup>. However, it is certainly with Matteo Salvini that the word 'professors' becomes a slur among the populist right (Figure 64).

<sup>68</sup> See: Giorgia Meloni, *Io sono Giorgia. Le mie radici, le mie idee*. Milano: Rizzoli, 2021, p.7, translation by the author.

<sup>69</sup> See: "La dittatura del politicamente corretto", Il Giornale, 3 July 2021, <https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/cronache/dittatura-politicamente-corretto-1959441.html> (accessed 1 November 2021).

<sup>70</sup> See: "Gli Stati Uniti e la dittatura del politicamente corretto", Il Primato Nazionale, 1 September 2015, <https://www.ilprimatonazionale.it/approfondimenti/gli-stati-uniti-e-la-dittatura-del-politicamente-corretto-29842/> (accessed 1 November 2021).

<sup>71</sup> See: "Le parole della politica – Professoroni", Treccani, 7 June 2019, [https://www.treccani.it/magazine/lingua\\_italiana/articoli/parole/Neopolitica15.html](https://www.treccani.it/magazine/lingua_italiana/articoli/parole/Neopolitica15.html) (accessed 1 November 2021).



**Figure 64:** An article from Il Giornale, 17 October 2018, that reads: "Salvini against the «professoroni»: I am ignorant but where were you?". Source: <https://www.ilgiornale.it/news/politica/salvini-contro-i-professoroni-io-sono-ignorante-voi-dove-1589483.html>. See also the related video on YouTube, SALVINI AI "PROFESSORONI": LASCIATECI LAVORARE! (11.08.2018): [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7G4\\_5cju3tc](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7G4_5cju3tc).

## Putin

25. Russian President Vladimir Putin is certainly the personality most admired by the Italian right. This admiration for Putin and his minions covers the whole political spectrum: from (a) the moderate and conservative center-right, including (b) the sovereigntist, populist and radical right, and extending to (c) the extra-parliamentary extreme right. It is very difficult to find a right-wing Italian newspaper that is not fascinated by the Russian president, as can be seen by the titles dedicated to Putin (and his close associates) from the conservative Il Foglio up to CasaPound's Il Primato Nazionale (Figure 65).



**Figure 65:** Top left, an article from the newspaper Il Foglio, 26 October 2021, that reads: “The enormity of Putin’s words on the cancel culture. Top right, an article from Il Primato Nazionale, 22 October 2021, reads: “Putin crushes progressive ideology: ‘No gender and cancel cultures in Russia’.”; below another article from Il Primato Nazionale, 23 June 2018, reads: ‘Dugin at CasaPound: Populism is the challenge to single thinking’. Source: <https://www.ilprimatonazionale.it/esteri/putin-stronca-cosi-ideologia-progressista-russia-gender-cancel-culture-211731/>; <https://www.ilprimatonazionale.it/primo-piano/dugin-a-casapound-il-populismo-e-la-sfida-al-pensiero-unico-88026/>; and <https://www.ilmagazine.it/esteri/2021/10/26/news/l-enormita-delle-parole-pronunciate-da-vladimir-putin-sulla-cancel-culture-3233673/>.

### Radical-chic

Radical-chic (lefty elites)

26. ‘Radical-chic’ is a very right-wing populist slur, according to which the ‘sovereignist’ people are pitted against left-wing elites (Figures 66 and 67). According to Garzanti<sup>72</sup>, ‘radical-chic’ denotes ‘one who manifests left-wing political tendencies with snobbery’, while for Treccani ‘one who, for fashion or convenience, professes non-conformist ideas and radical political tendencies’<sup>73</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> See: Radical-chic, Garzanti Linguistica, <https://www.garzantilinguistica.it/ricerca/?q=radical-chic>.

<sup>73</sup> See: Radical-chic, Treccani, <https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/radical-chic/>.

Home &gt; Cultura &gt; "I radical chic odiano l'Italia": il Primato Nazionale dal 4 luglio in...



**Figure 66:** An article from Il Primato Nazionale, 2 July 2018, showing copies of an issue with Gino Strada (1948-2021), founder of the NGO Emergency, on the cover. The title reads: "The radical chic who hates Italy". Source:

<https://www.ilprimatonazionale.it/primo-piano/i-radical-chic-odiano-l-italia-il-primato-nazionale-dal-4-luglio-in-edicola-88608/>.



**Figure 67:** Online article from La voce del Patriota, 19 June 2019, reading: "The radical-chic left wants to ban crucifixes on TV and attacks the RAI journalist". Source: <https://www.lavocedelpatriota.it/la-sinistra-radical-chic-vuole-vietare-il-crocifisso-in-tv-e-attacca-la-giornalista-rai/>.

### ***Risorsa/risorsa preziosa***

Resource and valuable resource

27. 'Risorsa' or 'risorsa preziosa' is a slur used by Italian radical-right and far-right sympathisers to sarcastically identify immigrants. It is frequent on social media and online newspapers, in comments to articles and posts, while for obvious reasons it is rare in headlines (Figure 68).





**Figure 68:** An article from La voce del Patriota, 7 January 2020, that reads: “citizenship income does not arrive, “resources” smashes up the post office. Source: <https://www.lavocedelpatriota.it/reddito-di-cittadinanza-non-arriva-risorsa-sfascia-lufficio-postale/>.

### ***Sovranista***

Sovereignist

28. ‘Sovranista’, along with ‘patriota’, is the term that is currently widely used by radical right-wing politicians to describe themselves. The same goes for the media: La voce del Patriota, for instance, defines itself as ‘*informazione sovranista*’ [‘Sovereignist news’], while Il Primato Nazionale prides itself on being “l’unico quotidiano sovranista Italiano indipendente” (‘the only independent Italian sovereignist newspaper’)<sup>74</sup>.

### ***Talebano, partito pro-talebano***

Taliban, pro-Taliban party

29. This is slang used by mainstream sovereigntist newspapers to sarcastically identify left-wing progressives that are pro-immigration (particularly from countries of Islamic religion and culture) and open to multicultural dialogue. An article by Marco Gervasoni, on La voce del Patriota, provides us with an interesting definition:

<sup>74</sup> For a concise general introduction to the term ‘sovereignist’ in Italian contemporary politics, see the following article by Agenzia Giornalistica Italiana (AGI), 15 March 2018, “Cosa vuol dire “governo sovranista” e perché i moderati lo temono come il male peggior”, [https://www.agi.it/politica/sovranismo\\_lega\\_movimento\\_5\\_stelle-3632263/news/2018-03-15/](https://www.agi.it/politica/sovranismo_lega_movimento_5_stelle-3632263/news/2018-03-15/) (accessed 1 November 2021). Also see: “Dr. Valerio Alfonso Bruno: The similarities between Brothers of Italy and the League will coexist well after the next general elections (interview by Theodoros Benakis)” European Interest, 13 September 2021 <https://www.europeaninterest.eu/article/dr-valerio-alfonso-bruno-the-similarities-between-brothers-of-italy-and-the-league-will-coexist-well-after-the-next-general-elections/> (accessed 26 September 2021).

“The pro-Taliban are in fact very much in favour of taking in as many Afghan refugees as possible: where it is not clear why they are fleeing from a regime that is 'quite inclusive' and with which they want to 'negotiate' and perhaps recognise diplomatically. The other paralogism concerns women's rights: the pro-Taliban party, which is essentially progressive, fights for all the claims of radical feminism and the Lgbt galaxy. Unfortunately for them, however, the 'fairly inclusive' regime flogs women and hangs homosexuals: and if the policies of the pro-Taliban, essentially immigrant, party were followed, in a few years in many Italian districts women would have to wear the burqa.”<sup>75</sup>

### Fascist and fascist-sounding mottos

30. In conclusion, we revise some fascist and fascist-sounding mottos, even if this is not the primary focus of the chapter, as a debate on fascist mottos would require an incredible vast space<sup>76</sup>. We have already seen some mottos in the banners exposed in football stadia or used by radical-right politicians (see the above mentioned 'Onore/ Molti nemici, molto onore/Tanti nemici, tanto onore'). At the beginning of this report we have seen how a mural in Rome supporting the BLM campaign for the European football championship 2021, was vandalized by Blocco Studentesco. The CasaPound youth-wing used the phrase 'Resta in piedi, Italia!' much resembling the style of fascist mottos. These are usually very short, either consisting of few nouns or sentences using the infinitive mood or the imperative mood, the grammatical mood that forms a command or request. Examples can be '*Boia chi molla!*' [Who gives up is a traitor!] or '*Credere obbedire combattere*' [Believe obey fight], '*Distruggere è facile, ma ricostruire è difficile*' [To destroy is easy, but to rebuild is hard], '*Mai abbassare il tricolore*' [Never put down the tricolore], '*Chi si ferma è perduto*' [Who hesitates is lost]. Radical right newspapers often use similar type of short sentences or mottos in the titles of their online articles, and the same is done by the website of radical right and extreme right parties and movements or by political leaders on their social media. Some examples can be the following mottos and phrases found in the titles sovereigntist newspapers: '*Amare la Patria*' [Love the Homeland], '*Doppia morale*' [Double moral], '*Follia di Stato*' [State folly], '*Cultura ed Identità*' [Culture and Identity] or '*Essere nati liberi*' [Born free].

<sup>75</sup> See: "Kabul talebana chiama e una parte d'Italia risponde", La voce del Patriota, 2 Settembre 2021, <https://www.lavocedelpatriota.it/kabul-talebana-chiama-e-una-parte-ditalia-risponde/> (accessed 1 November 2021).

<sup>76</sup> See at least: A. Segala, *I muri del duce*, Milano: Edizioni Arca, 2000; C. Fogu, *The historic imaginary*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016.

## **Part II: Radical-Right Symbols, Slogans and Slurs**

### **Online: Germany**

## Introduction

This report details the main symbols, codes, slogans, and slurs specifically used by the German radical right online today. Using symbols and codes is not a new phenomenon; it can be traced back to the German ultranationalist (*völkisch*) movement of the late 19th century. After World War I, fascists and National Socialists used them as a means of communicating and creating a common identity. Adolf Hitler himself acknowledged the importance of symbols in spreading the Nazi ideology. “As national socialists,” he wrote in *Mein Kampf*, “we see our program in our flag.” The colour red symbolized the “social ideas of the movement”, whereas white stood for nationalism. The swastika was seen as the “mission of the struggle for the victory of the Aryan race.

In Germany today displaying symbols of the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (NSDAP, or Nazi Party, and all sub-organisations mentioned in its organisation manual) and of other banned radical right extremist organisations (such as the *Sozialistische Reichspartei*, or SRP) is punishable by law. The central provisions for combating these symbols are found in sections 86 and 86a of the Criminal Code (*Strafgesetzbuch*, or StGB). These are intended to prevent the revival of unconstitutional organisations, but also to prohibit the dissemination of radical-right extremist propaganda and symbols. Given the ban of historical Nazi symbology, the German radical right resorts to less overt codes, symbols, and slogans in order to advance its agenda.

Codes can have various, multiple functions. The radical right in Germany uses codes mainly for three reasons: First, when compared to countries like the US – which has never proscribed radical right groups – German extremists want to make sure that they remain within the strict legal framework. On one hand, this framework has been legally interpreted in an increasingly clear way in many individual rulings, and notably more narrowly with regard to radical right hate speech after 1990. Yet this is only one part of an interactive, dynamic pattern. On the other hand, the German radical right continually tries to find ways to circumvent bans through the use of legal loopholes. Second, these initiatives leave their mark on social interaction and communication. For more extreme groups in Germany, these bans make certain contents and their forms of expression all the more attractive. Proscribed symbols and Nazi era terminology can be used to demonstrate rebellion against societal and social norms – in keeping with patterns of deviant behaviour in youth- and subcultures – whose content and visual inventory the radical right also knows how to employ.<sup>77</sup> Third, while the first two functions are aimed at external effect, a final function is aimed at the in-group. By using certain codes, acronyms and speech phrases, such as on clothing, online or in publications, it becomes clear to those employ them typically belong to the circle of initiated, termed the in-group. This creates social and political cohesion amongst radical right extremists – and excludes the non-initiated. Through these knowledge asymmetries, hierarchies, and social bubbles are created that enable the further dissemination of content in spaces with little or no criticism.

In drawing upon these three key functions, this chapter provides an overview of the various symbols and slogans used by the German radical right. It is dedicated to filling in the main “knowledge gaps” by decoding codes, symbols, key phrases, and slang terms in use today. Moreover, the goal of this report is to explain the function(s) of these terms and signs, which are sometimes quite latent and

<sup>77</sup> See Cynthia Miller-Idriss, *The Extreme Gone Mainstream: Commercialization and Far Right Youth Culture in Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), chapter 2 and chapter 5.



other times much more manifest in their intent. This chapter therefore covers both communication content and some of the techniques applied in order to enable the readers to “have the courage to use their own reason”. Finally, to best approach this extreme content, knowledge of coding and encoding techniques in particular is crucial in order to deal with this material in an informed way – whether online or offline. This is because, in the words of two German specialists in this area, Ulli Jentsch and Michael Weiss: “Those who expect a catalogue in this situation [...] we have to disappoint. In our opinion, a mere list of banned symbols, as they appear for example in some publications of the constitution protection authorities, makes no sense to us. Our aim is to make the lifeworld, functioning and dynamics of extreme right-wing orientation comprehensible.”<sup>78</sup>

---

<sup>78</sup> See Ulli Jentsch & Michael Weiss, ‘Rechtsextreme Symbolik und Kleidung im öffentlichen Raum’, in Julius H. Schoeps, Gideon Botsch, Christoph Kopke & Lars Rensmann, *Rechtsextremismus in Brandenburg. Handbuch für Analyse, Prävention und Intervention* (Berlin: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 2007), p. 125.

# Images and Symbols

## I. Mythological Symbols

Symbols from Germanic mythology and forms of pagan religions largely appeal to German neo-Nazis and white supremacists for two reasons. First, they imply a close attachment to the history, traditions and virtues of early northern-European whites. Second, “they speak to a time and place dominated by an alleged white monoculture, before the arrival of (as they would put it, ‘Jewish’) Christianity in Europe.”<sup>79</sup>

### 1. The swastika and the Nazi flag

Also known as the “sun wheel” (*Sonnenrad*) the swastika was introduced in Germany at the beginning of the twentieth century, thanks to the works by Russian occultist Helena Blavatsky, founder of theosophy. It was first used by esoteric and antisemitic groups as well as the so-called *völkisch*, or racial nationalist, movement.<sup>80</sup> Although the symbol has ancient roots in the Indian subcontinent, it was popularised by the National Socialist German Workers Party in August 1920 by the movement’s propagandist at the time, Adolf Hitler. In *Mein Kampf* he wrote: “I myself, meanwhile, after innumerable attempts, had laid down a final form: A flag with a red background, a white disk, and a black swastika in the middle. After long trials I also found a definite proportion between the size of the flag and the size of the white disk, as well as the shape and thickness of the swastika.”<sup>81</sup> Later, the swastika became the official symbol of the Nazi Germany in 1933 and was placed at the centre of the flag in Nazi regime. While red represented the allegedly socialist worldview of the movement, the colour white referred to nationalism. The swastika itself was intended to symbolise the continuous struggle of the Aryan race for supremacy.<sup>82</sup>

Today use of the swastika – even in modified forms – is prohibited in Germany. Thus, far-right groups often replace the swastika with other symbols, including the Odal rune (see II.2), the triskele (see I.3) or the Celtic Cross (III.1). However, due to the unmistakable layout as well as the colour pattern – a red background with a white circle that depicts black inscriptions or symbols – modified flags and emblems are easily recognisable signs of the far right.

<sup>79</sup> John E. Richardson, *CARR Report: Radical-Right Symbols, Slogans and Slurs Online*, 26 May 2020, 12, accessed at [www.radicalrightanalysis.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/CARR-A-Guide-to-Online-Radical-Right-Symbols-Slogan-and-Slurs.pdf](http://www.radicalrightanalysis.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/CARR-A-Guide-to-Online-Radical-Right-Symbols-Slogan-and-Slurs.pdf) (accessed on 2 October 2021).

<sup>80</sup> Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *The Occult Roots of Nazism. Secret Aryan Cults and their Influence on Nazi Ideology. The Ariosophists of Austria and Germany, 1890-1935* (New York: New York University Press, 1992), pp. 17-29.

<sup>81</sup> The History of the Swastika, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/history-of-the-swastika> (accessed 18 February 2022).

<sup>82</sup> <https://dasversteckspiel.de/die-symbolwelt/nationalsozialismus/hakenkreuz-hakenkreuzfahne-51.html>. (accessed 2 October 2021); [www.bpb.de/lernen/grafstat/rechtsextremismus/172885/m-02-10-rechtsextremes-verhalten-symbole-und-codes](http://www.bpb.de/lernen/grafstat/rechtsextremismus/172885/m-02-10-rechtsextremes-verhalten-symbole-und-codes) (accessed 2 October 2021).

## 2. Odin's Ravens: Hugin and Munin



Figure 1: Logo of the clothing brand "Bei Odin, wir bleiben helden!"

Across the radical right scene, the names of Nordic and Germanic gods – particularly Odin (father of the gods, also known as Wotan) and Thor (god of thunder) – enjoy striking popularity. According to mythology, Odin is also known as the "Raven God," as he was assisted by two ravens named Hugin and Munin. According to folklore, they would explore and watch the world for him and report back to him. Supposedly, both also possessed a higher spiritual knowledge, which the radical right claims for themselves as the self-defined elite of a new world order.

Accordingly, the two ravens and their names are a common graphic element for T-shirts, logos, tattoos, buttons, stickers, wallets, and other forms of merchandise. For example, the journal of the *Hilfsgemeinschaft auf Gegenseitigkeit der Angehörigen der ehemaligen Waffen-SS* [Mutual aid association of former Waffen-SS members, or HIAG], a radical right lobbying group for former members of the Waffen-SS founded in 1951, was called Munin. Hugin and Munin are also sometimes depicted attacking the Christian fish (as seen in the logo of the clothing brand *Bei Odin, wir bleiben Heiden!* (See figure 1)), underscoring these symbols' pagan roots. However, as it is not always easy to recognise the two depicted birds as Odin's ravens, their names are usually included in the item's description.<sup>83</sup>

## 3. Triskele



Figure 2: Triskele sign of the 27th SS Volunteer Division "Langemarck"

The triple spiral symbol can be traced back to many pre-Christian cultures. The first known triskeles appeared in Malta (4400–3600 BC) and were found in the astronomical calendar at the megalithic tomb of Newgrange (ca. 3200 BC). Given that the symbol was also known in Germanic culture, it witnessed a revival during the Third Reich. The triskele was a symbol of the 27th SS Volunteer Division "Langemarck" (See figure 2).<sup>84</sup> The division was named after the Belgian town Langemarck, where German soldiers, mostly poorly trained schoolchildren, and students, undertook an uncoordinated and poorly planned attack on 10 November 1914. So as not to lose their orientation, and to distinguish friend from foe, soldiers began singing "Germany, Germany above all", the refrain of the first stanza of the *Deutschlandlied* [Song of Germany]. Some 80,000 soldiers on the German side alone were killed near Langemarck between 21 October and 15 November 1914.

Army command quickly exploited the attack for propaganda purposes, interpreting it as an outstanding example of heroic German sacrifice. This myth of manly sacrifice was used to counter the war concerns that was already beginning to spread in Germany. In the Weimar Republic, formed

<sup>83</sup> Georg Schuppener, *Germanenrezeption im deutschsprachigen Rechtsextremismus* (Leipzig: Edition Hamouda, 2021), 122; <https://dasversteckspiel.de/die-symbolwelt/germanentum-und-heidentum/odins-raben-322.html> (accessed 2 October 2021).

<sup>84</sup> Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz, *Rechtsextremismus: Symbole, Zeichen und verbotene Organisationen*, Oktober 2018, p. 57.

after the defeat of Imperial Germany in World War One a quasi-religious culture of commemoration developed around the events at Langemarck, particularly in the student and national-conservative milieu of the time. Groups such as the *Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund* [National Socialist German Student League] exploited the mobilising power of the Langemarck myth.<sup>85</sup>

At the end of the 20th century, the international neo-Nazi network “Blood & Honour” adopted the triskele as its symbol. Although this group was banned in Germany in 2000, the use of the triskele is only punishable in Germany if it can be perceived by unbiased persons as a sign of one of the aforementioned radical right organisations. Like the modified Celtic Cross (see III.1), the triskele often replaces the swastika in logos and emblems for this very reason. However, the Nazi flag colour scheme – black symbol in a white circle with a red background – is usually kept, making the emblem easily recognisable as a sign of the radical right.

