

THE POWER OF SYMBOLS IN VISUAL PROPAGANDA

THE MEANING BEHIND POLITICAL LOGOS AND FLAGS



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ABSTRACT

Symbols are tools in the field of visual communication through which information can be disseminated. They convey ideas and beliefs, and through repetition they can come to serve as a logo for a brand. This research aims to identify the power of symbols in visual propaganda through analyzing political logos and flags.

Political symbols ranging from the far left to the far right are compiled and analyzed in a historical and visual manner. The red star, the hammer and sickle, the cogwheel, the clenched fist, the circle-A, and the cross are some of the symbols under analysis.

Their appearances in history are traced from first known appearances to contemporary representations and they are discussed together with their developments, connotations, meanings, and uses. The theoretical part is supplemented by a project, in which the symbols are dissected so that graphical components and colors are presented and elucidated.

This research shows that symbols can be employed to signify a political objective. It also demonstrates that shapes, colors, and context determine the understanding and connotations of a symbol.

KEYWORDS

political symbols; propaganda; communication design

RESUMO

Os símbolos são ferramentas no campo da comunicação visual para a disseminação de informação. Estes têm o potencial de transmitir ideias e crenças, e através da sua repetição podem funcionar como um logotipo para uma marca. Esta pesquisa tem como objetivo identificar o poder dos símbolos enquanto propaganda através da análise de lótipos e bandeiras políticos.

A investigação inclui símbolos políticos que da extrema esquerda à extrema direita com ênfase na estrela vermelha, a foice e o martelo, a roda dentada, o punho cerrado, o círculo-A, e a cruz.

As suas histórias são traçadas desde as primeiras aparições conhecidas até representações contemporâneas, discutidas em conjunto com os seus desenvolvimentos, conotações, significados e usos. A parte teórica é complementada por um projeto prático, no qual os símbolos são analisados através da desconstrução dos seus componentes gráficos e cores.

Esta pesquisa mostra que os símbolos podem ser utilizados para expressar um objectivo político. Também demonstra que formas, cores, e o seu contexto determina a compreensão e conotação de um símbolo.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

símbolos políticos; propaganda; design de comunicação

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INTRODUCTION

Propaganda has been practiced since the existence of human history. This form of communication disseminates ideas with the help of signs and symbols. Studying the role of symbols within the field of visual propaganda could help us understand how powerful a symbol can be. Symbols can indicate the idea that lies behind an entity, whether it is a corporation or a social or political entity. When used repeatedly, they can help to create recognition or they can even function as a logo for a brand. Take the swastika as an example, the symbol that is “executed through an impressive Nazi design system, has become one of the most recognizable, emotionally loaded images of the 20th century”, says Nooney (2006, p. 1). This symbol still has influence today, seeing that it is widely acknowledged and used — often in an altered or simplified way — by different political entities and hate groups.

This research combined the field of politics and communication design, since it focussed on the power of symbols in the field of visual propaganda. This research put emphasis on contemporary political symbols, with the aim of creating a better understanding towards their meaning and significance.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The swastika is a well-known example that has been researched and analyzed throughout several studies. Steven Heller wrote the book *The swastika and symbols of hate: Extremist iconography today* (2019), in which he discusses how the swastika became interchangeable with the Nazi regime. The first part of the book describes how the Nazis appropriated the symbol and the second part of the book reviews hate symbols of more contemporary groups. A source dedicated in full to the swastika is *The swastika: Constructing the symbol* (1994), in which Malcolm Quinn treats the swastika as a symbolic phenomenon in a cultural context. However, other political symbols like the raised fist and the red star have not been subjected to similar scrutiny. This study aimed to analyze various familiar political symbols, so their developments and meanings could be compared. For this reason, the subject of this research can be a relevant addition to existing studies.

A qualitative research was conducted by which a collection of diverse political symbols was created. Subsequently, this collection was revised and restructured so that different case studies could be conducted.

The parameters for the first collection of data were fairly unrestricted, since defining the collection was part of the research itself. The symbols were collected based on their political ideology

and their familiar visual aspects. The aim was to create an extensive collection so that differences and similarities between the symbols could be investigated. This was done in the form of an Excel sheet, so that it was easy to get an overview of the different components.

The collected data was converted into a visual system after a sufficient number of symbols was collected. The symbols were printed with their most eminent key words and accordingly they were organized based on different principles. This was done inspired by the LATCH theory, which was coined by Richard Saul Wurman as an organization method. Wurman (2000/2001) says that information may be infinite, whereas ways to structure it is not. He claims that information “can only be done according to location, alphabet, time, category, or hierarchy” — accumulating the LATCH theory (p. 2). By organizing information differently, information will be understood from a different point of view. This process resulted in a more specified — but smaller — collection, whereby the collection was based on the visual aspects of the data.