#### 4. Thor’s Hammer



Thor’s hammer, Mjölner, represents Thor’s power and might. It appears in many archaeological artefacts from the Middle Ages. Even though Thor’s hammer is also used by non-racists, such as those in the neo-pagan movement, it is particularly prominent amongst the radical right. As such it can be found on various everyday items, including jewellery, T-shirts, and other kinds of clothing (See figure 3). Mjölner’s mythology aligns perfectly with the self-perception and the ideological programme of the radical right, since the hammer is regarded as a symbol of masculinity, violence, and a martial lifestyle.<sup>86</sup>

Figure 3: Thor’s hammer as a necklace

<sup>85</sup> For the battle at Langemarck and the myth surrounding it, see Hajo Bernett, “Vor 75 Jahren: Der Sturmangriff bei Langemarck. Ein Mythos der Nation und ein Symbol der Turn- und Sportführung,” *Sozial- und Zeitgeschichte des Sports* 3, 3 (1989): 7-17; Gerd Krumeich, “Langemarck,” in Etienne François and Hagen Schulze (eds), *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte III* (Munich: Ch Beck, 2001), 292-309; Karen Painter, “Singing at Langemarck in the German Political Imaginary, 1914–1932,” *Central European History* 53, 4 (2020), pp. 763-784.

<sup>86</sup> Schuppener, *Germanenrezeption*, pp. 120-121.



## II. Germanic runes

Runes were characters used by Germanic tribes between the second and the eighth centuries BC. Although there are “many different runic alphabets, the most widely used by the radical right is called Elder/Older Futhark”.<sup>87</sup> Runes have been identified in many archaeological artefacts. They were not used for writing long texts but instead for short inscriptions and engraved epigraphs.<sup>88</sup> In addition to being used as letters, runes were also regarded as magical symbols on account of their purportedly divine origin. According to Germanic mythology, Odin hanged himself on the world tree Yggdrasil since runes would only reveal themselves to the “worthy.” After nine days and nights the sacred runes appeared to him. Thus, by using runes as a way to express their worldview and ideological allegiance, the radical right strongly imply that they are the “worthiest” people in the new world order they want to create.<sup>89</sup>

Particularly in Scandinavian countries, runes have been used for a wide range of non-racist purposes. They are also part of the aforementioned neo-pagan subculture. However, since the late 19th century runes have also become increasingly popular with the *völkisch* and esoteric movements. Even before World War One, the Austrian occultists Guido von List (1848-1919) and Jörg Lanz von Liebenfels (1874–1954), who created the Ariosophy – a quasi-religious esoteric and racist movement that preached the superiority of the Aryan race – as well as Karl Maria Wiligut (1866-1946) adopted several of the Elder/Older Futhark runes for the *völkisch* movement, frequently giving them new meanings. Their interpretation of the runes, and of Germanic mythology in general, later became incorporated into the wider belief system of Nazi symbology. Today, runes have been increasingly co-opted by a variety of neo-Nazi and white supremacist organisations in Germany.<sup>90</sup>

### 1. The sig rune

During the Third Reich the simple sig rune was the emblem of the *Deutsches Jungvolk*, a part of the *Hitler Jugend* (Hitler Youth, HJ) for boys between 10 and 14 years old. The *Schutzstaffel* (SS) adapted a double sig rune as their symbol (See figure 4). The sig rune’s original meaning, “sun”, was changed to “victory” by the Nazis, most likely on account of the pronunciation of sig being close to the German word for victory, “Sieg.” This demonstrates how important contextual use of the rune as a both graphic element and even its name is when deciphering its meaning.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>87</sup> Richardson, *CARR Report: Radical-Right Symbols*, p. 23.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., pp. 24-25; Georg Schuppener, *Sprache und germanischer Mythos im Rechtsextremismus* (Leipzig: Edition Hamouda, 2017), pp. 109-110.

<sup>89</sup> Schuppener, *Germanenrezeption*, pp. 129-130.

<sup>90</sup> For the development of *völkisch*-racist and esoteric movements in Germany, see Goodrick-Clarke, *Occult Roots of Nazism*.

<sup>91</sup> See [www.belltower.news/die-sig-rune-51316/](http://www.belltower.news/die-sig-rune-51316/) (accessed 2 October 2021); and Richardson, *CARR Report: Radical-Right Symbols*, p. 24.



Figure 4: The double sig rune as the symbol of the Schutzstaffel



Figure 5: The sig rune in the logo of the Sturmabteilung



Figure 6: Logo of Alpha Industries Inc.

The badge of the *Sturmabteilung* (SA) consists of an interconnected “S” in the form of the sig rune, which ends in an arrow, alongside the letter “A” (See figure 5). The two letters are typically surrounded by a circle. The SA was founded in October 1921 as the gymnastics and sports section of the NSDAP. At first, the SA saw itself as the frontline protection squad for Nazi speakers during the Weimer Republic and sought to achieve the health of the German people’s body through sport. In the years after its foundation, the SA was transformed the paramilitary wing of the NSDAP. Its members often clashed with left-wing groups as well as the police, resulting in the deaths of hundreds of people.<sup>92</sup> After a dozen years of existence the SA had grown to about 2 million men – 20 times more than the German army at the time.

During the “Night of the long Knives” (30 June – 1 July 1934) the leadership of the SA, including its head Ernst Röhm (1887-1934), was assassinated by members of the SS and the Reichswehr. Under the pretext of preventing an alleged ‘second revolution’ by Röhm, Adolf Hitler ordered the killing to eliminate a powerful rival and to appease a deeply concerned military elite. After the “Night of the long Knives,” the SA lost its political power, and the SS became an independent organisation.

Today, the use of the sig rune as the symbol of the SS and of the SA sign is prohibited under German law. Since the logo of the American clothing brand Alpha Industries shows some similarities with the SA symbol, the brand is highly popular among the German radical right, and it is often used as a substitute for the SA logo (cf. figure 6).<sup>93</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Berno Bahro, *Der SS-Sport. Organisation – Funktion – Bedeutung* (Paderborn et. al.: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2013), pp. 23-28; and Erich Beyer, “Sport in der Weimarer Republik,” in Horst Ueberhorst (ed.), *Geschichte der Leibesübungen*, Vol. 3/2 (Berlin: Bartels & Wernitz, 1982), p. 691.

<sup>93</sup> Schuppener, *Germanenrezeption*, p. 131.

## 2. Odal rune



Figure 7: The Odal rune with "feet" in the badge of the 7<sup>th</sup> SS Volunteer Mountain Division "Prince Eugen"

The Odal or Othala rune is the final rune in the Futhark alphabet. Originally the rune suggested heritage, inheritance, and home. The Ariosophist Guido von List associated the rune in his studies with what became known as 'blood and soil' views, turning it into a symbol for mythic homeland, and racial supremacy. This interpretation was adopted by the National Socialists, particularly by the *Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt* [SS Race and Settlement Main Office] which was led between 1932 and 1938 by Heinrich Himmler's protégé, the SS-Standartenführer Walter Darré (1895-1953). Darré officially launched the 'blood and soil' campaign in 1930 and was responsible for Nazi agricultural policy more generally. Moreover, the Race and Settlement Main Office also headed the Nazi regime's study and "purification" of the so-called Aryan race. The Odal rune with serifs (or feet) also became the insignia of the Hitler Youth and the 7th SS Volunteer Mountain Division "Prinz Eugen" (See figure 7), which fought partisans in the Balkans.<sup>94</sup>



Figure 8: Logo of the Wiking Jugend

After World War II, the rune was used by the radical right youth groups *Bund Nationaler Studenten* [Federation of National Students, or BNS] as well as the *Wiking Jugend* [Viking Youth; see figure 8], which were banned as extremist organisations in 1961 and 1994, respectively. The *Wiking Jugend* saw itself as the successor organisation to the Hitler Youth and the *Bund Deutscher Mädel* [League of German Girls; BDM]. Another radical right organisation using the rune is the *Bund Heimattreuer Jugend* [Union of Heimat-loyal<sup>95</sup> Youth], which changed its name in Germany to *Freibund* [Free Union] in 1990. Additionally, the Odal rune has been adopted by Wotan Odinists, which advocates a form of racist paganism.<sup>96</sup>

Given that the Odal rune with "feet" is associated with both Nazism and the above-mentioned organisations, it is now banned in Germany. Consequently, the radical right usually uses the name of the rune instead of its graphic depiction. However, not all versions of the Odal rune are banned. For example, the insignia of the *Hauptfeldwebel* [Sergeant Major] of the German Bundeswehr resembles the Odal rune.

## 3. The Algiz/Elhaz rune

The Algiz/Elhaz rune is also known as the Yr- or Man-Rune. In the early twentieth century, thanks to Guido von List's Ariosophist publications, this pagan rune became known as the "life rune". Inversely, when turned upside down it was known as the "death rune." This double interpretation of the Algiz rune as the "life and death rune" was eagerly adopted by the National Socialists.<sup>97</sup>

The Algiz rune was used by the *NS-Frauenschaft* [National Socialist Women's League] as well as the Third Reich's Lebensborn, a SS organisation charged with eugenically improving the "racial purity" of so-called Aryans. The rune also featured on the uniforms of the *Hauptamt für Volksgesundheit*

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 139-140.

<sup>95</sup> Although the German word "Heimat" is similar to the word "homeland" it cannot be translated into English.

<sup>96</sup> Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *Black Sun: Aryan Cults, Esoteric Nazism, and the Politics of Identity* (New York: New York University Press, 2003), p. 257.

<sup>97</sup> Rüdiger Sünner, *Schwarze Sonne. Entfesselung und Mißbrauch der Mythen in Nationalsozialismus und rechter Esoterik* (Freiburg: Herder), p. 85.

[Central Office for Public Health] of the NSDAP, and on the first-aid service of the Hitler Youth (See figure 9).



Figure 9: Algiz rune used by the first-aid service of the Hitler Youth



Figure 10: Emblem of the *Deutsche Heidnische Front*

After World War II the Algiz rune – in both “life” and “death” forms – was used by the *Deutsche Heidnische Front* [German Heathen’s Front], a neo-pagan radical right group active until 2005 (See image 10). It represented the German branch of the *Allgermeinnische Heidnische Front*, [All-Germanic Heathen’s Front] founded by Hendrik Möbus (b. 1976). Other groups that have adopted the Algiz rune include the *Nordland-Sanitätsdienst* [Nordland Medical Service], a neo-Nazi self-help organisation, and the *Bürgerbündnis Havelland* [Citizen Alliance Havelland]

The rune also features prominently in obituaries and on gravestones for members of the radical right, a phenomenon that began during the Third Reich. While the normal, “life” Algiz rune is used instead of \* to indicate birth years, its upside-down version replaces the normal cross on gravestones in order to avoid Christian symbols.<sup>98</sup>

#### 4. The Tiwaz rune



Figure 11: Tiwaz rune as badge of the Reichsführerschulen

The Tiwaz, or Tyr, rune is the 17th rune of the Futhark alphabet, and is associated with the Germanic god of war, Tyr. During the Third Reich it was used to express leadership, especially leadership in battle. It featured, for example, as the sign of the *Reichsführerschulen* [Reich Schools for Leaders], training centres for future leaders of the SA, the SS and the Hitler Youth. The Tiwaz badge (See figure 11) “was awarded exclusively to successful graduates of the schools and was worn on the left upper arm of the party uniform.”<sup>99</sup>

The Tiwaz rune was – and still is – occasionally used as a symbol for death, replacing the upside-down Algiz rune (see II.3) in order to emphasise that the deceased was martyred in “battle” against their enemies. Today the radical right typically uses the Tiwaz rune in combination with other runes, such as the sig rune (see II.1) ;or other symbols, including the Wolfsangel (see IV.8). Examples can be found in the logo of the clothing brand Thor Steinar (see

<sup>98</sup> Schuppener, *Sprache und germanischer Mythos*, pp. 115-116.

<sup>99</sup> , Richardson, *CARR Report: Radical-Right Symbols*, p. 25.



VI.1) and of the Thule Seminar, a neo-pagan “think tank” on the radical right founded in Kassel in 1980 by the German Identitarian, Pierre Krebs (b. 1946).<sup>100</sup>

## 5. The Haglaz/Hagal rune



Figure 12: Sign of the 6th SS Mountain Division North

The Hagal rune in the Futhark alphabet can be described as a combination of the “life” and the “death” Algiz rune. The rune was used as the insignia of the 6th SS Mountain Division North (See figure 12), which fought on the Eastern Front in World War Two against the USSR. The rune was also engraved into the skull ring of the SS, which was personally awarded to particularly fanatical SS leaders by Reichsführer-SS Himmler.

Today the rune is used by the neo-Nazi group *Vandalen – Ariogermanische Kampfgemeinschaft* [Vandals –Ario-Germanic Action Group], the journal *N.S. heute* [*N.S. today*] and by *Reconquista Germanica* [Reconquer Germany, or RG], a radical right extremist network. RG, which appeared for the first time ahead of the 2017 German federal election, combines the Hagal rune with the letter “R” (See figure 13). Although the network disbanded in 2019, successor networks are still active. RG coordinated online attacks on political opponents, media, and German institutions, while also trying to strengthen the right-wing populist party *Alternative für Deutschland* (Alternative for Germany, or AfD). Currently, the Hagal rune can also be found on many devotional objects of the radical right.<sup>101</sup>



Figure 13: Symbol of the group Reconquista Germanica

<sup>100</sup> Schuppener, *Germanenrezeption*, p. 137.

<sup>101</sup> See [www.zeit.de/politik/deutschland/2019-10/thomas-haldenwang-afd-rechtsextremismus-bjoern-hoecke](http://www.zeit.de/politik/deutschland/2019-10/thomas-haldenwang-afd-rechtsextremismus-bjoern-hoecke).

### III. Celtic symbols

#### 1. Celtic Cross

The traditional Celtic Cross, also known as the “sun cross” or “wheel cross,” depicts a circle upon a Latin-Christian Cross, which has a vertical axis longer than the horizontal one. It is sometimes decorated with elaborate ornaments or symbols. Such crosses are amongst the best-known icons of early Christianity in Ireland, and sometimes used to symbolise “Irish pride” or “Irish identity.” This version of the traditional Celtic Cross is rarely used by the radical right.<sup>102</sup>

As a worldwide symbol of white power, racism, and white supremacy, the vertical axis of the Celtic Cross is reduced to the same length as the horizontal one. Often, this form of the Celtic Cross, which can be rotated either 90 or 180 degrees and remain unchanged, is combined with a circle. A non-political and non-racist interpretation of this sign is virtually non-existent.<sup>103</sup>

The use of the modified Celtic Cross as a symbol of white supremacy can be traced back to the Ku Klux Klan in the early twentieth century. Inspired by the film *Birth of a Nation*, William Simmons (1880-1945) revived the Ku Klux Klan as a nativist organization that targeted not only African Americans and their supporters, but all groups that allegedly threatened white supremacy in North America. With fifteen comrades-in-arms, he burned a wooden cross on Stone Mountain, near Atlanta, in the fall of 1915. The cross became the symbol of the new clan, which by 1925 had about six million members, both men and women.<sup>104</sup>



Figure 14: Insignia of the 5th SS Panzer Division "Wiking"

In Germany the fascist *Deutsche Glaubensbewegung* [German Faith Movement, 1933-45], a small organisation “which attempted to synthesise Christian liturgy, paganism, and Hitlerism,”<sup>105</sup> adopted the Celtic Cross as its symbol. It was also used by the *Thule Gesellschaft* [Thule Society], a *völkisch* organisation, which was founded in 1918 by Rudolf von Sebottendorf (1875-1945). The *Gesellschaft* was amongst the first sponsors of the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (German Workers’ Party), which was later turned into the NSDAP by Hitler on 24 February 1920. During World War Two, the modified Celtic Cross was used by the 11th SS Volunteer Panzergrenadier Division “Nordland” as well as the 5th SS Panzer Division “Wiking”. The latter was involved in war crimes and atrocities against Jews in both the Lvov ghetto and in Austria (See figure 14).<sup>106</sup>



Figure 15: Logo of the VSBD/PA

In the Federal Republic of Germany, the radical right extremist organization *Volkssozialistische Bewegung Deutschlands/Partei der Arbeit* [People’s Socialist Movement of Germany, or VSBD/PA] had a logo that was strikingly similar to the official Nazi flag: a white circle with black symbols against a red background. However, the swastika on the Nazi flag was replaced with the modified Celtic Cross (See figure 15). The group, which was founded in 1971 by Friedhelm Busse (1929-2008), and

<sup>102</sup> Richardson, *CARR Report: Radical-Right Symbols*, p. 14.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>104</sup> See Michael Newton, *White Robes and Burning Crosses: A History of the Ku Klux Klan from 1866* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2014).

<sup>105</sup> Richardson, *CARR Report: Radical-Right Symbols*, p. 14.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

financially supported by the influential American Neo-Nazi Gerhard Lauck (b. 1953), was involved in several terrorist activities prior to being banned in 1982.

Stormfront, the oldest and largest of all white supremacist websites now 30 years old, adopted the modified Celtic Cross as its logo in 1995, thus helping to spread the Celtic Cross as a global sign of white supremacy. Since the website provides an active platform for Holocaust deniers, it has been excluded from German Google searches since 2002.<sup>107</sup>

In Germany, the modified Celtic Cross has been forbidden as a symbol of unconstitutional organisations such as the VSBD/PA under section §86a of the German Criminal Code. In October 2008, the Federal Court of Justice (OLG Nürnberg, Beschluss vom 18.3.2008, Az.: 2 St OLG Ss 12/08) declared the use of the stylised Celtic Cross in public – even without reference to a banned organization – to be punishable by law unless the circumstances clearly show a non-radical right extremist context.<sup>108</sup>

## IV. Other Symbols

### 1. Hammer and sword

In the Third Reich, the crossed hammer and sword stood for the *Volksgemeinschaft* [national community] of soldiers and workers, in order to directly contrast with the USSR's hammer and sickle. The use of this symbol dates back to the brothers Gregor and Otto Strasser (1897-1974), who led the "left-wing" faction of the NSDAP. Otto Strasser used it as a symbol for his group, the *Schwarze Front* [Black Front], a national revolutionary movement that stood in opposition to Hitler. After Hitler came into power in 1933, Otto Strasser emigrated while his brother remained in Germany and was killed in the "Night of the Long Knives". The crossed hammer and sword symbol later became the *Gaufeldzeichen* [territorial standard] of the Hitler Youth.<sup>109</sup>



Figure 16: Hammer and Sword symbols used by the right-wing extremist party "Der III. Weg"

After World War Two, Otto Strasser returned to West Germany and in 1956 founded the radical right party *Deutsch-Soziale Union* [German Social Union] in 1956. The party, which was legally dissolved in 1962, also used the hammer and sword symbol. Since the 1990s, the symbol has regained popularity among the German radical right. It is interpreted as a "symbol of national revolution" or "national resistance", and gives the groups a national-revolutionary, militant image. Since it remains one of the few symbols of an auxiliary organisation of the Nazi Party that is not banned, it often serves as a placeholder for the swastika. The hammer/sword symbol is often combined with other symbols, including the gearwheel.<sup>110</sup>

The symbol was also used by the *Nationale Offensive* [National Offensive], which was banned in 1992, only two years after its

<sup>107</sup> See [www.belltower.news/das-keltenkreuz-51334/](http://www.belltower.news/das-keltenkreuz-51334/) (accessed 2 October 2021).

<sup>108</sup> Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz, *Rechtsextremismus*, pp. 53-54; <https://dasversteckspiel.de/die-symbolwelt/rassismus/white-power-zeichen-keltenkreuz-149.html> (accessed 2 October 2021); [www.bpb.de/lernen/grafstat/rechtsextremismus/172885/m-02-10-rechtsextremes-verhalten-symbole-und-codes](http://www.bpb.de/lernen/grafstat/rechtsextremismus/172885/m-02-10-rechtsextremes-verhalten-symbole-und-codes) (accessed 2 October 2021).

<sup>109</sup> See [www.belltower.news/hammer-und-schwert-51308/](http://www.belltower.news/hammer-und-schwert-51308/) (accessed 2 October 2021).

<sup>110</sup> See <https://dasversteckspiel.de/die-symbolwelt/nationalsozialismus/hammer-und-schwert-38.html> (accessed 4 October 2021).

foundation. Today, the symbol is frequently used in public; for example, by the youth group of the radical right *Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands* [National Democratic Party of Germany, or NPD]; the *Junge Nationalisten* [Young Nationalists, or JN], in addition to other militant neo-Nazi groups, such as *Der III. Weg* [The Third Path] party (See figure 16).

## 2. Two crossed hammers



Figure 17: Logo of the Hammerskins network



Figure 18: Film still from Pink Floyd's *The Wall*

The symbol of two crossed hammers is best-known as the emblem of the neo-Nazi Hammerskins network.<sup>111</sup> It is typically depicted in the colours red, white, and black – again reminiscent of colours on the Nazi flag – alongside a gearwheel in the background (See figure 17). The Hammerskins was founded in 1986 by Wollin Lange in Texas. Today, it is an elitist community of radical right skinheads, with at least eleven known national sections worldwide. The German branch of the Hammerskins was founded in 1991.

The use of this symbol is intended to evoke several associations. First, it imitates the same sign as used by the fascist organisation in Pink Floyd's *The Wall* (See figure 18). Second, the hammers also hint at Thor's hammer (see I.4). And third, they are also supposed to represent the "white" working class. By doing so, the Hammerskins aim to appeal to a broader political milieu, and frame themselves as heirs to the original British skinheads, a non-racist working-class youth movement from the 1960s. Today, the German Hammerskins branch is banned. The network still remains very active online, however and plays an important role within the radical right music scene (e. g. labels; albums; concerts).<sup>112</sup>

## 3. Gearwheel

Since the time of the 19th century industrial revolution, the gearwheel has been a familiar symbol for technology, progress, and manual labour. The *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* [German Labour Front, or DAF], the largest auxiliary organization in the Third Reich, used the gearwheel in combination with the swastika as its logo.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>111</sup> On the Hammerskins network, see [www.bpb.de/politik/extremismus/rechtsextremismus/213667/hammerskins-ein-militanter-geheimbund](http://www.bpb.de/politik/extremismus/rechtsextremismus/213667/hammerskins-ein-militanter-geheimbund) (accessed 5 October 2021).

<sup>112</sup> See <https://dasversteckspiel.de/die-symbolwelt/gruppen-organisationen-und-netzwerke/hammerskins-crew-38-33.html>.

<sup>113</sup> See [www.belltower.news/das-zahnrad-51352/](http://www.belltower.news/das-zahnrad-51352/) (accessed 2 October 2021).





Figure 19: Logo of the Freiheitliche Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (FAP)

Given its widespread use by many institutions and organisations, the depiction of a gearwheel is not punishable under German law. Yet due to its direct reference to the DAF – and on account of the circular form being suitable for framing other symbols, group names, and abbreviations – the gearwheel is very popular among the radical right, particularly amongst working-class activists. Often, the gearwheel is combined with the hammer and sword symbol (see VI.1), or with two crossed hammers (see VI.2). The best-known examples are the aforementioned Hammerskins (See figure 16; VI.2), as well as the JN, Crew 38, and the *Freiheitliche Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* [Free German Workers' Party, or FAP]. The latter was founded in 1979 and banned in 1995 (See figure 19).<sup>114</sup>

#### 4. Iron Cross



Figure 20: Iron Cross with swastika

Friedrich Wilhelm III (1770-1840), the King of Prussia, created the Iron Cross in 1813 as an incentive for the population to fight Napoleon. It was the first Prussian award to be potentially given to all ranks equally. The name derives from the fact that the award was made of inexpensive iron in order to be distributed in large numbers. At the same time, iron was intended to symbolise Prussia's power and steadfastness.

Over the course of German history, the Iron Cross was adopted in various versions as a military medal, but also as a state symbol. In the Third Reich, the Iron Cross had a swastika attached to it, and was similarly handed out as a military medal. Today, the use and depiction of the Nazi version of the Iron Cross is prohibited under German law.

For this reason, the traditional Iron Cross remains popular among the radical right. It is sometimes used to create a positive reference to the German *Wehrmacht*, the name for the German military between 1935 and 1945. The German *Bundeswehr* [the name of the German Armed Forces since World War Two] still uses the Iron Cross as a distinctive mark on military aircrafts, ships, and vehicles.<sup>115</sup>

#### 5. "Eagle catching a fish"



Figure 21: Eagle catching fish motif

It is important to note that key figures on the radical right also create new symbols. The German neo-Nazi Jürgen Rieger (1946-2009) created the motif of an "Eagle catching a fish" (See figure 21). The eagle is presented a symbol for paganism and Aryanism, while the fish, or Ichthys, symbolises Christianity, which the radical right often considers weak and foreign – that is, overly Jewish – to traditional German culture. In this way, the eagle holding the Christian Ichthys in its talons

<sup>114</sup> See <https://dasversteckspiel.de/die-symbolwelt/nationalsozialismus/zahnrad-43.html> (accessed 2 October 2021).

<sup>115</sup> See [www.belltower.news/das-eiserne-kreuz-51304/](http://www.belltower.news/das-eiserne-kreuz-51304/) (accessed 3 October 2021); OSZ für Demokratie und Vielfalt, *Kennzeichen und Symbole der Rechtsextremen Szene*, 7, accessed at [https://demokratieundvielfalt.de/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Kennzeichen\\_und\\_Symbole\\_der\\_rechtsextremen\\_Szene.pdf](https://demokratieundvielfalt.de/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Kennzeichen_und_Symbole_der_rechtsextremen_Szene.pdf) (accessed 3 October 2021).

symbolises an aggressive rejection of Christianity with *völkisch* symbolism (see also I.2).

The symbol is claimed primarily by the radical right, neo-pagan group *Artgemeinschaft Germanische Glaubens-Gemeinschaft* [Artgemeinschaft Germanic Faith Community], which was founded in 1951 and led by Rieger between 1989 and 2009. The symbol, which currently appears in various forms and is not banned under German law, is swiftly gaining popularity amongst radical right activists. For example, it appears on many Thor Steinar products (see VI.1).<sup>116</sup>

## 6. Black Sun

The Black Sun symbol (See figure 22) can be described as a twelve-armed swastika or as a wheel of twelve sig runes. Contrary to popular belief, the Black Sun in this form is not a genuine Germanic or Celtic symbol, but an art symbol created by the SS and modelled after ancient sun wheel artefacts used by Norse and Germanic tribes. It was first placed on the inlaid marble floor in the *Obergruppenführersaal*, or Hall of Generals, in the Wewelsburg Castle near Paderborn. The castle was acquired by Heinrich Himmler in 1933 as a ceremonial place for the SS to mark and celebrate pseudo-religious rituals, Germanic heritage, and Nordic religion. During the Nazi era, this symbol never played a significant role. So why is it so popular today among the radical right?<sup>117</sup>

The sun wheel at Wewelsburg was first associated with the Black Sun and the myth surrounding it by Russell McCloud, in his occult Nazi thriller “Die Schwarze Sonne von Tashi Lhunpo” (1991) [“The Black Sun of Tashi Lhunpo”].<sup>118</sup> This myth dates back to the occultist Karl Maria Wiligut (1866-1946), who “described an ancient sun called the second sun that shone 230,000 years ago upon the Hyperboreans”<sup>119</sup>, a mythical people that lived in the regions of the North Pole. The popularisation of this myth among the radical right after World War Two is closely linked to the Austrian Neo-Nazi, Wilhelm Landig (1909-1997). He identified the Black Sun as a “source of spiritual light and inspiration, a symbol of divine illumination and coming salvation” after the defeat of the Third Reich. According to Landig, the sun symbolised “the winter solstice of the Aryan race, harbinger of a glorious new era”. Moreover, through the “esoteric illumination of the Black Sun” the German Reich and the Aryan race would be once again restored.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>116</sup> See Schuppener, *Germanenrezeption*, p. 165. Gerhard Hess also claims to be the creator of this symbol. See <https://dasversteckspiel.de/die-symbolwelt/germanentum-und-heidentum/adler-faengt-fisch-75.html> (accessed 2 October 2021).

<sup>117</sup> See Dana Schlegelbach and Jan Raabe, “Die Wewelsburg und die ‚Schwarze Sonne‘. Von der Entlastungslegende zum vitalen Mythos”, in *Erinnerungsorte der extrem Rechten*, edited by Martin Langebach and Michael Sturm (Wiesbaden: Springer VS), pp. 79-99.

<sup>118</sup> Goodrick-Clarke, *Black Sun*, p. 148.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., p. 136.

<sup>120</sup> Goodrick-Clarke, *Black Sun*, 139.

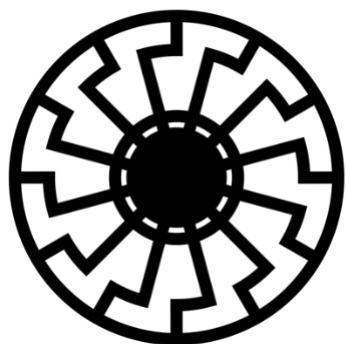


Figure 22: Black Sun symbol, found at Wewelsburg Castle



Figure 23: Marble floor with sun wheel ornament, Wewelsburg

Today, a variety of radical right groups use the Black Sun symbol as shown at the Wewelsburg Castle to indicate their allegiance to neo-Nazism and/or white supremacism. The strong popularity of the Black Sun in Germany derives from the fact that the symbol resembles the swastika, and that the location where it was first used, the Wewelsburg, is – due to its connection to Himmler and the SS – a “memorial site” for radical right activists. To counter the attraction of the sunwheel, the Wewelsburg Castle Museum placed cushions on the marble floor (See figure 23). The Black Sun symbol, like many swastika variants, is used for various merchandising logos, and was also used by the now dissolved *Tempelhofgesellschaft* [Tempelhof Society, or THG], its successor organisation *Causa Nostra*, and the radical right online domain *Thule-Netz* [Thule web or Thule network]. The symbol is not banned in Germany and is far from exclusive to Europe. For instance, the Black Sun appeared on the cover of Brenton Tarrant’s terrorist manifesto, “The Great Replacement”.<sup>121</sup>

## 7. Gauwinkel / Gaudreieck

During the Third Reich, the *Gauwinkel* or *Gaudreieck* [Gau<sup>122</sup> triangle or regional badges] identified the wearer as a member of a particular NSDAP Gau. The term “Gau” referred to a territorial administration region and was allegedly used by Charlemagne in the early Middle Ages. In 1941 there were a total of 43 Gaue. The colour of the *Gaudreieck* was usually black.

A similar symbol was used by the Hitler Youth and the *Bund Deutscher Mädel* for boys and girls, respectively, who joined these organisations before the NSDAP came into power in January 1933. These triangles were known as *Traditions-Arm-Dreiecke* [traditional sleeve badges] and had either a golden (HJ) or silver (BDM) frame.



Figure 24: A so-called Gaudreieck with the name Berlin

Today, the neo-Nazi scene uses these *Gaudreiecke* as sleeve patches in order to identify their origin or local affiliation (state or region), sometimes even by adopting the name of the former Gau. In July 2002, the German Federal Constitutional Court ruled that the *Gaudreieck* was considered a Nazi symbol and that its public use was therefore prohibited. Even if the *Gaudreieck* bears the name of a region that was not a former Gau (such as Berlin; see figure 24) or is depicted with different colours, it is still banned as

<sup>121</sup> Schuppener, *Germanenrezeption*, 145-148; <https://www.wewelsburg.de/de/gedenkstaette-1933-1945/historischer-hintergrund.php> (accessed 2 October 2021).

<sup>122</sup> *Gau* is a German term for a region within a country, comparable to the word “shire”.

a Nazi symbol. In consequence of this 2002 ban, the *Gaudreieck* is now rarely worn in public.<sup>123</sup>

## 8. Wolfsangel



Figure 25: Insignia of the 2nd SS Panzer Division „Das Reich“

The Wolfsangel – a stylised section of a wolf trap – does not belong to any runic alphabet. It appears, however, on many coats of arms in central Europe dating to the 18th century, including the towns of Mannheim and Katzweiler. Since the 19th century it became increasingly popular among radical right esoteric circles and was established as the so-called Gabor rune by the Ariosophist Guido von List in the early 20th century.<sup>124</sup>

Alongside many other symbols related to this largely invented Germanic tradition, “Nazi Germany appropriated the Wolfsangel for its martial aesthetics.”<sup>125</sup> The symbol was used by several divisions of the *Wehrmacht* (such as the 19th Infantry Division; 33rd Infantry Division; and the 256th Infantry Division) but also the Waffen-SS (most notably the 2nd SS Panzer Division “Das Reich” (See figure 25); but also the 34th SS Volunteer Grenadier Division “Landstorm Nederland”). The SA and the Hitler Youth also used the Wolfsangel as insignia on uniforms.

After World War Two, various political parties and groups adopted different forms of the Wolfsangel to showcase their radical right worldview. For example, it was the symbol of the youth organisation of the VSBD/PA, the *Junge Front* [Youth Front], which was banned in 1982. Use of the Wolfsangel is banned in Germany if it implies a direct connection to Nazism, the Nazi past, or banned organisations. However, due to its long (heraldic) tradition and history, general use of the symbol is not banned in Germany. For example, the Wolfsangel without a neo-Nazi context is used – as mentioned above – by the *Bundeswehr* as well as in many coats of arms of cities and municipalities, including the city of Erwitte, Idar-Oberstein, and Mannheim.

## 9. Lambda: The Identitarian Movement



Figure 26: Logo of the Identitäre Bewegung Germany

The radical right extremist group *Identitäre Bewegung* [Identitarian Movement, or IB] sees itself as the avant-garde of a defensive struggle against Islam and Muslims in Europe. To attract media and public attention, the group has repeatedly staged media stunts, including the scaling of the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin. Their constantly repeated slogans are simple and easy to remember: “Homeland, Freedom, Tradition,”; “Defend Europe”; “Reconquista” or “The Great Replacement.”<sup>126</sup>

For their symbol, the IB chose a yellow lambda on a black background, surrounded by a yellow circle. Sometimes, the colours are also displayed in the reverse order (See figure 26). In contrast to many other

<sup>123</sup> Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz, *Rechtsextremismus*, pp. 54-55; <https://dasversteckspiel.de/die-symbolwelt/nationalsozialismus/gauwinkel-gaudreieck-45.html> (accessed 2 October 2021).

<sup>124</sup> Schuppener, *Germanenrezeption*, p. 141.

<sup>125</sup> Richardson, *CARR Report: Radical-Right Symbols*, p. 31.

<sup>126</sup> See <https://dasversteckspiel.de/die-symbolwelt/gruppen-organisationen-und-netzwerke/identitaere-bewegung-ib-186.html> (accessed on 2 October 2021).



German radical right groups, therefore, the IB did not pick a Germanic rune but a letter from the Greek alphabet. Why?

The answer is that warriors from ancient Sparta wore a lambda on their coat of arms. During the second Persian invasion, Spartans faced the Persian army under Xerxes II at the Battle of Thermopylae (480 BC). Vastly outnumbered, the Spartans were still able to delay the Persian advance for several days. The Battle of Thermopylae became a symbol for heroic sacrifice, and for “saving” the Western civilisation from the Eastern “hordes”. Recently, this theme was the focus of the graphic novel “300” and its later film adaptation. It is clearly a story that the radical right identifies with and draws upon to advance their worldview. Thus, the lambda symbol implies that once again Western (meaning here, “white”) civilisation must resist any foreign “invasion”; that is, migrants fleeing from civil war and strife in the Middle East and North Africa, or from other areas of the Muslim-majority world.<sup>127</sup>

The IB is, however, not only limited to Germany. It is rather a political ideology that inspires various groups of the radical right in Europe. Thus, it can be regarded as a transnational network that is mostly active in Europe but also branches out to North America and Australia. The French movement, *Génération Identitaire*, was banned by the authorities in 2021.<sup>128</sup>

## V. Flags

### 1. *Reichsflagge* [Imperial Flag]

The national flag of the German Reich was first used in 1867 by the *Norddeutscher Bund* [Northern German Confederation]. The flag is tricolour, consisting of three equal horizontal bands of black, white, and red. These colours were also the official colours of the German Empire until the end of World War One. The newly founded Weimar Republic adapted the colours black, red, and gold as the new national colours for democratic Germany in memory of the 1848 revolutions. During the Weimar Republic these colours represented a liberal attitude, while the old imperial colours stood for the anti-democratic forces.



Figure 27: Reichsdienstflagge with the “Reich colors”

After the National Socialists came into power, the colours white, black, and red were once again the official colours of Germany. The swastika flag (see I.1) quickly became the new flag of the Third Reich, although the black-white-red tricolour was still used as the *Reichsdienstflagge* until 1935 (See image 27).

Today, the radical right deliberately designs many flags, shirts, and logos in the colours black, white, and red. This expresses a rejection of parliamentary democracy and liberalism. At demonstrations against refugees and, more recently, against COVID-19 measures, the so-called

“Reich colours” were seen in large numbers and in many different versions. This triggered a nationwide debate about whether the public display of these colours, and of the *Reichsflagge* more generally, should be banned.<sup>129</sup>

<sup>127</sup> See [www.belltower.news/symbole-und-erkennungszeichen-das-netzwerk-der-identitaeren-bewegung-80849/](https://www.belltower.news/symbole-und-erkennungszeichen-das-netzwerk-der-identitaeren-bewegung-80849/) (accessed on 2 October 2021).

<sup>128</sup> See <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/mar/03/france-bans-far-right-paramilitary-group-generation-identitaire> (accessed 18 February 2022).

<sup>129</sup> Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz, *Rechtsextremismus*, p. 51.



Figure 28: Autonome Nationalisten

Yet it is important to be cautious about assigning a political, anti-democratic– even neo-Nazi – message to every flag, emblem, or item with the colours black, white, and red. Often these colours are used either without any ulterior political motives, or by the political left, particularly as a symbol of anarchism (for example, the emblem of the *Antifaschistische Aktion* [Antifascist Action, or Antifa]), which depicts a red and black flag on a white background). In this context, the colours and the logo are considered a sign of the resistance against oppression. However, groups from the radical right, like the *Autonome Nationalisten* [Autonomous Nationalists], have borrowed this narrative in turn. By using a similar design and colour combination, the Autonomous Nationalists seek to conceal their worldview to avoid being banned (See figure 28). In doing so, the Autonomous Nationalists may also suggest that they regard themselves as a marginalised resistance.

## 2. Reichskriegsflagge [Imperial War Flag]



Figure 29: Reichskriegsflagge (1892-1921)

The *Reichskriegsflagge* [Imperial War Flag] has existed since 1867 in various forms. The most well-known version was used between 1892 and 1921 and showed a black cross on a white background. In the centre of the cross was a circle with an Imperial eagle. Placed in the upper left corner is an Imperial Flag, with the Iron Cross in the middle (See figure 29). During the Nazi era the white background was replaced with a red one and the eagle with a swastika; that is, the Imperial Flag was removed but the Iron Cross remained.

The Imperial War Flag at least in its well-known version, is one of the most commonly used symbols on the German neo-Nazi scene and is often seen on patches or as a motif on T-shirts and CDs. According to German law, the public display of the flag is generally not punishable. However, in individual cases, the police can seize these flags to avert concrete dangers to public order and safety.<sup>130</sup>

## 3. Wirmer Flag



Figure 30: Wirmer Flag

The Wirmer Flag (See image 30), depicting a golden framed black cross on red background, is named after its creator, Josef Wirmer (1901-1944). Wirmer belonged to the resistance circle around Carl Friedrich Goerdeler (1884-1945) and also supported Claus Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg's (1907-1944) attempt to assassinate Adolf Hitler on 20 July 1944. As a member of the resistance movement, he designed a new national flag for the envisaged post-Nazi era. In doing so, he combined the Christian cross with the national colours of the Weimar Republic; namely, black-red-gold.