The entities were grouped by their symbols, which resulted in the formation of five eminent categories. Case studies were developed around these five symbols; being the red star, the hammer and sickle (and the cogwheel), the clenched fist, the circle-A, and the cross.

The theory of semiotics was used to conduct the case studies. “A science that studies the life of signs within society” is what Ferdinand de Saussure (1959/2011, p. 16) termed semiology. He breaks down a sign into a signifier (linguistic or material form) and a signified (concept). Thus the sign being the relation between the two. Take as an example a ‘book’, the word itself (signifier) gives meaning to what it is (signified). Humans created the link between the signifier and signified, as the literal form and expressed meaning of a book are truly unrelated. The same signifier can also stand for another signified. The color red can represent blood, but it can also represent revolution. Saussure was mainly focussed on a linguistic model. His study got adopted and advanced into a more materialistic concept.

Roland Barthes advanced the linguistic model of Saussure by applying his terminology within culture. Barthes (1964/1986) sees language as “a social institution and a system of values” (p. 14). He exemplifies that language is something that we learn and that it shapes the way we understand things. The individual cannot create or modify a language since it is a collective system. Barthes (1964/1986) states that culture and society play a role in semiology, which he incorporates into his theory based on connotation and denotation.

Barthes (1964/1986) bases his two-segmented theory on the connotative semiotics theory of Hjelmslev, which suggests that “the

first system is then the plane of denotation and the second system (wider than the first) the plane of connotation” (p. 89). Denotation (the first system) is based on the primary or literal meaning of a piece of communication, while connotation (the second system) is based on the secondary meaning(s) of a piece of communication. Noble and Bestley (2016/2018) put it in other words by saying that denotation is the object and connotation is what the object means. They add that denotation stands at the most basic level of communication and connotation is influenced by meanings, interpretations, qualities and impressions of the receiver. This means that signs and symbols could be perceived differently according to the audience.

The concepts of signifier, signified, connotation and denotation have been used to analyze the entities. These concepts were applied to the symbols and their developments through time.

The theoretical analysis was supplemented by a graphical analysis of the discussed symbols. This was done through creating a project in the form of a catalog, whereby the symbols are organized again according to numerous rules. The main part of the book is organized alphabetically, whereby the components and colors of the symbols are subtracted. This gives insight into connotations of certain shapes and colors. Additionally, the symbols are organized through their graphical components, ideology, timeline and geography. Therefore, the symbols could be analyzed through different attitudes.

EVALUATION AND JUSTIFICATION

These particular methods were implemented, so that the symbols served as the leitmotif throughout the research. This method applies to communication design as the field of study. Structuring the research around the symbols defends that symbols are powerful propaganda tools that create acknowledgement with time. However, this means that the research only incorporates entities that fit the chosen visual aspects, leaving out connected entities that are relevant for ideological developments. On the other hand, the chosen methods in this research show that a symbol is not undeniably connected to an ideology.

Other widely known symbols are left out by choosing to discuss a selection of eminent symbols in the case studies. Researching a larger number of symbols would have resulted in a general overview of political symbols and their developments. Yet, in this case this research would rather serve as a starting point of a database, as it would not be possible to go in detail. For this reason

the case studies were carried out for five eminent symbols, whereby their developments could be discussed together with the connotations, meanings, and uses of the symbols.

STRUCTURE

The dissertation starts by contextualizing the value of the study. The definition of propaganda is explained and followed by propaganda examples through time. The importance of symbols as a propaganda tool are emphasized through different mediums. Subsequently, the first data collection is explained, analyzed and revised with the help of several visual organizations. Subsequently, theoretical case studies are conducted from a selection of five eminent political symbols. This is followed up by a graphical analysis of the chosen symbols, which are presented in the form of a catalog. As a final point, results will be discussed and concluded.

CHAPTER 1.

CONTEXTUALIZATION

1.1. WHAT IS PROPAGANDA?

Propaganda is not something new. It has been practiced since societies had common knowledge and a sense of common interests (American Historical Association, 2020). However, the word propaganda itself came into common use after 1622 (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1986/2015). This was when Vatican established the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, meaning the sacred congregation for propagating the faith of the Roman Catholic Church. Monsignor Timothy Verdon (in Poulos et al., 2019) explains that the English word for propaganda originates in the Latin language: “the sense of the original Latin term is to plant. The planting of ideas is used in the Catholic Church as a way of describing the process of evangelization. You plant or you seed the faith” (10:44).