After World War Two, Wirmer's flag was briefly considered for the new national flag of West Germany. It was popular amongst many parties,

<sup>130</sup> See [www.belltower.news/die-reichskriegsflagge-erkennungszeichen-moderner-nazis-42566/](http://www.belltower.news/die-reichskriegsflagge-erkennungszeichen-moderner-nazis-42566/) (accessed 4 October 2021); and [www.zdf.de/nachrichten/politik/reichskriegsflagge-corona-demo-berlin-100.html](http://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/politik/reichskriegsflagge-corona-demo-berlin-100.html) (accessed 4 October 2021).

including the *Christlich Demokratische Union* [Christian Democratic Union, or CDU] and the *Freie Demokratische Partei* [Free Democratic Party, or FDP]. From the mid-1990s, however, the Wirmer Flag has become a symbol of the so-called German “New Right”. Co-opting a traditional symbol of the resistance against the Nazi regime is a deliberate and provocative move by the New Right in order to conceal their true worldview and to reach new recruits outside their own milieu. Wirmer’s heirs no less than many German intellectuals have condemned the use of the flag by the radical right; yet their protest was to no avail.<sup>131</sup>

The founder of the neo-Nazi group *Deutsches Kolleg* [German College], Reinhold Oberlecher (b. 1943), declared the Wirmer Flag to be the national flag of the future “Fourth Reich”. Rather than engaging with Wirmer’s role in the resistance movement and Stauffenberg’s assassination attempt, however, they interpret both as symbols of “upright” and “sacrificial” Germans, who wanted to save Germany from foreign invasion. The Wirmer Flag, called a “neo-conservative battle sign,”<sup>132</sup> is used by Holocaust deniers as well as the German *Reichsbürger* movement, a heterogenous movement proclaimed by Horst Mahler (b. 1936), a member of the *Deutsches Kolleg* [German College] and amongst the most notorious radical right extremists in contemporary Germany. In recent years, the flag has been seen during Pegida demonstrations in Dresden, leading the media to misleadingly term it the “Pegida flag.”<sup>133</sup>

The blog *Politically Incorrect* (PI; or PI-News), now under observation by the *Bundesverfassungsschutz* [Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution] due to their extremist worldview, describes the flag as a symbol against Germany’s alleged foreign domination. The Scandinavian cross is a “commitment to Nordic cultural tradition”, and the “response of resistance fighters to an un-Christian state.” In a slightly different colour combination, the Wirmer Flag is the organisational sign of the radical right, Islamophobic German Defence League.<sup>134</sup>

## VI. Lifestyle Symbols

### 1. Thor Steinar

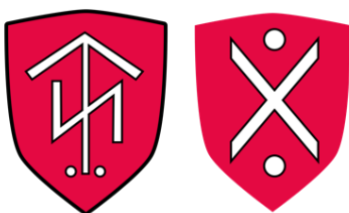


Figure 31: Logos of the Thor Steinar brand

Thor Steinar is perhaps the most widely worn clothing amongst the radical right. Its motifs allow for radical right extremists today, not least for advocating “positive interpretations regarding Nordic folk mythology, colonialism, and National Socialist ideology.”<sup>135</sup> While the brand employs the name of the Nordic god Thor, the initial logo was a combination of a Tyr and a sig rune. Given this layout, the crossed sig rune can also be interpreted as a Wolfsangel. In 2005, a German court ruled that due to these symbols’ popularity among neo-Nazis, Thor Steinar had to change its logo. The new logo (See figure 31, right

<sup>131</sup> See [www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/pegida-und-die-wirmer-fahne-ich-bin-entsetzt-a-1046072.html](http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/pegida-und-die-wirmer-fahne-ich-bin-entsetzt-a-1046072.html) (accessed 4 October 2021).

<sup>132</sup> Jan Schlürmann ‘Die „Wirmer-Flagge“ – die wechselhafte Geschichte eines vergessenen Symbols der deutschen Christlichen Demokratie’, *Historisch-Politische Mitteilungen. Archiv für Christlich-Demokratische Politik* 22 (2015), p. 342.

<sup>133</sup> See [www.belltower.news/service-was-ist-das-eigentlich-immer-fuer-eine-fahne-mit-kreuz-bei-pegida-und-co-38692/](http://www.belltower.news/service-was-ist-das-eigentlich-immer-fuer-eine-fahne-mit-kreuz-bei-pegida-und-co-38692/) (accessed 4 October 2021); and [www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/wirmer-flagge-pegida-und-das-symbol-der-hitler-attentaeter-1.2593682](http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/wirmer-flagge-pegida-und-das-symbol-der-hitler-attentaeter-1.2593682) (accessed 4 October 2021).

<sup>134</sup> See <https://dasversteckspiel.de/die-symbolwelt/neue-bewegung-von-rechts/wirmer-flagge-wirmer-fahne-232.html> (accessed 2 October 2021).

<sup>135</sup> Schuppener, *Germanenrezeption*, p. 65.

side), however, was only used for eight years before Thor Steinar returned to its original, now slightly modified logo (See figure 31, left side). In using the name of Thor and the Tiwaz rune –the rune associated with the Germanic god of war (see II.4) – the brand is seen as deliberately supporting the use of violence to achieve political goals, if covertly.<sup>136</sup>

## 2. Erik and Sons



Figure 32: Clothing by Erik and Sons with Naudiz rune in the middle

Founded in 2007 by Udo Siegmund, a former employee of Thor Steinar and active member on the neo-Nazi scene, the brand draws upon references to Vikings and to Norse mythology. It is distributed through commercial outlets and has established itself within and outside the German radical right. As its symbol it uses the Naudiz rune, a rune that has become increasingly popular among the radical right (See figure 32). It has been assumed that the reason for the increased interest relates to its pronunciations as “n,” which can be used as a substitute for nation, nationalism, and Nazism.<sup>137</sup>

## 3. Ansgar Aryan

Like Thor Steinar, Ansgar Aryan also sells merchandise with a direct connection to Nordic mysticism, albeit one not always containing clear radical right extremist references. The name “Ansgar”, the antiquarian version of today’s common name Oskar, means *Götterspeer* [spear of the gods]. The brand’s clothes are often decorated with imprints such as “Volksgemeinschaft statt New World Order” [People’s Community instead of New World Order], “Aryan Resistance” or “Cutting the Left Wing” (See figure 33). These slogans leave no doubt about the brand’s intentions and worldview. The company allegedly donates to the radical right extremist group *Hilfsorganisation für nationale politische*



Figure 33: T-Shirt by Ansgar Aryan

*Gefangene und deren Angehörige* [Aid organization for national political prisoners and their relatives, or HNG]. The HNG supports convicted right-wing extremists during and after their time in prison. The merchandise has so far been available from the online manufacturer’s portal and in radical right extremist stores.<sup>138</sup>

<sup>136</sup> Ibid; see also <https://dasversteckspiel.de/die-symbolwelt/bekleidung-und-marken/thor-steinar-53.html> (accessed 2 October 2021).

<sup>137</sup> See <https://dasversteckspiel.de/die-symbolwelt/bekleidung-und-marken/erik-sons-60.html> (accessed 2 October 2021); Schuppener, *Germanenrezeption*, p. 138.

<sup>138</sup> <https://dasversteckspiel.de/die-symbolwelt/bekleidung-und-marken/ansgar-aryan-57.html> (accessed 2 October 2021).



#### 4. Consdaple



Figure 34: Sweater by Consdaple

The depiction of the eagle as well as use of the acronym “NSDAP” in the middle of the brand’s name leaves little doubt about the company’s radical right extremist leanings (See Figure 34). The merchandise of Consdaple is quite popular amongst the radical right milieu and seems to be rarely distributed outside the scene. It can only be purchased in radical right traders and via related online stores. Clothing and merchandise of this brand are only banned in Germany if the acronym “NSDAP” can be easily recognised.<sup>139</sup> For instance, this is achieved by wearing a jacket that covers the letters “CO” and “LE”. For the same reason, the British textile brand Lonsdale became very popular among the radical right in Germany and Europe. The company has strongly distanced itself from the racism and vehemently rejected any association with the radical right.<sup>140</sup>

#### 5. Hermannsland

The logo of the brand Hermannsland depicts a stylised Viking ship and Hagal-Rune, thus clearly referencing Germanic mythology popular amongst the radical right (See figure 35). The label was founded by the previously convicted neo-Nazi activist, Michael “Lunikoff” Regener (b. 1965), ex-singer of the extremist band from Berlin “Landser”. The latter had contacts to the transnational Blood & Honour network and was banned by German authorities in 2003. Regener, who apparently created the brand during his time in prison, uses his popularity to promote the brand’s merchandise among the radical right. Regener was also a founding member of the group *Vandalen – Ariogermanische Kampfgemeinschaft* [Vandals – Ario-Germanic Action Group] in 1982, as well as the more recent extremist band *Die Lunikoff Verschwörung* [The Lunikoff Conspiracy].<sup>141</sup>



Figure 35: Logo of the clothing brand Hermannsland

<sup>139</sup> <https://dasversteckspiel.de/die-symbolwelt/bekleidung-und-marken/consdaple-61.html> (accessed 2 October 2021).

<sup>140</sup> <https://www.dw.com/en/lonsdale-shows-love-for-the-left/a-17476089> (accessed 18 February 2022).

<sup>141</sup> See <https://dasversteckspiel.de/die-symbolwelt/bekleidung-und-marken/hermannsland-303.html> (accessed 2 October 2021).

## Language: Codes, Acronyms and Key Phrases

The following “decoding guide” comes with the important disclaimer: the radical right makes use of codes and acronyms to avoid penal consequences and to achieve a wider reach externally; internally initiates will recognize these codes and they will help to create a feeling of belonging to the radical right movement – since the codes and acronyms do not require further explanation there. For example, it is popular among German radical right activists to use “vanity” car license plates in order to express political opinion, or to announce belonging to the radical right movement by using alpha-numeric codes, such as “XX[City]-AH-88”. That said, not everyone who has the letters “AH”- and/or the numbers “88” on a licence plate necessarily sympathises with the radical right movement, and some instances are doubtless coincidental. Recently the administrative district office of the Saxon city of Zwickau blocked all suspicious codes and acronyms for license plates. Citizens who had valid licence plates issued by the administrative district office were also forced to change them on account of this new regulation.<sup>142</sup> A second caveated example is the exaggerated use of numeric codes in the song “Fourteen Words, Eighteight, 33, 18, 8”,<sup>143</sup> by the band “Die lustigen Zillertaler”,<sup>144</sup> used in order to ridicule antifascist activism, civic education and security authorities presumed of suspecting a hidden code behind every number radical right activists might use. These examples indicate that it is of particular importance to consider the messenger, context, and the recipient of the message. When clearly identifiable, however, extremists typically use these codes, acronyms and key phrases to signal their belonging and commitment to the German radical right.

### I. Alpha-Numeric Codes and Acronyms

#### 2YT4U – Too White For You

This code emerged in the early 2000s as an expression of support for White Supremacy and/or White Power. It often appears as a tattoo and on clothes as, for example, as a patch on hoodies or sweatpants.<sup>145</sup> There is even a German White Power Music record label with this name: 2yt4u Records.<sup>146</sup>

#### 13/4/7 – Mit deutschem Gruß (Written equivalent to the “Hitler salute”; literally: with German greeting)

A complementary farewell phrase used in (epistolary) correspondence rather than “Sieg Heil” or “Heil Hitler” by radical right activists. It is also used as a form of greeting that resembles the so-

<sup>142</sup> See [www.youtube.com/watch?v=RgizGDYgKfw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RgizGDYgKfw) (accessed 29 September 2021).

<sup>143</sup> See [www.discogs.com/de/Die-Lustigen-Zillertaler-Wir-Lassen-Uns-Das-Singen-Nicht-Verbieten/master/1270576](https://www.discogs.com/de/Die-Lustigen-Zillertaler-Wir-Lassen-Uns-Das-Singen-Nicht-Verbieten/master/1270576) (accessed 29 September 2021).

<sup>144</sup> Also known as “Die Zillertaler Türkenjäger” [The Zillertal Turk Hunters]. This name is a racist adaption of the Austrian Schlager music/folk music band “Die Zillertaler Schürzenjäger” [The Zillertal Womanisers]. See Maximilian Kreter, Der Reiz des Verbotenen: Die sprachlich-ideologische Entwicklung der Band “Stahlgewitter” im Spiegel der deutschen Rechtsrockszene von 1995 bis 2017. In: Heidi Christ, Merle Greiser, Christoph Meinel & Nepomuk Riva, Nepomuk (eds.), Verbotene Musik, (Uffenheim: Forschungsstelle für fränkische Volksmusik, 2020), p. 137.

<sup>145</sup> Robert Claus, Der extrem rechte Kampfsportboom. 5 November 2018; see also <https://m.bpb.de/politik/extremismus/rechtsextremismus/279552/der-extrem-rechte-kampfsportboom> (accessed 29 September 2021).

<sup>146</sup> See [www.discogs.com/de/label/196592-2yt4u-Records](https://www.discogs.com/de/label/196592-2yt4u-Records) (accessed 29 September 2021).

called “Hitler salute”.<sup>147</sup> In all cases, it functions as a reminder of the Nazi era and as an indication of your deeper involvement in the radical right while at the same time avoiding the “Hitler salute”. Nonetheless, it is punishable by law in Germany. The slash is used to refer to a double-digit number and two single-digit numbers; and not – as for example in the case of 146 [“Auf den Führer”] – only to single-digit numbers.

#### 14 – Fourteen Words

“14 Words” stands for a version of the racist phrasew originally appearing in chapter 8 of Adolf Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*: “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children”. The slogan was popularised by David Eden Lane, a founding member of the US-based neo-Nazi terrorist organization “The Order”. This organisation’s goal was to overthrow the so-called “Zionist Occupational Government” (ZOG) in and to create a state of “Christian Aryans” in the American Pacific Northwest. The “14 Words” has been adopted as both a code and a slogan by many US and European radical right extremist organisations.<sup>148</sup>

#### 146 – Auf den Führer

This code stands for “Auf den Führer” [To the Leader] and is an alternative salutation for the banned “Sieg Heil” and/or “Heil Hitler”. A White Power music band from Northern Germany uses the code “A.d.F.” as a band name.<sup>149</sup>

#### 18 – Adolf Hitler

The numbers 1 and 8 refer to the first and the eighth letter in the alphabet – that is, “A” and “H” – and are therefore used as a numeric code for “Adolf Hitler”.

#### 19/8 – Sieg Heil

The numbers 19 and 8 refer to the nineteenth and the eighth letter in the alphabet – that is, “S” and “H” – and are therefore used as a numeric code for “Sieg Heil”.<sup>150</sup> The slash is used to indicate that it refers to a double-digit number and a single digit number; and not – as for example in the case of 146 (“Auf den Führer”) – only to single-digit numbers.

#### 20/4 – Adolf Hitler’s Birthday

20 April 1889 was the day Adolf Hitler was born in Austria. This numeric code is used to show the faith in National Socialism and/or the glorification of Adolf Hitler as “The Führer”. Moreover, concert promoters or record labels set up shows on this day each year, as for example Thorsten Heise’s (b.

<sup>147</sup> See [www.politische-bildung-brandenburg.de/themen/die-extreme-rechte/lifestyle/gru%C3%9Fformen-und-losungen](http://www.politische-bildung-brandenburg.de/themen/die-extreme-rechte/lifestyle/gru%C3%9Fformen-und-losungen) (accessed 29 September 2021).

<sup>148</sup> See Argumente e.V., ‘Kürzel, Codes und Klamoten’, in Christian Dornbusch & Jan Raabe (eds.), *Rechtsrock. Bestandsaufnahme und Gegenstrategien* (Hamburg: Unrast Verlag 2002), p. 408; George Michael, “David Lane and the Fourteen Words”, *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 10 (1), 2009, 43-61.

<sup>149</sup> See Apabiz e.V., ‘Verzeichnis RechtsRock-Bands’, in Christian Dornbusch & Jan Raabe (eds.), *Rechtsrock. Bestandsaufnahme und Gegenstrategien* (Hamburg: Unrast Verlag 2002), p. 434.

<sup>150</sup> See [www.verfassungsschutz-mv.de/static/VERF/Dateien/Broschueren/Rituale\\_und\\_Symbole\\_der\\_rechtsextremistischen\\_Szene\\_2016.pdf](http://www.verfassungsschutz-mv.de/static/VERF/Dateien/Broschueren/Rituale_und_Symbole_der_rechtsextremistischen_Szene_2016.pdf) (accessed 29 September 2021).

1969) “Schild & Schwert”-festival (sometimes referred to as the “SS”-festival) in 2018.<sup>151</sup> Likewise, some neo-Nazis in the radical right music scene choose it as a record release date; for example, the band “Race War” who released an “Adolf Hitler Cover Limited Collector's Edition” on 20 April 2003.<sup>152</sup>

## 28 – Blood & Honour

The numbers 2 and 8 refer to the second and the eighth letter in the alphabet, respectively – that is “B” and “H” – and are used as a numeric code for “Blood & Honour”. In German, “Blut und Ehre” was originally the motto inscribed on the travelling knives of the Hitler Youth between 1933 and 1938.<sup>153</sup> It is also the name of neo-Nazi music network that appeared as one of the main players of the White Power scene, and later as an umbrella organisation for organized political violence and/or terrorism, closely linked to Combat 18 at the end of the 20th century. The German division of B&H was founded in 1994 but banned in September 2000 by the Federal Minister of the Interior, alongside its youth organisation ‘White Youth’ (founded in 1997).<sup>154</sup> After this ban in Germany, successor organisations were still referring to the code via names such as Brotherhood 28 or Division 28.<sup>155</sup>

## 38 – Crossed Hammers (Hammerskin Nation)

The numbers “3” and “8” refer to the letters C and H, the abbreviation for “Crossed Hammers” – in reference to the logo of the “Hammerskins”, for which it primarily stands. It also refers to the “Crew 38” which is an internal support network of the “Hammerskins”. The network supports “Hammerskins” who have come into conflict with the justice system. The label “Crew 38” mostly appears in countries where the HSN is organized.<sup>156</sup>

## 88 – Heil Hitler

88 stands for the eighth letter in the alphabet and is thus synonymous with “Heil Hitler”. The numerical code “88” is widely used as a greeting and/or salutation, often in combination with other numerical codes (→ “14/88”) and on shirts, patches, flags, but also on everyday objects such as

<sup>151</sup> See Hannes Heine & Sebastian Leber, “Hier treffen sich die Paten des Rechtsterrors”. 22 June 2019. See [www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/neonazi-festival-schild-und-schwert-hier-treffen-sich-die-paten-des-rechtsterrors/24483544.html](http://www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/neonazi-festival-schild-und-schwert-hier-treffen-sich-die-paten-des-rechtsterrors/24483544.html) (accessed 29 September 2021).

<sup>152</sup> See [www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/rechtsradikalismus-bewaehrungsstrafen-fuer-neonazi-musiker-a-450150.html](http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/rechtsradikalismus-bewaehrungsstrafen-fuer-neonazi-musiker-a-450150.html) (accessed 29 September 2021).

<sup>153</sup> See Heinz Schreckenber, ‘Erziehung, Lebenswelt und Kriegseinsatz der deutschen Jugend unter Adolf Hitler’, p. 213; see also the image online at: [www.the-saleroom.com/en-gb/auction-catalogues/walldorf/catalogue-id-auktio10012/lot-a19643bfb-8ac0-4194-b72a-a5c50098a150](http://www.the-saleroom.com/en-gb/auction-catalogues/walldorf/catalogue-id-auktio10012/lot-a19643bfb-8ac0-4194-b72a-a5c50098a150) (accessed 29 September 2021).

<sup>154</sup> See Sebastian Gräfe, “‘Blood & Honour’: ‘Trotz Verbot nicht tot?’ Bedeutung in Gegenwart und Vergangenheit” In: Uwe Backes & Steffen Kailitz (eds.), Sachsen – eine Hochburg des Rechtsextremismus? (Göttingen: V&R 2020), pp. 299-314.

<sup>155</sup> See <https://exif-recherche.org/?p=6351>; and [www.antifainfoblatt.de/artikel/die-ermittlungen-gegen-%E2%80%99Blood-honour%E2%80%99C-nachfolger](http://www.antifainfoblatt.de/artikel/die-ermittlungen-gegen-%E2%80%99Blood-honour%E2%80%99C-nachfolger) (accessed 29 September 2021).

<sup>156</sup> See [http://web.archive.org/web/20110718194707/http://endstation-rechts.de/index.php?option=com\\_k2&view=item&id=6312:konspirative-strukturen-%E2%80%99%E2%80%99Ehammerskins%E2%80%99C-mit-verbindungen-zur-npd?&Itemid=345](http://web.archive.org/web/20110718194707/http://endstation-rechts.de/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=6312:konspirative-strukturen-%E2%80%99%E2%80%99Ehammerskins%E2%80%99C-mit-verbindungen-zur-npd?&Itemid=345) (accessed 29 September 2021).



licence plates or football jerseys.<sup>157</sup> In individual cases, the salute is banned at demonstrations or events as a substitute for the Hitler salute.<sup>158</sup>

### **168:1 // 3:1 [McVeigh/Oklahoma // Berger/Dortmund & Waltrop]**

This code, which originated in the USA but is also very popular in Germany, refers to the bomb attack in Oklahoma City on 19 April 1995. The radical right extremist Timothy McVeigh killed 168 people in this attack and was later sentenced to death for it. The “success” of this attack is celebrated with a “score” of 168:1, as in a football match, given that 168 victims of the attack are compared to one dead radical right extremist (McVeigh died by lethal injection on 11 June 2000).<sup>159</sup> In Germany, the radical right adapted this code for a triple police murder in the German cities of Dortmund and Waltrop, where the neo-Nazi extremist Michael Berger shot three police officers on 14 June 2000 before later killing himself. The radical right in Dortmund – a movement stronghold in Western Germany – issued a statement shortly after this incident, stating: “Berger was a friend of us. 3:1 for Germany”.<sup>160</sup>

### **318/C18 – Combat 18**

This numerical code refers to the third, first and eighth letters of the alphabet: 318; that is, Combat Adolf Hitler (generally signifying “Adolf Hitler’s fighting force”). Combat-18 is an transnational neo-Nazi organisation that has also been linked to numerous terrorist activities. It was founded in 1992 in the UK as the militant wing of “Blood & Honour”. “Combat 18” Germany sees itself as the “original” “Combat 18”. The groups of the “Combat 18” network call themselves “B&H/C18” and use the salutes “C18/28” and “318/28”.<sup>161</sup> The organization was banned in Germany in early 2020 by the by the Federal Minister of the Interior, and was banned a year earlier in Canada.<sup>162</sup>

### **444 – “Deutschland den Deutschen” [“Germany for the Germans”]**

The triple “4” encodes the slogan “Germany for the Germans”. The slogan is directed against population groups and religions that are not perceived and accepted as German by radical right extremists, as for example Germans with a migration background, asylum seekers, LGBT people, Muslims or Jews.<sup>163</sup>

<sup>157</sup> See <https://dasversteckspiel.de/die-symbolwelt/codes-und-kuerzel/88-216.html> (accessed 29 September 2021).