Propaganda was used by the Catholic church to spread its faith in the 17th century, but it was during the 20th century that it became employed on an extensive scale (Welch, 2003b). Taylor (1990/2003) asserts that the British set the modern standard of the word when they used atrocity propaganda during World War I. He adds that this was enhanced further when regimes used propaganda as a tool to disseminate their ideas. Propaganda is mistrusted when it supports violence, as during times of war it is often particularly used to get people to join or support the fight (Taylor, 1990/2003).

Propaganda is currently defined by Oxford Learner's Dictionaries as “ideas or statements that may be false or exaggerated and that are used in order to gain support for a political leader, party, etc.” This form of communication could affect the opinion and behavioral change of the public, which could benefit the propagandist (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1986/2015). Moore (2010) describes it as an applied art, which can be experienced as repression under totalitarian regimes, whereas artists can employ it to freely express their objectives. Jowett and O'Donnell (1986/2015) explain how propagandists try to play with the public's perception:

Our language is based on a vast web of associations that enables us to interpret, judge, and conceptualize our perceptions. Propagandists understand that our constructed meanings are related to both our past understanding of language and images and the culture and context in which they appear. Perception is dependent on our attitudes toward issues and our feelings about them. (p. 9)

In essence, propagandists deliberately try influencing one's opinion or behavior by communicating with certain signs and symbols. This form of dissemination can be practiced through all kinds of mediums, like radio, television, speech, and digital or printed outputs. These propaganda mediums and their developments are

1.2. PROPAGANDA THROUGH TIME

connected with certain periods in history. Several examples of propaganda through time will accordingly be discussed so that the reader can come to understand the role of propaganda, and particularly symbols, within different contexts.



Fig 1 Hand stencils from the El Castillo cave. (Retrieved from <https://cuevas.culturadecantabria.com/el-castillo-2/>)



Fig 2 Ankh, Egyptian hieroglyph. (Retrieved from <https://www.judithlambertbooks.com/symbolist-view-egyptian-ankh/>)

PREHISTORY

Propaganda is as old as human history and it is not just something of the modern world. History shows people have been communicating in various visual ways long before there was a recognizable spoken language (Taylor, 1990/2003). One of the first propaganda pieces found were hand stencils from inside the El Castillo cave in Spain [Fig 1]. The hand stencil was probably the first symbolic piece of art we find representing something in the real world, says archeologist Alistair Pike in Poulos et al. (2019). He elaborates that the symbol was made by Neanderthals 65,000 years ago, who consciously chose the location and created about 40 similar stencils in the area, indicating that it was created to be seen by a bigger group of people. “This is the origin of symbolic culture. This is the origin of art and that plays a really important role in propaganda. Symbolic communication lies at the heart of propaganda” (Pike in Poulos et al., 2019, 04:14).

Anthropological and archeological research shows that visuals have always been vital for communication. Taylor (1990/2003) exemplifies: “primitive man communicated non-verbally via gestures and signals although sounds – cries and drum beats, for instance – were also important. Tribal man developed masks, war cries, and threatening gestures both to frighten his enemies and impress his friends” (p. 19). Despite the known samples and traces of symbolic communication, historians have little exact knowledge about the customs of our ancestors.

ANCIENT TIMES

During ancient times, eminent people already used techniques to propagate a message towards a crowd without modern production means. Jowett and O’Donnell (1986/2015) clarify:

While the ancient Egyptians developed no method of printing or other techniques of mass dissemination of their messages, nevertheless for nearly three millennia they exerted a tight psychological control over a large and geographically spread population. The rulers of Egypt demonstrated their understanding of the techniques of propaganda by using a sophisticated palette of intimidating images, particularly depicting the savage treatment of enemies, as well as a highly controlled set of widely recognized symbols to communicate and consolidate their power. (p. 59)

One of the most common symbols of ancient Egypt is the Ankh [Fig 2], which is an Egyptian hieroglyph representing life



Fig 3 Silver coinage. Front: head of Alexander the Great. Back: goddess Athena Alkidemos with shield and spear and an eagle in the corner. (The Trustees of the British Museum)

(Mark, 2016). The Ankh is a cross with a loop made from the blended male and female symbols of Osiris and Isis, symbolizing the union of heaven and earth (Cooper, 1978/2012). Mark (2016) states that it also symbolized immortality and the afterlife, which made it a potent symbol to be embraced by the fourth century Coptic Christians of Egypt. He adds that the symbol of Christ's everlasting life most probably gave root to the usage of the cross in the Christian faith of today.

Egyptian and Assyrian civilizations erected memorials as a propaganda medium, whose characteristics can be seen in use by different classical civilizations (Connelly, 2003). The Romans created memorials and monuments to mark victories and discoveries. They built arches, gates, and columns to showcase historic events, narratives, and the accomplishments of emperors and generals (Connelly, 2003). These symbolic remembrances came to represent the power of the state. Taylor (1990/2003) says that war was one of the main factors for the expansion of Roman power.

Alexander the Great created one of the first significant empires during ancient times, extending from Greece to India. He came to power at the age of 20 and never lost a battle (Moore, 2010). He was a prominent leader who could not be everywhere at the same time, but still wanted to be seen. Moore (in Poulos et al., 2019) subsequently explains how Alexander became present in another way. His people came up with the idea of creating statues, coins picturing his head, and other visual substitutes to show authority. This worked as a piece of visual propaganda, since "coinage was one of the few forms of mass communication available to indicate each person's relationship to the Roman emperor" (Culbert, 2003, p. 91). One side of the coin pictured the ruler while the other side of the coin portrayed a heraldic message associated with the state.

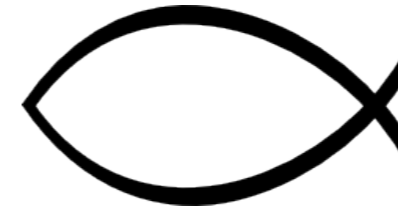


Fig 4 Ichthus.

One example of such a coin [Fig 3] shows Alexander the Great on one side, while the other side pictures goddess Athena Alkidemos holding a shield and spear with an eagle in the corner. Being the king of birds, the eagle is universally understood as a symbol of power and it is additionally often associated with celestial and solar symbolism, explain Dennis-Bryan et al. (2008). They add that the symbol represented eternal life in ancient Egypt and it was later adopted by different empires, including ancient Rome, Napoleonic France, Germany,¹ Russia, and Austria.

The life and legend of Alexander the Great reflected Roman ideals in such a way that he was widely admired by the Romans, among whom Julius Caesar (Moore, 2010). Moore (2010, p. 19) describes Caesar as "a great military commander, and a master propagandist with a natural talent for communication and self-promotion" whose support grew after every successful campaign. Caesar sympathized with his audience in different ways, for example by distributing food to the people in need or by handing out land and money to his veterans (Taylor, 1990/2003). This helped him keeping followers and gaining even more support. Caesar was succeeded by his great-nephew Octavian, who became the first emperor of Rome under the name Augustus after a civil war.

In the course of the Roman empire, a small religious cult established itself in the underclass while trying to spread Christian ideas throughout society. They identified god as the highest authority, thus above the leaders of the empire. Moore (2010) explains that the state forbid the Christians and so they were driven underground. The Christians gained more and more followers while the political and economical power of the Empire declined. According to Moore (2010), Christianity was not solely for the underclass anymore when it started spreading throughout every level of Roman society in the preceding third century. Constantine the Great was the first emperor to adopt Christianity in around 313 for a mix of political and personal reasons and it subsequently became the official religion of the Roman Empire (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1986/2015). The alliance between church and state made place for a new ideology that got communicated through several means to the public. Christians used emotion and image to spread their beliefs. The sign of a fish, two intersecting lines, was spread publicly by the Christians until the cross became their dominant symbol in the fourth century (Moore, 2010). The symbol of the fish [Fig 4] was not only easy to draw,

¹ The eagle as the national emblem of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) is discussed on p. 134.

but it also had mystical overtones in that it derived from an acronym for the Greek words for “Jesus Christ, Son of God, savior,” *ichthus*, which means “fish.” The theme of the fish was particularly suited to a religion that relied on recruitment, and the metaphor of the apostles as “fishers of men,” which many of them were in real life, was most appropriate. Initially used as a secret sign during the time when Christians were persecuted by the Roman authorities, the fish symbolized the mission of the group it represented and did so simply and effectively. As a result, it was found scrawled on walls, trees, in the dust, and any place where Christians wished to leave their mark to communicate their increasing numbers and strength to others. Even graffiti have a powerful propaganda value (Dondis, 1981). (Jowett & O’Donnell, 1986/2015, p. 71)

The legacy of Rome endured while the Roman empire collapsed in 476. The concept of glorifying Rome was according to Moore (2010) “created as much by the systematic manipulation of public opinion through art, entertainment, architecture and religion as it was by military might” (p. 23). The mark the Roman Empire left behind in history illustrates that dissemination through the previously mentioned mediums is so powerful that those techniques are still used as a propaganda tool today.