<sup>158</sup> See [www.wr.de/staedte/dortmund/neonazis-marschieren-erneut-durch-dortmund-strenge-auflagen-id215420503.html](http://www.wr.de/staedte/dortmund/neonazis-marschieren-erneut-durch-dortmund-strenge-auflagen-id215420503.html) (accessed 29 September 2021).

<sup>159</sup> See [www.popmatters.com/oklahoma-city-on-american-experience-timothy-mcveigh-terrorism-2495400956.html](http://www.popmatters.com/oklahoma-city-on-american-experience-timothy-mcveigh-terrorism-2495400956.html) (accessed 29 September 2021).

<sup>160</sup> See [www.nordstadtblogger.de/gedenktafel-enthueellt-vor-20-jahren-erschoss-der-neonazi-michael-berger-drei-polizistinnen-und-beging-selbstmord/](http://www.nordstadtblogger.de/gedenktafel-enthueellt-vor-20-jahren-erschoss-der-neonazi-michael-berger-drei-polizistinnen-und-beging-selbstmord/) (accessed 29 September 2021).

<sup>161</sup> See <https://exif-recherche.org/?p=4399> (accessed 29 September 2021).

<sup>162</sup> See [www.bundesanzeiger.de/pub/publication/X2hfxbed1MFkxQrcMhr/content/X2hfxbed1MFkxQrcMhr/BAnz%20AT%2023.01.2020%20B1.pdf?inline](http://www.bundesanzeiger.de/pub/publication/X2hfxbed1MFkxQrcMhr/content/X2hfxbed1MFkxQrcMhr/BAnz%20AT%2023.01.2020%20B1.pdf?inline); and [www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/ntnl-scrnt/cntr-trrrsm/lstd-ntts/crrnt-lstd-ntts-en.aspx#60](http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/ntnl-scrnt/cntr-trrrsm/lstd-ntts/crrnt-lstd-ntts-en.aspx#60) (accessed 29 September 2021).

<sup>163</sup> See [www.belltower.news/die-populaersten-zahlencodes-51354/](http://www.belltower.news/die-populaersten-zahlencodes-51354/) (accessed 29 September 2021).

## BRDDR

The merging of the German acronyms for the Federal Republic of Germany “BRD” and the German Democratic Republic “DDR” on the font level is also intended to symbolize the merging of content in this context. Specifically, with regard to the Federal Republic of Germany, it is the intention to mark it as a dictatorship, just like the GDR; Therefore, the technique of →linguistic folding is used.

## HKNKRZ – Hakenkreuz [Swastika]

“HKNKRZ” stands for the term Hakenkreuz (Swastika), but all vowels were omitted to avoid penal consequences, especially in Germany, and to resemble the logo font of “RUN DMC”<sup>164</sup>. Therefore, the techniques of → cultural theft and a → metaplasm/elision were applied.

## NTNLSZLST – Nationalsozialist [National Socialist]

“NTNLSZLST” stands for “Nationalsozialist” [National Socialist] but all vowels were omitted to avoid penal consequences, especially in Germany, and to resemble the logo font of “RUN DMC”. Therefore, the techniques of →cultural theft and a →metaplasm/elision were applied.

## USRAEL

The merging of the acronym for the United States of America, USA, and the state Israel is intended to symbolize the fusion into an ideologically shaped, homogeneous power conglomerate strongly linked to the antisemitic “ZOG” (or “Zionist Occupational Government”) conspiracy theory. In this respect, the technique of linguistic folding is used.

## WP/WPWW – White Power/White Pride Worldwide

“WP” stands for “White Power”: the associated symbol is often a stylised white fist. “White Power” was originally the slogan of the American Nazi Party under George Lincoln Rockwell. Ian Stuart Donaldson turned it into the battle cry of the international White Power music scene from the 1980s. More generally, “WP” stands for the racist theory of the supremacy of the so-called “Aryan” or white race, as does the widespread formula “WPWW” (“White Pride World Wide”). While in the German context, “White Power” was not a dominant ideological concept, it features heavily in many other, foreign publications, song lyrics, and video interviews, in which for example Slavic people were not treated as “racially equal” (racial differences) or part of the “White World”.<sup>165</sup> It was Skrewdriver’s 1983 LP, “White Power”, that heavily contributed to the radicalisation of neo-Nazi skinhead music.<sup>166</sup>

<sup>164</sup> See Oskar Piegsa, “Leben ohne Vokale: Fck, lngsm wrds cht kmplyrt!”, 13 October 2014; and <https://achtmilliarden.wordpress.com/2014/10/13/leben-ohne-vokale/> (accessed 29 September 2021).

<sup>165</sup> See Thomas Grumke, “‘Solidarität ist eine Waffe’. Die rechtsextreme Internationale: Ideologie, Vernetzung und Kooperation”, in Thomas Grumke & Bernd Wagner (eds.), *Handbuch Rechtsradikalismus* (Opladen: Leske + Budrich. 2002), pp. 43-60.

<sup>166</sup> See [www.politische-bildung-brandenburg.de/node/6858](http://www.politische-bildung-brandenburg.de/node/6858) (accessed 29 September 2021).

## II. Key Phrases

### **“Meine Ehre heißt Treue” [“My honour means/is loyalty”]**

“Meine Ehre heißt Treue” was the motto of the *Schutzstaffel* (SS) and can be traced back to Adolf Hitler’s phrase in a letter to the former SA squad leader and later SS Colonel-General Kurt Daluge (1894–1946) who had successfully protected Joseph Goebbels from an SA mob attack in 1931: “SS man, your honour means loyalty!”<sup>167</sup> The phrase was frequently used during rallies against the “Wehrmacht exhibitions” in 1995 and 2001.<sup>168</sup> Since that time, the phrase has also been employed in relation to many other events promoting Historical Revisionism, and even Holocaust denial, attended by the radical right. In Germany, this phrase is in most cases punishable by law today.<sup>169</sup>

### **“Deutschland erwache!” [“Germany awake!”]**

“Deutschland erwache” is a phrase taken out of the SA-hymn *Sturmlied* [Storm Song], originally composed by Dietrich Eckhardt. Weimar Germany was characterised by National Socialists as a “sleeping” country that needed to awake, take revenge and attack the multifaced, if not sharply defined alien threat – usually identified with leftists and, in particular, Jews. The song is characterized by Historical Revisionism and antisemitism through reference to the supposed wealth and influence of “global Jewry”.<sup>170</sup> A recent example how the radical right makes use of this phrase can be seen via the movement entrepreneur Sebastian Raack, who became the main sponsor of the local Brandenburg football club “SV Blau-Weiß Lindenu” [Sports club Blue-White Lindenu]. Since then, the teams pre-game ritual includes the multiple shouts of the phrase “Parkelf [the football team] erwache”.<sup>171</sup>

### **“Ruhm und Ehre der Waffen-SS/deutschen Wehrmacht/dem deutschen Soldaten” [“Glory and honour of the Waffen-SS/German Wehrmacht/German soldier”]**

“Ruhm und Ehre der Waffen-SS/deutschen Wehrmacht/dem deutschen Soldaten” is often used as a substitute to one of the two phrases above since, in contrast to other key phrases or symbols, this sentence is not generally punishable.<sup>172</sup> The phrase refers to the myth of the “clean” (that is, morally uncompromised by war crimes) Wehrmacht, of honourable soldiers who “were only doing their duty”. This kind of Historical Revisionism can be found in many publications by the radical right, ranging from the German New Right to hardcore neo-Nazis.

<sup>167</sup> See Klaus Mies-Baron, *Heinrich Himmler: Aufstieg des Reichsführers SS (1910–1933)*, (Göttingen: V&R, 2011), pp. 452–455.

<sup>168</sup> See [www.his-online.de/en/press-office/press-releases/32/news/the-exhibition-verbrechen-der-wehrmacht-dimensionen-des-vernichtungskrieges-1941-1944-in-luxemburg/](http://www.his-online.de/en/press-office/press-releases/32/news/the-exhibition-verbrechen-der-wehrmacht-dimensionen-des-vernichtungskrieges-1941-1944-in-luxemburg/) (accessed 29 September 2021).

<sup>169</sup> See [www.burhoff.de/rspr/texte/ai\\_00006.htm](http://www.burhoff.de/rspr/texte/ai_00006.htm) (accessed 29 September 2021).

<sup>170</sup> See <https://web.archive.org/web/20180401064908/>; and [www1.wdr.de/nachrichten/rheinland/rothmann-afd-tweet-100.html](http://www1.wdr.de/nachrichten/rheinland/rothmann-afd-tweet-100.html); see also Wolfgang Häusler, ‘Die Freiheit eine Gasse – mit Leyer und Schwert’, 22 August 2013, [www.furche.at/feuilleton/der-freiheit-eine-gasse-mit-leyer-and-schwert-1293149](http://www.furche.at/feuilleton/der-freiheit-eine-gasse-mit-leyer-and-schwert-1293149) (accessed 29 September 2021).

<sup>171</sup> See <https://www.facebook.com/sportschau/videos/1135130753352939/?t=206> (accessed 29 September 2021).

<sup>172</sup> See <http://juris.bundesgerichtshof.de/cgi-bin/rechtsprechung/document.py?Gericht=bgh&Art=en&Datum=Aktuell&nr=33422&linked=pm> (accessed 29 September 2021).

### **“Good Night Left Side”**

Here the (subcultural) radical right has applied the technique of cultural theft (once more) by adapting (and in so doing, inverting) the “Good Night White Pride” (or “Good Night Right Side”) campaign of the (subcultural) antifascist movement from the 1990s and early 2000s. This campaign arose as a response of the German hardcore scene to neo-Nazis trying to infiltrate this music scene. “Good Night Left Side” has since become a major slogan of the street based Anti-Antifa-campaigns in Germany and beyond.<sup>173</sup>

### **“Todesstrafe für Kinderschänder” [“Death penalty for child abusers”]**

This is a campaign initiated by radical right extremists, which deliberately links the emotional issue of child sexual abuse with the demand for a reintroduction of the death penalty adjudged incompatible with Germany’s Basic Law. The intent here is, above all, for propagandistic effect; that is, to draw public attention to the political outlook of radical right activists. Genuine interest in the well-being of all children is doubtless not at the forefront of these campaigns.<sup>174</sup> This slogan has been repeatedly undermined by the behaviour of radical right activists: in 2017 alone, the police information system “Polas”, in the Federal State of Hesse, identified 37 individuals considered to be radical right extremists accused of sexual offences against children.<sup>175</sup>

<sup>173</sup> See [www.antifainfoblatt.de/artikel/%E2%80%99Eich-bin-bereit-etwas-zu-riskieren%E2%80%99C](http://www.antifainfoblatt.de/artikel/%E2%80%99Eich-bin-bereit-etwas-zu-riskieren%E2%80%99C); and Jan Christoph Rödel, “Der offen sichtbare Rechtsextremismus”, [www.kas.de/de/web/rechtsextremismus/der-offen-sichtbare-rechtsextremismus](http://www.kas.de/de/web/rechtsextremismus/der-offen-sichtbare-rechtsextremismus) (accessed 29 September 2021).

<sup>174</sup> See Tina Zöppel, “Todesstrafe für Kinderschänder” – wie Rechtsextreme soziale Themen politisch instrumentalisieren (Mittweida: University of Applied Science, 2014).

<sup>175</sup> See [www.fr.de/rhein-main/neonazis-kinderschander-11057418.html](http://www.fr.de/rhein-main/neonazis-kinderschander-11057418.html) (accessed 29 September 2021).



### III. Euphemisms

#### **RAHOWA – Racial Holy War**

RAHOWA stands for “Racial Holy War”, and is a popular battle cry at radical right extremist concerts, but also acts as a distinctive phrase in internet forums. “RAHOWA” indicates a war against foreign peoples, ethnic groups and religions, in a manner similar to the crusades of the Middle Ages. The term was originally coined by the religiously-inspired US neo-Nazi organisation, the World Church of the Creator (WCOTC), a form of racist Christianity called “Christian Identity”. Furthermore, “RaHoWa” was popularised in the 1990s by the Canadian White Power music band of the same name, led by the WCOTC activist George Burdi. As a worldwide racist battle cry, it is visible in graffiti, greetings and even on T-shirts.<sup>176</sup>

#### **“Tag X” [“Day X”]**

“Day X” is a key phrase for the German radical right, which indicates a hope that the time for a day of revolutionary will arrive. On “Day X” the current democratic system would be overthrown, leading to a new order and revenge on the representatives of the old order. The apocalyptic “Day X” narrative is not new – it appears again and again in radical right publications, songs or speeches. The “Day X” narrative is closely linked to the “Volkstod” [“Aryan” racial death], which allegedly must be violently countered. According to activists, “Volkstod” has been accelerated by through the modernisation and liberalisation that accompanies globalisation, as well as the alleged destruction of an imagined “natural order”. The apocalyptic underpinning of this belief, moreover, is exclusively steeped in racial categorisations. Many radical right extremists believe that such an ideologically-constructed danger can only be banished through revolutionary measures and vigilante justice. Furthermore, the widespread rejection of the delegitimization of categories such as “race”, “people” and “nation” is expressed in a radicalised form in violence against minorities and representatives of the state order. A vexing example in the belief in the coming of “Day X” and the implementation of the preparations for this day is recently-uncovered Hannibal network: the head of the network was the former KSK [Special Forces Command] soldier, André S., who used the alias “Hannibal”. He moderated a large number of chat groups of (former) soldiers, intelligence officials, and police officers in which so-called preppers, or survivalists, were working for “Day X”.<sup>177</sup>

#### **“Volkstod”/Umvolkung” [Großer Austausch/The Great Replacement]**

“Volkstod” is a buzzword of the radical right, which expresses the conviction that the so-called “Aryan” people will be extinct by mixing with other ethnic groups. It’s closely linked to the anti-Muslim “Great Replacement” conspiracy theory. The term “Volkstod” is rooted in population policy debates and cultural pessimism dating to the beginning of the 20th century. For example, Oswald Spengler’s *Decline of the West* advanced the belief in this supposed “Volkstod”, as “Aryans” were threatened with the extinction of an organic community. The National Socialists later used the term “Volkstod” extensively in their propaganda. Today radical right extremists use the term in a similar way. Accordingly, today the term “Volkstod” indicates many allegedly degenerative processes, particularly the demographic development, migration from rural areas, and immigration to

<sup>176</sup> See [www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/rahowa](http://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/rahowa); and [www.discogs.com/de/artist/263142-RAHOWA](http://www.discogs.com/de/artist/263142-RAHOWA) (accessed 29 September 2021).

<sup>177</sup> See <https://taz.de/Schwerpunkt-Hannibals-Schattennetzwerk/!t5549502/> (accessed 29 September 2021).

Germany: ethnic and national identities are held to be under threat by multiculturalism, while elites are complicit and/or are engineering this development.<sup>178</sup>

### **“ZOG” – Zionist Occupational Government**

This is a very popular acronym especially among German and US-American radical right extremists. The antisemitic term “ZOG” was coined in the 1970s by the American radical right extremist Eric Thompson. It links to the radical right conspiracy theory referring to alleged “Jewish world domination”. Radical Right extremists often claim that the governments of the USA, Germany and other countries are “controlled by the Jews”. The conspiracy theory emanates from an alleged Zionist plot for world domination to control social, economic, and political elites.<sup>179</sup>

---

<sup>178</sup> See Gideon Botsch, Christoph Kopke, *‘Umvolkung’ und ‘Volkstod’: Zur Kontinuität einer extrem rechten Paranoia* (Münster: Verlag Klemm+Oelschläger 2019).

<sup>179</sup> See Rainer Erb, “‘Er ist kein Mensch, er ist ein Jud’. Antisemitismus im Rechtsrock”, in Dieter Baacke, Klaus Farin & Jürgen Lauffer (eds.), *Rock von Rechts II. Milieus, Hintergründe und Materialien* (Bielefeld: Gesellschaft für Medienpädagogik und Kommunikationskultur in der Bundesrepublik, 1999), pp. 142-159.

# Techniques

This chapter has offered an overview of the techniques used to encode and convey the messages on the German radical right. Accordingly, it has been this report's intention to make the functioning and dynamics of radical right sub-cultures and modes of communication understandable. These techniques are the key for decoding corresponding messages in the future, far beyond these more or less time-bound examples, as Cynthia Miller-Idriss clearly points out:

As the manipulation and playfulness with symbols [...] shows symbols are not static entities – they are responsive both to contemporary social and legal context as well as to the historical context.<sup>180</sup>

Miller-Idriss also discusses whether legal bans or the introduction of formal dress-codes as is the case in Germany is a good way to disrupt this dynamic. However, she comes to an ambivalent judgement:

“[These strategies] are also risky for the ways in which they can backfire. In the German case, banning policies have led to more game playing and coded symbols. Symbols and messaging have become ever-more coded in order to subvert bans in ways that are playful, humorous, and fun for designers and consumers.”<sup>181</sup>

## I. The technique of literary camouflage

Literary ‘camouflage’ means: intentional difference between (not decent) surface text and [...] [here: radical right extremist] subtext ....] The offensive content is made publicly formulable by transposing it into a non-offensive area and simultaneously signalling what was originally meant. This signalling [of the original content] can be phrased in such a manner that it can be perceived by all readers in principle but can only be [properly/accurately] deciphered by 'initiated' readers. With this compulsion to combine a surface text and a subtext, however, camouflage simultaneously, and necessarily, achieves what I will call its productive effects. Depending upon the nature of the 'surface text' chosen and how it relates to the [...] subtext, a kind of literary added value [...] results. A distinction must be made between two groups of possible 'productive effects': those that concern the articulation of [...] [radical right extremism] itself, and those that result from its relationship to the respective chosen field of transmission. The primary productive effect [...] appears to me to be the successive expansion of linguistic possibilities as a result of repressive speech conditioning: language expansion through speech prohibition. The compulsion to camouflage can produce new forms of expression and thus new possibilities for differentiating and determining initially diffuse perception.<sup>182</sup>

On one hand, literary camouflage is intended circumvent statements that criminalise the aforementioned offences which, despite prior examination by lawyers does not always succeed, as shown by judgments of the *Oberlandesgericht* [Higher Regional Court, or OLG] Bamberg (OLG Bamberg, 08.10.2008 – 3 Ss 112/2008) and the *Bundesgerichtshof* [Federal Court of Justice, or BGH]

<sup>180</sup> Cynthia Miller-Idriss, *The Extreme Gone Mainstream: Commercialization and Far Right Youth Culture in Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), p. 81.

<sup>181</sup> Cynthia Miller-Idriss, *Hate in the Homeland: The New Global Far Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020), p. 91.

<sup>182</sup> Heinrich Detering, *Das offene Geheimnis: Zur literarischen Produktivität eines Tabus von Winckelmann bis zu Thomas Mann* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2013), p. 30.

(BGH, 03.04.2008 – 3 StR 394/07). On the other hand, use of “linguistic camouflage” serves as a form of concealed verbal agitation, which as promotes a feeling of belonging together in extremist sub-cultures like the German radical right.<sup>183</sup>

## II. The technique of cultural theft

[...] today, when the Nazis cannot yet show what they really look like and what they really want, they disguise themselves. They pretend to be seditious, as is well known; the most terrible white terror against the people and socialism that history has ever seen disguises itself as socialist. To this end, its propaganda must develop a revolutionary pretence, dressed up in communist disguises. [...] It is part of the essence of fascist ideology to incorporate the [...] stocks of all cultural phases.<sup>184</sup>

Applied to today’s prevailing culture - which the radical right has been making extensive use of for some time - this indicates that themes, slogans, symbols, fashions, and music that originate (not only, but primarily) from left-wing, progressive and youth cultural movements are appropriated or adopted by the radical right in order to profit from their cultural appeal and mainstream appeal.

## III. The technique of linguistic folding

The technique of linguistic folding follows a similar functional principle to the technique of “literary camouflage”: a seemingly-unobjectionable surface text is modified for a deceptive purpose that is not apparent at first glance. In this case, however, words, word stems or acronyms are combined on the surface level of the text in order to offer the (initiated) recipient a racist combination, reshaping, or equation; that is, generally speaking, a transformation meaning.<sup>185</sup>

## V. The technique of metaplasma/elision

Metaplasma is a collective term for the modification of word and/or letter order for the purpose of a particular emphasis. A specific technique to omit all vowels as a linguistic-cultural technique is called elision. Its pop cultural application is rooted in youth subcultures, mainly Indie Rock/Pop and HipHop.<sup>186</sup>

<sup>183</sup> See Thomas Naumann, *Rechtsrock im Wandel. Eine Textanalyse von Rechtsrock-Bands* (Hamburg: Diplomica Verlag 2009), pp. 43-65.

<sup>184</sup> Ernst Bloch, *Erbschaft dieser Zeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1985 [1935]), pp. 70, 123.

<sup>185</sup> Joachim Scharloth: *Faltungen. “Die Schließung des rechten Kommunikationssystems aus korpuspragmatischer Perspektive”*, *Jahrbuch des Instituts für Deutsche Sprache* (forthcoming).

<sup>186</sup> Jörg Meibauer, Ulrike Demske, Jochen Geilfuß-Wolfgang, Jürgen Pafel von Metzler, *Einführung in die germanistische Linguistik* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2007), pp. 95-99; and Ralf Rummer, *Ohne Vokale*, [www.yellow.at/anderes/elision](http://www.yellow.at/anderes/elision) (accessed 29 September 2021).



## **Part III: Online use of Slogans, Symbols, Codes and Slurs by the French Radical Right**

## Introduction

The term radical right is a relative newcomer in the vocabulary of French political science, which has historically preferred the term “Extrême-droite [Extreme Right]”. Unlike in Germany, where the Office for the Protection of the Constitution clearly defines the radical right, there is no legally binding definition of those terms in French legislation. Since 2012, the term “Ultra-droite [Ultra-Right]” has emerged in French media and in the vocabulary of the police and intelligence community in France. Yet this term, rather than an umbrella definition, is used to describe militants and groups within the broader revolutionary right, who are prone to violence and might even consider staging terrorist attacks.<sup>187</sup> Unsurprisingly, all these terms are rejected by the radical-right scene in France, which prefers to call itself “nationaliste [nationalist]”; “patriote [patriot]” or, in some cases “identitaire [identitarianism]”. Sometimes, the French radical right identifies itself as part of the wider family of the “droite nationale [national right]”, which includes legal, registered political parties such as “Rassemblement national [National Rally]”, led by Marine Le Pen; “Les Patriotes [The Patriots]” led by Florian Philippot, and the newly created party “Reconquête [Reconquest]”, launched by the political pundit-turned-Presidential hopeful, Eric Zemmour, on 5 December 2021.

Subgroups on the radical right also define themselves using other terms, some of which are quite specific to France: there remains a legacy of “royalisme [royalism]” embodied in the “Action française [French Action]”, first established in 1899, and a quite active Catholic fundamentalist scene, which is led by the “Fraternité Saint Pie X [Society of Saint Pius X]” and the aligned political party, *Civitas*. Members of the latter refer to themselves as either “catholiques de tradition [traditional Catholics]” or “catholiques traditionalistes [Catholic traditionalists]”. The most extreme Catholic fundamentalists in France call themselves “sédévacantistes [Sedevacantists]” which means they think that the Holy See is vacant, and the current Pope is an illegitimate authority.<sup>188</sup> Those groups are very active on social media and across other parts of the internet. Still other groups better characterised as fascist prefer to label themselves “nationaliste-révolutionnaire [revolutionary nationalists or National-Revolutionaries]”.<sup>189</sup> This term is used in a similar way to this historical Italian Salò Republic (1943-1943) and aligns closely with the ideology of the self-styled “Fascists of the Third

<sup>187</sup> See recent examples receiving widespread coverage in France and beyond, for instance, [www.euronews.com/2021/05/08/france-charges-members-of-neo-nazi-group-over-attack-plot](http://www.euronews.com/2021/05/08/france-charges-members-of-neo-nazi-group-over-attack-plot); and more recently, [www.france24.com/en/20190611-france-terrorism-neo-nazi-cell-plot-attacks-jews-muslims](http://www.france24.com/en/20190611-france-terrorism-neo-nazi-cell-plot-attacks-jews-muslims) (all websites last accessed 4 Jan. 2022).

<sup>188</sup> See <https://fr-fr.facebook.com/pages/category/Catholic-Church/Catholique-s%C3%A9d%C3%A9vacantiste-279307746139551/>

<sup>189</sup> See [www.facebook.com/CazemateOfficiel/](http://www.facebook.com/CazemateOfficiel/)

Millennium”, CasaPound in Italy. Groups who refer to National Socialist ideology are few for legal reasons. Nonetheless, a few militant groups use the word “aryen” or “aryenne [Aryan]”.<sup>190</sup>

The following chapter will look more deeply into these categories, but this overview is indicative of French peculiarities that need to be grasped to understand the frame of the country’s radical-right scene.

When it comes to legislation, there are two key concepts that are especially relevant to social media. The first is the “Code de la Sécurité intérieure [Homeland Security Code]”, which allows the French state to ban groups – whether officially registered as political parties or not – should they glorify collaboration between any French ideological group and the Nazi occupation between 1940 and 1944. In addition to having the ability to proscribe groups advocating hate, racism or antisemitism, the government can also enact a ban when the insignia, slogans or emblems of French collaborationist movements, or those endorsing Nazism, are used.<sup>191</sup> Since 2017, a total of 10 radical right groups have been banned.<sup>192</sup> Moreover, these groups can be sued for relaunching under a different name, through the provisions of Article 431-15 of the French Penal Code.<sup>193</sup> Such a possibility means that the banned groups, should they decide to continue despite the ban, have to take a new name (as different from the previous one as possible) and avoid using any symbol which may echo the previous one. Among those symbols which may signal the reappearance of a banned group are:



Troisième voie, banned 2013

“Troisième Voie [Third Way]” was a Nationalist-Revolutionary group led (after 2010) by Serge Ayoub, a former leader of the Nazi Skinhead scene. It had strongholds in Northern France as well as in Paris, where it ran a place named “Le Local [The Local]”, akin to a pub and, at the same time, it functioned as a place for small political meetings and conferences. It closed

<sup>190</sup> See <https://aryansisterhood.wordpress.com/author/freyavonsgard/>.

<sup>191</sup> See the French law, online at: [www.legifrance.gouv.fr/loda/id/JORFTEXT000000325214/](http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/loda/id/JORFTEXT000000325214/).

<sup>192</sup> See the list of all the banned groups, including those other than radical right, online at: [https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste\\_des\\_organisations\\_dissoutes\\_en\\_application\\_de\\_la\\_loi\\_du\\_10\\_janvier\\_1936](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_des_organisations_dissoutes_en_application_de_la_loi_du_10_janvier_1936).

<sup>193</sup> See [www.legifrance.gouv.fr/codes/id/LEGIARTI000006418479/2002-01-01/](http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/codes/id/LEGIARTI000006418479/2002-01-01/).

following the ban on *Troisième voie*. Serge Ayoub now leads a biker gang called the Gremium MC.<sup>194</sup>



*Bastion social*, banned 2019

The “Bastion social [Social Stronghold]”, launched in 2017, is a fascist group and closely cooperates with the Italian group CasaPound. The two are very similar both in terms of ideology and methods of action. *Bastion social* succeeded in establishing branches in up to 10 French cities, with each one having its own meeting place. The specific aim of the group was to attract new recruits by illegally occupying vacant buildings (in Lyon and on the outskirts of Strasbourg; again, directly on the model of CasaPound), then using them as a shelter for the “native French” homeless. The 2019 ban was decided when militants in the Alsace region began buying weapons and contemplating terrorist attacks.



*Blood & Honour Hexagone*, banned 2019

The French branch of the transnational neo-Nazi skinhead movement Blood & Honour consisted of around 20 core members, whose main activity was organising Rock Against

<sup>194</sup> See <https://gremium-france.com/club-history/>.



Communism (RAC) concerts, with a peak attendance of 400. The leaders of the group have previously stood trial because of multiple violent attacks on persons of colour, alongside promoting Nazi ideas and posting pictures of members with heavy weaponry.<sup>195</sup>

The 2013 ban of “Oeuvre française [French work]” – with use of “oeuvre” also having a religious significance because in French many pious societies of Catholic laymen use this name – is quite different, however. This cultic group led by the late Pierre Sidos and Yvan Benedetti (who is still active) did not pursue the goal of using terror. Launched in 1968 by Sidos, a former Collaborationist, it was known for its vicious antisemitism, Holocaust-denial and its call to ban Freemasonry. Its symbol was the Celtic Cross, which Sidos claimed was his exclusive property, although it has been so widely used for decades by many groups including Sidos’ “Jeune Nation [Young Nation]”, in the late 40s. Despite the ban, the group has survived under Benedetti’s leadership under such names as “Les nationalistes [The Nationalists]”; “Jeune nation” and “Parti nationaliste français [French Nationalist Party]”.



Symbol of *Œuvre française*

Moreover, according to Article R-645-1 of the Penal Code,<sup>196</sup> while an individual is allowed to privately own Nazi paraphernalia, it is an offence to display such items publicly, including when selling merchandise. Accordingly, selling those items (including by auction), whether in a shop, flea-market or online, is prohibited in France, unless the seller describes the item simply and without adding a picture. The only exception to the ban on displaying Nazi paraphernalia is for the purpose of the making of a movie or the recreational activities of a so-called “Reconstituteurs [Re-enactors]” historical society. Indeed, some of these re-enactments have been used as a ruse by radical-right groups to evade prosecution.<sup>197</sup>

Code words and racial slurs, many of them inspired by American codes and US-based movements, are typically used with the aim of reaching a broader audience than core activists on the radical-right scene. In December 2021, radical-right activists in France consisted of

<sup>195</sup> See [https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2019/08/21/blood-and-honor-hexagone-un-groupe-neonazi-face-a-la-justice\\_5501173\\_3224.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2019/08/21/blood-and-honor-hexagone-un-groupe-neonazi-face-a-la-justice_5501173_3224.html)

<sup>196</sup> See <https://france3-regions.francetvinfo.fr/normandie/calvados/caen/objets-nazis-peut-on-detenir-exposer-vendre-que-dit-loi-1723711.html>.

<sup>197</sup> For an account of such an attempt, see: [www.facebook.com/198508090036/posts/10166170032315037/](https://www.facebook.com/198508090036/posts/10166170032315037/).

around 1,000 to 1,150 individuals, who are prone to violence, according to Laurent Nunez, head of the National Coordination against Terrorism (CNR), who also contends that the overall number of radical-right activists, including “followers”, is between 3,000 and 3,500.<sup>198</sup> Nunez adds that, since the election of President Emmanuel Macron in spring 2017, six violent radical-right cells have been dismantled by the Police.<sup>199</sup> One related plot was that involving Logan Nisin, a Marseille-based man in his early 20s who launched a Facebook page in 2017 in praise of the Norwegian terrorist, Anders Behring Breivik, and began recruiting people to attack immigrants, left-wing politicians and Jews in France. His group was named “Organisation des armées sociales [Organisation of Social Armies, or OAS]”, a thinly veiled reference to the underground, paramilitary organisation which staged terrorist actions in 1960-62, in order to stop then-President Charles de Gaulle from granting independence to Algeria. In October 2021, Nisin received a 9-year jail sentence.<sup>200</sup> Other thwarted plots include that by “Action des forces opérationnelles [Action of Operational Forces, or AFO]” which was disbanded in 2018, when some 10 suspects, aged between 32 and 69, were arrested for planning to respond to the 2015 Islamist bombings in France by abducting Imams, poisoning Halal food sold at supermarkets and attacking Muslim women wearing the hijab (this case is still pending).<sup>201</sup> During the same period (2017-2018) another group, named “Les Barjols” (a slang terms for “crazies”, but also the nickname of the French Special Forces operation in the African Sahel), was interdicted for having attempted to kill President Macron.<sup>202</sup> The case is also pending. One further, notable case is that of Rémy Daillet, a conspiracy-theory guru who has been jailed for his role in planning the abduction of a young girl (who, he believed, was separated from her mother due to an illegal court order). Daillet planned the bombing of a Masonic temple and proposed staging a coup d’état to set up an authoritarian government with support from the army.<sup>203</sup> Those, and other attempts, show that French society has become highly polarized, whether it is against Muslims or against institutions which are no longer seen as legitimate.

These plots intended to perpetrate terrorist attacks against a broad spectrum of targets: government ministers; Muslims; Jews; Freemasons; and notable left-wing politicians, with a focus on elected officials from “La France insoumise [France Unbowed]”, led by MP Jean-Luc

<sup>198</sup> For instance, see [www.lopinion.fr/politique/terrorisme-lultra-droite-inquiete-laurent-nunez](http://www.lopinion.fr/politique/terrorisme-lultra-droite-inquiete-laurent-nunez). The broader radical right scene is estimated to include some 3,000 individuals in France.

<sup>199</sup> For example, see [www.facebook.com/CNEWSofficiel/videos/laurent-nu%C3%B1ez-six-cellules-clandestines-dultradroite-d%C3%A9mantel%C3%A9es/945322192993294/](https://www.facebook.com/CNEWSofficiel/videos/laurent-nu%C3%B1ez-six-cellules-clandestines-dultradroite-d%C3%A9mantel%C3%A9es/945322192993294/).

<sup>200</sup> See <https://www.france24.com/fr/france/20211012-neuf-ans-de-prison-ferme-pour-le-fondateur-du-groupuscule-d-ultradroite-oas>

<sup>201</sup> See <https://www.europe1.fr/societe/coup-de-filet-anti-terroriste-que-sait-on-du-groupuscule-action-des-forces-operationnelles-3692798>

<sup>202</sup> See [https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2021/01/23/dans-l-enquete-sur-les-barjols-deux-nouveaux-suspects-mis-en-examen\\_6067371\\_3224.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2021/01/23/dans-l-enquete-sur-les-barjols-deux-nouveaux-suspects-mis-en-examen_6067371_3224.html)

<sup>203</sup> See <https://www.marianne.net/societe/police-et-justice/qui-est-remy-daillet-le-complotiste-suspecte-davoir-fomente-un-coup-detat>

Mélenchon. The threat from would-be radical-right terrorists is widely estimated to be on the rise in France.

Moreover, the rise of violent radical-right extremism has benefited both from the Yellow Vest movement and the Covid-19 pandemic. The “Mouvement des gilets jaunes [Yellow Vests]” are a grassroots movement that began in France on 17 November 2018, initially as an anti-tax protest but which quickly gained a broad audience of tens of thousands in weekly demonstrations staged in Paris and smaller cities. The movement called for lower taxation, an increase in the minimum wage, and for the replacing of representative democracy with citizens’ initiatives via referendums on all issues – from local to national. Although radicals from both left and right infiltrated the movement, they never seized control. The so-called “Black Bloc” of anarchists allegedly took part in many incidents, targeting the police, banks, and other symbols of capitalism, while the radical right played a significant part in the clashes which erupted on 24 November 2018 (a date likely representing the peak of the demonstrations)<sup>204</sup>. During the pandemic and up to this day, the radical right has taken the initiative to stage weekly demonstrations nationwide, with a peak attendance of 20,000 in August 2021, to protest lockdowns, vaccine passports and vaccination in general. The movement which initiated the demonstrations is Florian Philippot’s small group “Les Patriotes”.<sup>205</sup>

In these contexts, code words, slang and radical-right symbols are drawn upon in order to escape prosecution, particularly since France has voted in several laws against racism, antisemitism, Holocaust denial and anti-LGBT hate. Most recently, these laws have expanded to include online hateful content. Passed in 2020, the “loi Avia” named after MP Laetitia Avia,<sup>206</sup> was partly amended by the Constitutional Court on the grounds that the law restricted freedom of speech too greatly.<sup>207</sup> Yet some provisions remain, such as the creation of a specific government jurisdiction in charge of hate speech online; heavier fines imposed on providers who host unlawful content; and the creation of an “Observatory of Online Hate”. Importantly, moreover, as soon as the 1972 Law against Racism was adopted, and just after the 1990 law against Holocaust denial was adopted, the radical right – including Holocaust deniers, some of whom initially started out on the far left – quickly adapted to the new situation. Above all, this extended to inventing code words that proved to be quite successful in circumventing prosecution.

<sup>204</sup> See <https://www.marianne.net/societe/ultradroite-et-ultragauche-reunis-ces-faux-gilets-jaunes-qui-ont-mis-sac-les-champs-elysees>

<sup>205</sup> See [www.midilibre.fr/2022/01/16/la-manifestation-anti-pass-des-patriotes-degenere-a-paris-une-equipe-de-journalistes-violemment-prise-a-partie-10050014.php](http://www.midilibre.fr/2022/01/16/la-manifestation-anti-pass-des-patriotes-degenere-a-paris-une-equipe-de-journalistes-violemment-prise-a-partie-10050014.php).

<sup>206</sup> See [www.legifrance.gouv.fr/jorf/id/JORFTEXT000042031970](http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/jorf/id/JORFTEXT000042031970)

<sup>207</sup> The main provision of the proposed law was that any hate content online should be removed by providers within 24 hours. The Constitutional Court decided that the description of “hate content” was much too wide, as it included apologetics for suicide; apologetics for sexual harassment; apologetics for theft and destruction of public or private property, in addition to those provisions upheld: denial of genocide, war crimes, racism and hatred on the ground of sexual orientation.

## Images and Symbols

### Radical Right symbols from the past

There are numerous symbols linked to historical movements of the French radical right which remain in use today. The first is that of “Action française [French Action, or AF]”, the royalist movement launched in 1899 by Henri Vaugois and Charles Maurras. This movement remains in existence with the same symbol as at its founding. While activists of the AF took different paths in 1940 – with many even joining the Resistance – the majority rejoiced when the Vichy regime came to power. Indeed, some went so far as to espouse the cause of Nazi Germany, despite Maurras’ well-known hatred of anything German. Antisemitism and the rejection of democracy, but also hatred of Freemasons and people of mixed or non-white heritage, remains central to AF ideology. Nonetheless, AF has split into two competing factions: one has softened antisemitism while the other remains faithful to AF’s initial ideology.<sup>208</sup> There are slight differences between the first (Left) and the second (Right) symbols. The two competing parties are fighting in court from legal property of the name.



In 2022, a symbol very close to that of the royalists is used by the antisemitic, radical right party, “Parti Nationaliste Français [French National Party, or PNF]”, whose chief ideologue is the former leader of the banned *Œuvre française*, Yvan Benedetti.<sup>209</sup>

<sup>208</sup> See, respectively, see [www.actionfrancaise.net/](http://www.actionfrancaise.net/); and <https://lactionfrancaise.fr/>.

<sup>209</sup> Benedetti is the man behind two other groups. The first is *Les Nationalistes* (see <https://fr-fr.facebook.com/nationalistesfr/>), which uses the same PNF Symbol ; and the second is *Jeune nation* (see <https://jeune-nation.com/>), which is much more oriented towards Holocaust denial and the glorification of National Socialism – including the display of Nazi symbols such as SS runes.



Importantly, moreover, some symbols from the Vichy regime are still used by French fascist movements, such as the *Francisque* (the Francisque is a throwing axe used during the early Middle Ages by the Franks, who are held to be the ancestors of the French people and especially of the French Royal dynasty, starting with King Clovis). It is often displayed alongside the picture of Marshall Philippe Pétain, who acted as Chief of State in the collaborationist regime between 1940 and 1944:



Also used by still more extreme groups in France today is the symbol of the “Milice française [French Militia]”. This was the notorious paramilitary unit set up by Vichy to fight the Resistance, a segment of which was drafted into the Waffen SS at the end of 1944:





Some of the French nationals who enlisted in the SS had previously fought in volunteer units with the Nazis on the Eastern Front, under the name of “*Légion des volontaires français contre le bolchévisme* [Legion of French Volunteers against Bolshevism, or LVF]”. The LVF acted as a unit of the Wehrmacht, and later the *Division Charlemagne*, a Waffen SS unit.<sup>210</sup>



LVF



Division Charlemagne

*Another period in French history which is still celebrated by the radical right is that of the Organisation Armée Secrète (OAS), a civilian and military organisation which opposed Algerian Indépendance and, starting in 1961, attempted to overthrow the de Gaulle Government, including by terrorist means. In 2021, a radical-right cell bearing the name OAS, also pursuing terrorist goals, was put on trial in Paris. Its leader, Logan Nisin, was sentenced to 9 years in*

<sup>210</sup> For a full catalogue of Second World War insignia from the Vichy collaborationist movements, some of which may be used by present-day radical-right groups, see Pierre-Philippe Lambert and Gérard Le Marec, *Partis et mouvements de la collaboration: Paris 1940-1944* (Éditions Grancher, 1993). Concerning French volunteers in the various Nazi military units, see, by the same authors, *Les Français sous le casque allemande* (Éditions Grancher, 1994).

*jail. He had been initially spotted by the Internal Intelligence Agency (General Direction of Internal Security, or DGSI) after he launched a Facebook page glorifying the Norwegian terrorist, Anders Behring Breivik.*<sup>211</sup>



## Identitarian movement symbols

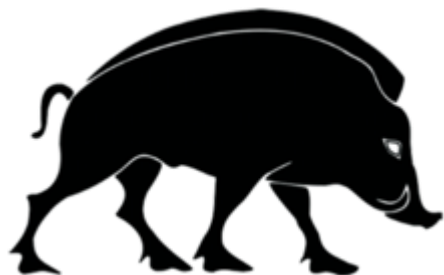
In France, the transnational Identitarian radical-right extremists usually refers to the movement banned in March 2021, Génération identitaire (GI), whose symbol is the Lambda, used by the warriors of Sparta.<sup>212</sup>



Having operated under the previous names of *Bloc identitaire* and *Les Identitaires*, GI dropped their former symbol, a boar, chosen in reference to the culture of the Gaulois (Celtic peoples who are alleged to be the ancestor of the French).

<sup>211</sup> See, for example, [www.france24.com/fr/france/20211012-neuf-ans-de-prison-ferme-pour-le-fondateur-du-groupuscule-d-ultradroite-oas](http://www.france24.com/fr/france/20211012-neuf-ans-de-prison-ferme-pour-le-fondateur-du-groupuscule-d-ultradroite-oas).

<sup>212</sup> For example, see [www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2021/05/04/le-conseil-d-etat-confirme-la-dissolution-de-generation-identitaire\\_6079089\\_823448.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2021/05/04/le-conseil-d-etat-confirme-la-dissolution-de-generation-identitaire_6079089_823448.html).



Symbol of *Les Identitaires*

Following the ban, the Identitarian movement has continued its activity through a myriad of local groups, whose actions are aimed at young activists living in a specific city or region.<sup>213</sup> In Lyon, a bar named *La Traboule* (a “Traboule” is a secret covered passageway, primarily associated with the city of Lyon) serves as the group’s headquarters and uses the local city flag as a symbol. The local group is named “Les Remparts [The Fortification]”.<sup>214</sup> An offshoot group in Paris is named “Les Natifs [The Natives]”,<sup>215</sup> while that in Toulouse is called “La Furie française [French Fury]”.<sup>216</sup> In Rouen, the local group is named “Les Normaux [The Normal Ones]”, which also acts as a pun on the name of the locals, “les Normands”.<sup>217</sup> Instructively, these groups largely refrain from using specific symbols, for it would be a criminal offense to directly refer to the banned movement. The Identitarian movement, however, goes far beyond these offshoots of *Génération identitaire*: it also encompasses several independently run, local groups which share the core values of GI. These radical-right views include opposition to French multicultural society, to non-European immigration, hostility to Islam. One such group is “La Citadelle [The Citadel]”, based in Lille.



*la Citadelle*

<sup>213</sup> See [www.liberation.fr/politique/dissous-il-y-a-huit-mois-generation-identitaire-est-de-retour-a-bas-bruit-20211020\\_XO3OEYPR5RAZHBR5XVXRR](http://www.liberation.fr/politique/dissous-il-y-a-huit-mois-generation-identitaire-est-de-retour-a-bas-bruit-20211020_XO3OEYPR5RAZHBR5XVXRR).

<sup>214</sup> See [www.facebook.com/Remparts2Lyon/](https://www.facebook.com/Remparts2Lyon/).

<sup>215</sup> Ibid.

<sup>216</sup> See [https://actu.fr/ile-de-france/paris\\_75056/des-anciens-de-generation-identitaire-creent-un-nouveau-groupe-d-extreme-droite-a-paris\\_46640974.html](https://actu.fr/ile-de-france/paris_75056/des-anciens-de-generation-identitaire-creent-un-nouveau-groupe-d-extreme-droite-a-paris_46640974.html).

<sup>217</sup> See [www.facebook.com/pages/category/Youth-Organization/Les-Normaux-103961928586237/](https://www.facebook.com/pages/category/Youth-Organization/Les-Normaux-103961928586237/).



*La Traboule/Les Remparts*

The Identitarian movement also includes groups which are more extreme, to the extent of espousing Nazism's völkisch ideology of *Blut und Boden*. This indicates a far more racist, White Supremacist approach than that of *Bloc identitaire* more generally. Chronologically, the first such group, "Terre et Peuple [Land and People]", was launched in 1995 by the so-called New Right [*Nouvelle Droite*] academic, Pierre Vial. The symbol of the latter movement is the Edelweiss, termed 'Hitler's favourite flower'. "Action européenne [European Action]", a transnational network based in Switzerland, has the same ideological content but also includes Holocaust denial. Its emblem is a Crusader's Cross.



## National-Revolutionary Symbols



The National-Revolutionary logo, with the eagle symbol, as used by the Ars Magna publishing house. It is owned by Christian Bouchet, a leader of the movement since the 1980s.<sup>218</sup>

Although their ideology may seem to overlap, National-Revolutionaries differ from the Identitarian movement in their mode of action, which relies on direct action tactics similar to the Italian fascist movement CasaPound. The National-Revolutionaries have tried, sometimes with success until the 2019 ban on *Bastion social* (see above), to launch locally based groups. Each of these had a local headquarters which simultaneously functioned as a bar, a gathering point for militants, a conference centre, and sometimes even a site for martial-arts training. National-Revolutionaries have taken part in some violent clashes during the Yellow Vest protests and have attacked the Antifa movement, and the left more generally, as well as LGBT people and migrants. The radical-right militants were even starting to occupy empty flats, as CasaPound did in Rome, in order to offer shelter to homeless people – provided of course that they were not of immigrant background. The 2019 ban, which effected all existing local

<sup>218</sup> See [www.editions-ars-magna.com/](http://www.editions-ars-magna.com/). Another variation of this logo includes a double-headed eagle.





branches in France, did not prevent militants from returning to politics within a few months under new names.<sup>219</sup> Thus far, no legal action has been taken to ban these new offshoots, each of which are registered under different names, establishing an independent legal existence. As a matter of precaution to avoid a new ban, those groups are careful to use symbols which are clearly differentiated from one local group to another. Those groups include “Vent d’Est [Eastern Wind]” in Alsace;<sup>220</sup> “Auctorum” [a Latin term for “Initiative”] in Versailles; “Hélix” [the scientific term for “Snail”, a culinary specialty of Burgundy] in Dijon; “Audace [Boldness]” in Lyon;<sup>221</sup> “Tenesoun” [“Firmness” in the Occitan language that is spoken in the Provence area] in Aix-en-Provence;<sup>222</sup> “Tolosates” [Latin name of the Gaullic tribe who lived in the area] in Toulouse; “Des Tours et des Lys [Towers and Lilies]” in Tours;<sup>223</sup> and “Edelweiss Pays de Savoie [Edelweiss in the Country of Savoy]” in the Annecy-Chambéry area.<sup>224</sup> Printed magazines such as *Cazemate* and *Zentromag* are also published by the National-Revolutionaries.<sup>225</sup> While National-Revolutionary groups have no common graphical content, as shown in the symbols below, most symbols are placed inside a circle with the red, white and blue colours of the French national flag.



<sup>219</sup> See, for instance, [www.slate.fr/story/183429/bastion-social-gud-extreme-droite-radical-ultradroite](http://www.slate.fr/story/183429/bastion-social-gud-extreme-droite-radical-ultradroite).

<sup>220</sup> See [www.facebook.com/VentDestAlsace/](https://www.facebook.com/VentDestAlsace/).

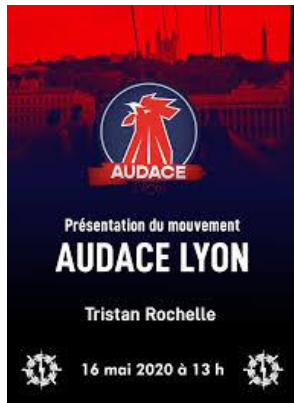
<sup>221</sup> See [www.facebook.com/AudaceLyonOff/](https://www.facebook.com/AudaceLyonOff/).

<sup>222</sup> See [www.facebook.com/Tenesoun/](https://www.facebook.com/Tenesoun/).

<sup>223</sup> See <https://fr-fr.facebook.com/codtdl/>.

<sup>224</sup> See <https://fr-fr.facebook.com/EdelweissPaysDeSavoie/>. The Edelweiss is a flower which is found in the mountains of Europe, especially in the Alps where the Savoy is located. The name is originally German. The Edelweiss has been used as a symbol of the Nazi Mountain Troops during World War II.

<sup>225</sup> See, respectively, [www.facebook.com/CazemateOfficiel/?ref=py\\_c](https://www.facebook.com/CazemateOfficiel/?ref=py_c) and <https://fr-fr.facebook.com/ZmagazineFR/>. Cazemate is a pun on the French word “casemate”, meaning a small bunker. Zentropa is name of the train company in Lars Von Trier’s movie, *Europa* (1991). The name of the magazine is derived from it. Zentropa is also a telegram channel (<https://t.me/Zentropa451>) which is close to the Neo-Fascist CasaPound but is written in French.



Hélix, the National-Revolutionary group in Dijon.



Two final National-Revolutionary groups have also gained prominence in 2021, and their symbols will be doubtless used in the future by likeminded movements. The first is *l'Alvarium* in Angers, which was banned in France on 17 November 2021.<sup>226</sup> The second is *Les Zouaves*, based in Paris, which is in the process of being banned after at least two of its members were arrested for assaulting antiracists during the Presidential campaign meeting of Eric Zemmour on 5 December 2021.<sup>227</sup> *Les Zouaves* is only partly a political group, and partly a street gang whose activity is close to that of the German “Anti-Antifa” movement. *The Zouaves*, who derive their name from a whites-only military unit active in the colonisation of Algeria during the 19th century, occasionally joins forces with radical-right hooligans from Reims, called the *Mes Os* group.

<sup>226</sup> See [www.lci.fr/politique/dissolution-de-l-alvarium-angers-quelle-est-cette-association-identitaire-ultra-droite-visee-par-gerald-darmanin-jean-eudes-gannat-2200414.html](http://www.lci.fr/politique/dissolution-de-l-alvarium-angers-quelle-est-cette-association-identitaire-ultra-droite-visee-par-gerald-darmanin-jean-eudes-gannat-2200414.html).

<sup>227</sup> See [www.franceinter.fr/justice/meeting-d-eric-zemmour-un-deuxieme-membre-du-groupuscule-d-extreme-droite-zouaves-paris-interpelle](http://www.franceinter.fr/justice/meeting-d-eric-zemmour-un-deuxieme-membre-du-groupuscule-d-extreme-droite-zouaves-paris-interpelle).



Finally, the National-Revolutionary scene has found common ground with at least one Catholic fundamentalist movement, *Academia Christiana* [Christian Academics].<sup>228</sup> The latter was founded by Julien Langella, initially with *Les Identitaires*, who has succeeded in building a unique movement uniting activists from across the radical right, including even some Catholic priests, in a strange mix of pro-life, anti-Immigration, and reactionary ideas. The latter even includes a taste for violence, not least as the group's motto is "Fight, Fight and Pray".



## Pagan Symbols

Pagan symbols are used in very different contexts. They can belong to a harmless world of fantasy, heathen groups with no political purpose and the goal of a new religious movement worshipping nature and ancient Gods. Pagans often use runes, for example, which otherwise have been hijacked by movements promoting neo-Nazism, white supremacy, or an aggressive, racist and antisemitic brand of paganism. The latter, both in France and beyond, contends that Christianity is a "Semitic" religion, alien to the culture of Europe, which they believe must be eradicated from Europe no less than Islam. The French radical right makes much less use of these heathen symbols than their German or Scandinavian counterparts, but nevertheless a few symbols, when found, must be read within the broader context of the written text that accompanies them to determine if they are associated with the radical right.

<sup>228</sup> See [www.academiachristiana.org/intervenants](http://www.academiachristiana.org/intervenants).

The Algiz rune, or “Rune of Life”, may be found in an obituary, together with the “Rune of Death” (an inverted Algiz rune), to suggest that the deceased held neo-Nazi views. Such was the custom, for example, for fallen soldiers of the Waffen SS during World War Two. Similarly, the Odal Rune, which in the US is now employed by the National Socialist Movement (NSM) in place of the Swastika, has been recently spotted as a tattoo on the arm of activists from Les Zouaves.<sup>229</sup> At the same time, both runes and other pagan symbols are part of the repertoire of the Nouvelle Droite in its attempts to intellectually revive pre-Christian cultures in Europe. Many such symbols can be found on the website of “Institut Iliade [Iliad Institute]”.<sup>230</sup> This appropriation of Homer’s epic poem is now the main think-tank of France’s New Right, containing a publishing house, bookshop in the heart of Paris, and annual convention that draws a crowd of over 1,000.<sup>231</sup>



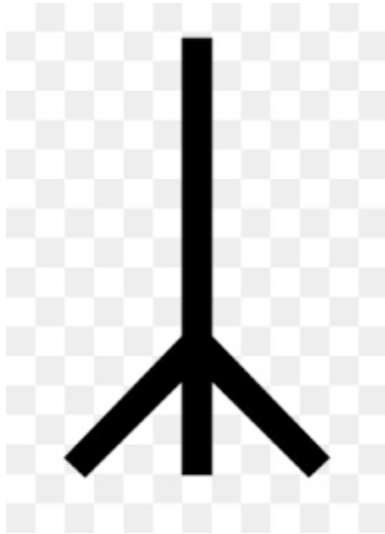
Rune of Life

<sup>229</sup> See [www.tf1.fr/tmc/quotidien-avec-yann-barthes/videos/zoom-la-rune-dodal-symbole-recupere-par-les-nazis-a-la-marche-anti-pma-42890962.html](http://www.tf1.fr/tmc/quotidien-avec-yann-barthes/videos/zoom-la-rune-dodal-symbole-recupere-par-les-nazis-a-la-marche-anti-pma-42890962.html).

<sup>230</sup> See <https://boutique.institut-iliade.com/categorie/collection-iliade/>.

<sup>231</sup> See <https://nouvelle-librairie.com>.





Rune of Death



Odal Rune

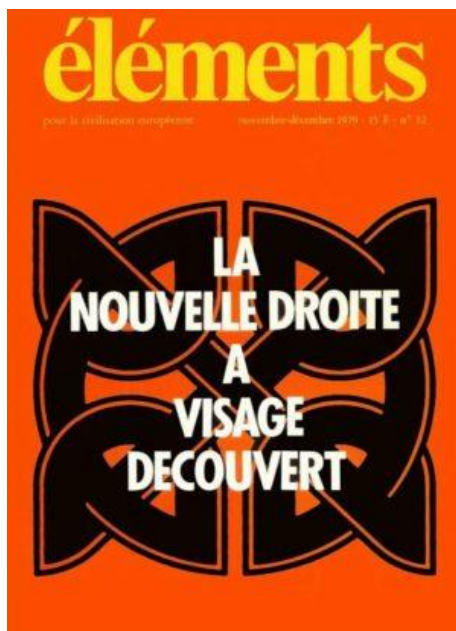
Another rune (called Sowilo, the Symbol of the sun) is currently in use as the symbol of the “Communauté Les Braves [The Brave Community, or The Braves]”. “The Braves” are an ethno-Nationalist group of some significance led by Daniel Conversano. *Les Braves* are almost solely visible online, despite having local branches with real-life activity, but as this suggests the group is quite secretive about their activities. One of its peculiarities is that Conversano, who lives in Romania, encourages activists to emigrate to Eastern Europe in order to leave multicultural societies and to join supposedly “homogenous” white Christian populations.



Runes are also used as symbols by the neo-Pagan *Nouvelle Droite*, whose leading intellectual figure is Alain de Benoist. de Benoist's main organization is GRECE, *Groupeement de recherche et d'études pour la civilisation européenne*, founded in 1968 as heir to the German Conservative Revolution between the wars. GRECE clearly belongs to the radical right, but it is not a neo-Nazi group. GRECE uses several pagan symbols as a reminder of the heathen roots of European culture. The movement dates this to the Indo-European peoples from around 7,000 B.C., who are purported to be the direct ancestors to most peoples in contemporary Europe. Those symbols include the Jul Tower, used to celebrate the Winter solstice; a fire lit on the Summer Solstice; the Celtic Triskele; the Full Sun, a symbol of Sol Invictus; and the labyrinth, also a historic pagan symbol. Hybrid use of these symbols, such as a fire and a Celtic Cross, has occasionally been used.



The Jul Tower, as used by GRECE



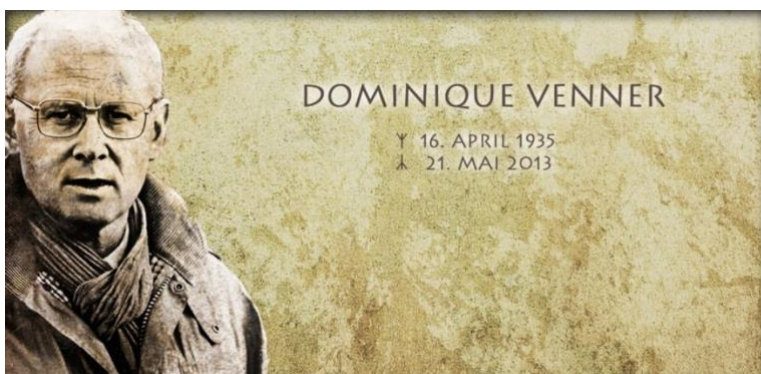


Several individuals who played a key role in GRECE's activities have attained such a status that their image has become symbolic. One of these is Jean Mabire (1927-2006), author of numerous books on the topics of paganism and the Waffen-SS. The other, and by far the more revered, is Dominique Venner (1935-2013). Venner was the leader of *Jeune Nation* and Europe Action, and an historian and essayist who became an icon for the French radical right when he committed suicide in Notre Dame cathedral. Venner "martyred" himself as a kind of call to Europeans so that their civilisation does not die because of the "Great Replacement" (the Anglophone title of the book by Renaud Camus, published in 2011 as *Le Grand Remplacement*).



Jean Mabire

Dominique Venner (note the "Life" and "Death" Runes which are used to indicate his years of birth and death).



## Neo-Nazi Symbols

Neo-Nazi groups in France are relatively rare. Indicatively, the number of neo-Nazi skinheads has steadily declined from a high of 1,000 activists in the 1990s to a mere few hundred today. Neo-Nazi parties, the most important of which was the *Parti Nationaliste français et européen* (PNFE), which disbanded in the early 2000s, have not been replaced. The skinhead neo-Nazi scene, on the other hand, is divided between two rival groups: Blood & Honour and the Hammerskins.<sup>232</sup> Only the Blood & Honour Hexagone Division has been banned in France as of 2019, while other French divisions, such as Blood & Honour Midgard, have not. The symbol of B&H – the *totenkampf* used by SS – is almost identical from one branch to another: the notorious skull emblem can be added, sometimes alongside a Third Reich Eagle. The Charlemagne Hammerskins, a branch of the U.S. movement, are named after the French Waffen SS Division, which fought in Berlin until 8 May 1945.<sup>233</sup> Their symbol is two crossed hammers. RAC [Rock against Communism] music concerts and Mixed-Martial Arts fights – often organized in small villages close to the German border or at least in a place to which foreign guests can easily travel – are now the two main activities and sources of income of both groups.<sup>234</sup> By contrast, a recent change on the neo-Nazi scene is that, in addition to RAC concerts, a number of activists, including from the banned *Bastion social* (see above) stage NSBM (National Socialist Black Metal) events.<sup>235</sup> This appears to be particularly concentrated in the Lyon area. The most important such event is the annual “Call of Terror” concert, whose poster directly draws upon Nazi symbols, such as the patch of the LVF (see above). “Call of Terror” often features two bands whose name refer to, respectively, the Waffen SS Division Leibstandarte, and the viciously antisemitic Nazi newspaper published by Julius Streicher, *Der Stürmer*.



Blood and Honour banner

<sup>232</sup> See [www.lefigaro.fr/flash-actu/proces-en-vue-pour-trois-dirigeants-et-un-sympathisant-d-un-groupuscule-neo-nazi-20191001](http://www.lefigaro.fr/flash-actu/proces-en-vue-pour-trois-dirigeants-et-un-sympathisant-d-un-groupuscule-neo-nazi-20191001).

<sup>233</sup> After the defeat of the Axis, when veterans of the Waffen SS decided to launch the German-based *Hilfsgemeinschaft auf Gegenseitigkeit der ehemaligen Angehörigen der Waffen-SS e.V* (HIAG), foreign fighters were also admitted. Over time and following the death of many World War Two veterans, small sections like that in France needed to merge with veterans from other units. As a consequence, the French militants from the 33rd Division Charlemagne joined those from Germany's 18th Division Horst Wessel. The reunion is known as *Truppenkameradschaft 18/33*, which now acts independently from the disbanded HIAG. The symbol 18/33 is therefore a code for neo-Nazis, sometimes used as a tattoo.

<sup>234</sup> See, for example, [www.leparisien.fr/societe/lorraine-1500-neo-nazis-europeens-ont-fait-tranquillement-la-fete-samedi-soir-08-11-2012-2304101.php](http://www.leparisien.fr/societe/lorraine-1500-neo-nazis-europeens-ont-fait-tranquillement-la-fete-samedi-soir-08-11-2012-2304101.php).

<sup>235</sup> See [www.rue89lyon.fr/2019/02/07/dans-la-region-lyonnaise-un-enieme-concert-de-black-metal-neonazi/](http://www.rue89lyon.fr/2019/02/07/dans-la-region-lyonnaise-un-enieme-concert-de-black-metal-neonazi/).





Skull Symbol



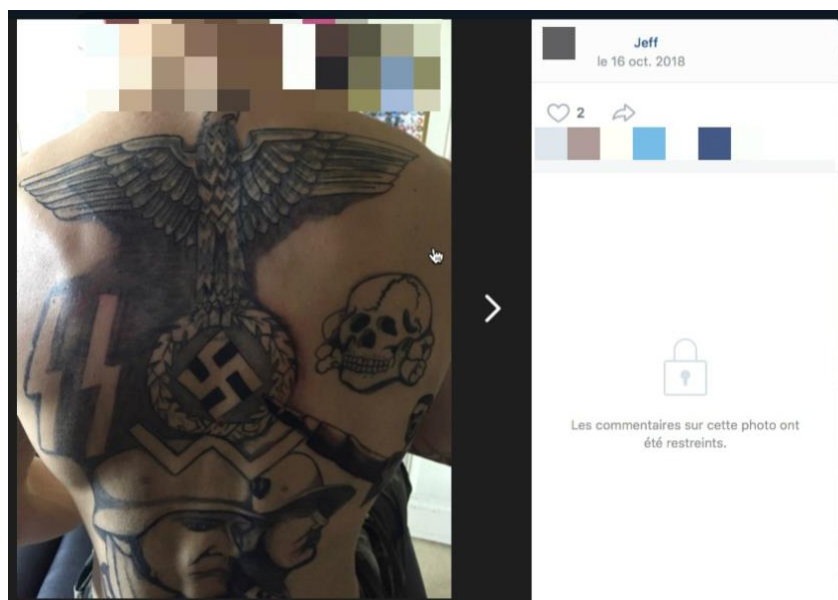
Blood & Honour Hexagone



Charlemagne Hammerskins



By contrast, usual Nazi symbols such as the swastika are rarely used on the fascist scene, due to legislation in France. An exception is the Holocaust denial website *Der Stürmer*, which may well emanate from Vincent Reynouard, a neo-Nazi active with Holocaust denial since the 1990s and who is now on the run in the UK.<sup>236</sup> That does not mean however, that the swastika is not used by French neo-Nazis: although not displayed in public places, nor in demonstrations, it can be found on individuals active on Facebook, Twitter or other social media; for example; in pictures of their tattoos.<sup>237</sup>



An increasing faction of neo-Nazis have a taste for esotericism, those post-1945 pro-Nazi authors who have written at length about the “Occult roots of Nazism”, such as Savitri Devi, Miguel Serrano and Wilhelm Landig. While these “Occult roots” have been assessed by academics (above all Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke)<sup>238</sup>, Devi, Serrano and others claim that true National Socialism lies in the *Thule Gessellschaft* and other esoteric völkisch movements. Contemporary adherents of such an interpretation – who often believe Hitler escaped from Berlin in 1945 and formed some kind of a secret base for Nazism in the southernmost corners of South America – principally use two symbols. The first is that of the *Thule Gessellschaft*, which is a Swastika in a circle; while the second is the notorious Black Sun, first adorning the

<sup>236</sup> See [www.der-stuermer.org/french/Les\\_videos\\_de\\_Vincent\\_Reynouard.htm](http://www.der-stuermer.org/french/Les_videos_de_Vincent_Reynouard.htm).

<sup>237</sup> See [www.slate.fr/story/184116/portrait-dernier-ne-mouvance-skinhead-division-nationaliste-revolutionnaire](http://www.slate.fr/story/184116/portrait-dernier-ne-mouvance-skinhead-division-nationaliste-revolutionnaire).

<sup>238</sup> See Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *Black Sun: Aryan Cults, Esoteric Nazism, and the Politics of Identity* (NYU Press, New York: 2003).

Wewelsburg Castle in Germany, which acted as Himmler's headquarters in the Third Reich.<sup>239</sup> Those symbols are widely used on French social media by fringe groups who seem to exist largely online. This includes groups like the *Sororité aryenne* [Aryan Sorority], a Nazi-Feminist group which attracted quite a following after its blog was discovered to host pornographic BDSM content.<sup>240</sup>



Black Sun

## Additional signs and symbols

There are a few groups which do not fit into the previous categories. One of the most widely known is Alain Soral's (psued. Alain Bonnet) *Egalité et Réconciliation*, a widely read website with inflammatory Holocaust denying and so-called "anti-Zionist" content (see below for the use of "anti-Zionist" as a code word). *Egalité et Réconciliation* [E&R] is an established political movement in France, whose guru, the Franco-Swiss Soral, stood for election to the European

<sup>239</sup> Himmler is usually identified as the key figure within the Nazi Party apparatus who was the closest to esotericists such as the Thule Gessellschaft.

<sup>240</sup> See <https://aryansisterhood.wordpress.com/author/freyavonsgard/>. Another website using the same symbols is online at: <https://caroleravereaud.wordpress.com/2017/08/26/810/>.

Parliament in 2012.<sup>241</sup> He stood alongside fellow anti-Semites, Dieudonné M'Bala M'Bala, who has been convicted multiple times in multiple countries for hate speech and Holocaust “negationism”. Unusually for the radical right, E&R actively supports Islamist movements such as Hamas and Hizbullah and regimes (Iran) which call for the elimination of the State of Israel. Any positive mention of Soral or Dieudonné means that the content is potentially offensive and may be linked to the radical right.



### **Front national / Rassemblement national [National Front / National Rally]**

As a reminder, the former Front national (FN), whose name was changed in 2018 into Rassemblement national (RN) is a legal political party. Many political scientists label them “extreme right”, “far right” or radical right. It is not engaged in unlawful activity; does not advocate the use of violence; and although it advocates a halt to immigration, is much less extreme than it used to be under Jean-Marie Le Pen (chairman from 1972 until 2011). Until a decade ago, all sub-families of the radical right were represented within the party apparatus, including neo-Nazis (until 1981-82) and Holocaust deniers (until the 1990s). The logo for both parties is virtually identical, and it is protected from use by rival movements in intellectual property rights under French law. However, it may happen that they can be hijacked by individuals who are nostalgic for the former leader.

<sup>241</sup> See [www.francetvinfo.fr/politique/une-liste-anti-sioniste-deposee-aux-europeennes\\_1631881.html](http://www.francetvinfo.fr/politique/une-liste-anti-sioniste-deposee-aux-europeennes_1631881.html).



Yet at the same time, individuals who are affiliated with the party use the official logo on social media, and post content that may be offensive and even illegal, including racist, antisemitic, or anti-LGBT content. When such an individual acts in an official capacity within the party – especially as a candidate to any French election – s/he is usually suspended or fired by national headquarters, provided that the offensive content has become public. At present, there is no party on the radical right whose symbol tries to replicate or imitate that of FN/RN. The small rival group *Les Patriotes*, led by the onetime FN Vice President Florian Philippot, who is very active in the anti-vaccination movement, is, strictly speaking, a symbol of the Republic, the “Marianne”. The *Parti de la France*, another splinter group from FN (2009), which is more overtly oriented towards white supremacy and supports Eric Zemmour’s 2022 presidential bid, has also adopted a strictly “neutral” logo that resembles a map of France.





## Language: Codes, Acronyms and Key Phrases

The use of alphanumeric codes and acronyms is much used by the radical right in France much less than in the United States and in Germany, since there are a limited number of neo-Nazi activists. In France as in other countries, neo-Nazi activists tend to use codes and acronyms to avoid prosecution. By contrast, with the rise of the Identitarian movement, but also that of a populist, nativist and anti-immigration radical right, embodied in both Marine Le Pen's Rassemblement national<sup>242</sup> and Eric Zemmour's *Reconquête* party<sup>243</sup>, the use of euphemism in anti-Islam and anti-Immigration rhetoric is on the rise.

David Lane's "Fourteen Words", as well as the combination of 14/88, to refer both to Lane's notorious motto ("We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children) and Heil Hitler ("H.H." translates to 88 when using alphanumeric codes) can be found on French social media and these alphanumeric numbers may appear as tattoos on individuals who belong to the Neo-Nazi or Violent Bikers' scene<sup>244</sup>. However, the most striking numerical codes in use today are those referring to French history. One of these is 732, the year when Charles Martel defeated the Saracens near the city of Poitiers. Proof that this date is used by the radical right comes, for example, via the t-shirts sold by *Patriote Productions*, allegedly the main white nationalist vender of clothes and CDs aimed at the French militant scene.<sup>245</sup> Their catalogue also features t-shirts with the words "Lépante 1571", referring to the naval battle of Lepanto when the coalition of forces, formed at the request of Pope Pius V, defeated the Ottoman navy and put a temporary halt to the Ottoman Empire's attempts to conquer territories in Europe. Other dates in much more recent history are also used as codes. This is the case of 6 February 1934, date of an aborted coup stages by interwar fascist groups against the French Republic. 6 February is still a day of commemoration for royalists from Action française as well as more extreme neo-Fascists.<sup>246</sup> Many such commemorations also pay tribute to Robert Brasillach (1909-1945), a collaborationist poet, journalist and novelist who was executed by a firing squad on 6 February 1945. Brasillach has become an icon for those who venerate France's wartime collaboration with Nazism, not least due to his young age and widely respected talent as a writer.

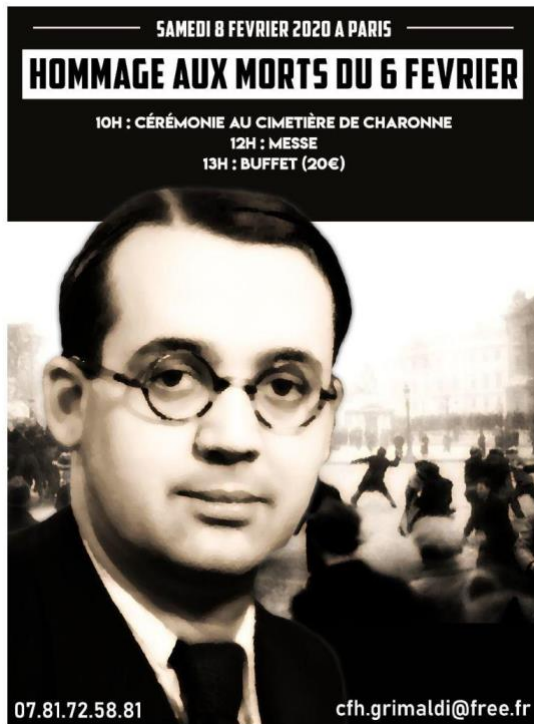
<sup>242</sup> See <https://rassemblementnational.fr/>.

<sup>243</sup> See the group's official website and logo at [www.parti-reconquete.fr/](http://www.parti-reconquete.fr/)

<sup>244</sup> The French chapter of the Gremium MC Club is headed by former *Troisième Voie* leader Serge Ayoub, and includes individuals who have followed him since the group's 2013 ban; see: [www.streetpress.com/sujet/1637602672-reglement-comptes-bikers-neonazis-serge-ayoub-extreme-droite-crime-organise](http://www.streetpress.com/sujet/1637602672-reglement-comptes-bikers-neonazis-serge-ayoub-extreme-droite-crime-organise)). In the city of Besançon, the former leaders of the banned group Blood & Honour have launched a chapter of the Bandidos MC Club; see [www.streetpress.com/sujet/1640009244-bikers-neonazis-gand-motards-crime-organise-besancon-freres-bettoni-extreme-droite](http://www.streetpress.com/sujet/1640009244-bikers-neonazis-gand-motards-crime-organise-besancon-freres-bettoni-extreme-droite)).

<sup>245</sup> See <https://fr-fr.facebook.com/PatrioteProd/>.

<sup>246</sup> See [www.facebook.com/commemoration6fevrier/](http://www.facebook.com/commemoration6fevrier/); This annual commemoration is set up by Yvan Benedetti, together with *Jeune nation* and *Les Nationalistes*.



Other significant dates include 21 January, which marks the anniversary of the beheading of King Louis XVI in 1793, and is still commemorated by radical-right royalists; Joan of Arc's birthday on 9 May, when the radical right pays tribute to Saint Jeanne d'Arc with a march in Paris. On the same day, fascists also pay a tribute to Sébastien Deyzieu, a 22-years-old radical-right activist who, in 1994, died after trying to escape the police while attending a banned street demonstration. The tribute is organised under the aegis of the "Comité du 9 Mai [9th of May Committee]".



## Key Phrases

The use of key phrases or code words which originate in the subculture of the U.S. radical right is most frequent among the skinheads, neo-Nazis and the most extreme National-Revolutionaries. This extends to mention of ZOG, “White Power”; “Good Night, Left Side” and even “RAHOWA”. These were first imported in the 1990s by French neo-Nazi skinheads who lived in the U.S. for some time and became acquainted with the Church of the Creator (COTC) or the Hammerskins Nation. The use of those codes, however, is limited in France.<sup>247</sup> Nonetheless, there are French words and sentences with almost the same meaning. The weekly magazine *Rivarol*,<sup>248</sup> for example, has been on newsstands since 1951 and spreads Holocaust denial associated with the Catholic fundamentalist position Sedevacantism. *Rivarol* also publishes at length about the “influence sioniste” [Zionist Influence]; “lobby sioniste [Zionist Lobby]”, and, in a sophisticated attempt to escape prosecution, now refers to the Jewish Community as “la communauté qui n’existe pas” [the community that does not exist]. The latter phrase suggests that the country is ruled by a minority whose name one does not dare mention, for fear of being persecuted.

Mottos and slogans taken from the history of the radical right are also used. Royalists still shout “Vive le Roi [Long live the King]”, while Vichy’s infamous motto of “Travail, Famille, Patrie [Work Family, Fatherland]” is still popular. This was also the motto of the daily nationalist newspaper *Présent* from in 1980 and it can still be found on social media groups praising the legacy of Pétain, such as *Association pour défendre la mémoire du maréchal Pétain* (ADMP).<sup>249</sup>

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the French radical right is now totally focused on the rejection of Islam and Immigration. The concept of *Grand remplacement* [Great Replacement], born in 2010 from the pen of novelist Renaud Camus (who also wrote an eponymous book in 2011), started as an idea which in France appealed only to the Identitarian movement and the radical right. Yet thereafter, the ideas were endorsed by Anders Breivik, the 2017 Charlottesville rioters (“You will not replace us”) and most explicitly in Brenton Tarrant’s terrorist manifesto. Only with the candidacy of Eric Zemmour to the Presidency did it become an “acceptable” topic for public debate for mainstream right politicians and pundits. The concept of *Grand remplacement* is simple: it pretends that the “native” French population has become a minority in its own country, due to waves of immigration from the Maghreb and West Africa following 1962, when Algeria became an independent country. The racist suggestion is that France is now “islamisée” (translating loosely as “taken over by Muslims”) and that Islamisation has reached a point of no return. Unless, that is, non-European

<sup>247</sup> In 2018, the word ZOG was discovered on a Jewish grave at the Herrlisheim cemetery, in Alsace, alongside the desecration of graves had been desecrated; see [www.conspiracywatch.info/zog](http://www.conspiracywatch.info/zog).

<sup>248</sup> See <https://rivarol.com/>.

<sup>249</sup> See [www.facebook.com/assoadmp/?hc\\_ref=ARQa5Lhlaf4yayoa6ZQNuNJVwl-4toKU78E7FhsS\\_mL4ri25a1\\_ox3utmlLoNDTvZmqw&fref=nf&\\_tn=kC-R](https://www.facebook.com/assoadmp/?hc_ref=ARQa5Lhlaf4yayoa6ZQNuNJVwl-4toKU78E7FhsS_mL4ri25a1_ox3utmlLoNDTvZmqw&fref=nf&_tn=kC-R).

immigrants go back to their “native country” by way of compulsory repatriation, in French: *remigration*. The name of Zemmour’s party, *Reconquête*, is also a word close to that of Reconquista (referring to the reconquest of Spanish land which had fallen under Ottoman rule in the Middle Ages). This strongly implies that the ideas of Great Replacement and repatriation will remain hot topics during the months to come. The polarisation of French society along ethnic lines, with Muslims being the main target of racism, also means that the radical right has had to invent code words and phrases to disseminate these ideas. One such word is “français de souche”, which stands for “native Frenchman with no immigrant background”. One of the most popular websites among the radical right bears this name, often abbreviated into FDS.<sup>250</sup> Phrases such as “la France aux français” and “On est chez nous!” [“France for the French!” and “This is our land!”] can be heard during radical right meetings (the later slogan is used by RN as well). The term “guerre civile”, which stands for civil war, is slowly making its way into the radical right. This is especially so after the late Identitarian ideologue, Guillaume Faye (1949-2019), wrote his book *Guerre civile raciale* (2019; and published shortly after his death by Daniel Conversano), with a foreword by the American white nationalist, Jared Taylor.<sup>251</sup> Although the advent of such a war remains a very remote possibility, the French intelligence community is taking seriously the threat of attacks staged by radical-right militants.

---

<sup>250</sup> See [www.fdesouche.com/](http://www.fdesouche.com/).

<sup>251</sup> See, for example, [www.akribieia.fr/multiculturalisme/2112-guerre-civile-raciale.html](http://www.akribieia.fr/multiculturalisme/2112-guerre-civile-raciale.html).



## Report Authors

**Dr Valerio Alfonso Bruno** is a specialist on the Italian Radical Right and a Senior Fellow at the Centre for Analysis of the Radical Right (CARR). He has published widely in the academic and popular press, and contributed to the *2021 State of Hate on Far-Right Extremism*, published by HOPE not Hate, Amadeu Antonio Stiftung and EXPO Stiftung.

**Dr Tobias Hof** lectures at the Ludwig-Maximilians-University in Munich and researches the history of radical-right terrorism. He received several fellowships from including the German Academic Exchange Service, the Volkswagen Foundation, the German Historical Institute, and the Gerda Henkel Foundation, and has published widely in both academic and popular presses.

**Maximilian Kreter** studied political science, sociology and history in Frankfurt/Main and Turku from 2008 to 2015. Since 2016, he is a PhD candidate at the Hannah Arendt Institute for Totalitarianism Studies, where he was involved in the project "Right-Wing Hate Crimes in Saxony" from 2017 to 2018. Since 2020 he is part of the public relations department at the Hannah Arendt Institute for Totalitarianism Studies.

**Dr Jean-Yves Camus** is a specialist on the French radical right, and has published widely on extremist groups since the early 1980s. He is the Director of the Observatoire des radicalités politiques at the Fondation Jean Jaurès, and a Senior Fellow at CARR. He has authored reports for the Council of Europe, the French Commission nationale and other French or European bodies.

Edited and presented by **Professor Matthew Feldman & Dr David Tucker** of Academic Consulting Services Ltd.

Academic Consulting Services Ltd.  
[www.academicconsulting.co.uk](http://www.academicconsulting.co.uk)

---



Academic  
Consulting  
Services Ltd.