MIDDLE AGES

The most effective manipulation of history succeeded for religious reasons. “Of all the wars that have been fought in the name of religious faith, none have been so bloody or more protracted than the Christian Crusades of the Middle Ages” (Jowett & O’Donnell, 1986/2015, p. 72). A war period of 200 years (1095-1291) between Christendom and Islam for holy places in Jerusalem took place. The Crusades were often excuses from popes and monarchs to start a so to say ‘holy’ war, take as an example the people’s crusade:

Pope Urban II (c. 1035–1099), in a sermon given at Clermont in 1095, justified the war against Islam by claiming that the enemy had ravaged the churches of God in the Eastern provinces, circumcised Christian men, violated women, and carried out the most unspeakable torture before killing them. Urban’s sermon succeeded in mobilizing popular enthusiasm for the People’s Crusade. (Welch, 2003a, pp. 23-24)



Fig 5 Knight Templar around 1170. (Drawing by Wayne Reynolds, cut-out created)



Fig 6 Knight Hospitaller around 1230. (Drawing by Christa Hook, cut-out created)



Fig 7 Teutonic Knight during the 14th century. (Drawing by Graham Turner, cut-out created)

Hence, Urban II convinced the people they were in danger and he consequently made clear to the people that it was their duty to take vengeance towards the invading Turks (Moore, 2010). Violent acts like such were the start of what is called atrocity propaganda. Cartwright (2018b) explains that “European armies throughout the Crusades were a mix of heavily armoured knights, light cavalry, bowmen, crossbowmen, slingers, and regular infantry armed with spears, swords, axes, maces and any other weapon of choice” (para. 2). He adds that various military orders were established to defend Christian holy sites and pilgrims. The Knight Templars were set up in 1119 and they created a model that could be adopted by other military orders like the Teutonic Knights and the Knights Hospitaller (Cartwright, 2018a). They distinguished themselves by wearing uniforms with different colors and symbols; the Knight Templars wore a red cross on a white background [Fig 5], the Knights Hospitaller wore a white cross on a black background [Fig 6], and the Teutonic Knights wore a black cross on a white background [Fig 7] (Cartwright, 2018a).

Nevertheless, The Crusades ended poorly for the Europeans as they lost territorial gains, Jerusalem and Constantinople, and Islam gained possession again over the Holy Land (Moore, 2010).

EARLY MODERN PERIOD

The 16th century gave rise to the German Reformation, led and founded by Martin Luther, against corruption in the Catholic church. This accordingly led to separate Protestant churches. Cull (2003d) defines Martin Luther as

a gifted preacher and writer whose output included learned theological works and popular hymns. He was skilled in face-to-face debate and confronted his critics directly. He knew the value of a symbolic act, such as nailing his theses to the door or publicly burning a papal writ issued against him. (p. 234)

Martin Luther spread his publications easily to the mass because of the newly invented printing press. It became possible with this invention to multiply an image and the image consequently became a means of mass communication (Philippe, 1982). This is when political print came to rise. Moore (2010) explains that pamphlets were written in “the local German, and supplemented by woodcut illustrations from leading artists, they were easy to understand, entertaining and aggressively marketed” (p. 38). Martin Luther also created the first translation of the Bible, from the original Latin version to a more simplified German sample. This German Bible was the highest achievement of the Reformation (Jowett & O’Donnell, 1986/2015). This tactic of spreading understandable material for all classes on a broad scale made Martin Luther a great propagandist. Besides Martin Luther there were other activists, like John Calvin in Switzerland, who spread propaganda throughout Europe, this came to signify the Protestant Reformation (Jowett & O’Donnell, 1986/2015).

Subsequently, the Catholic Church did not let the Protestants spread their message without doing the same. The Counter-Reformation aimed to rebuild the Roman Catholic Church from within to become more accessible to the ordinary people (Moore, 2010). This is when Pope Gregory XV created the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome. “This was a commission of cardinals charged with spreading the faith and regulating church affairs in heathen lands. A College of Propaganda was set up under Pope Urban VIII to train priests for the missions” (American Historical Association 2020, para. 6). As stated in the previous chapter, this is when the term ‘propaganda’ became generally known in Europe. Moore (Poulos et al., 2019) explains that the Catholic church tried to create emotional appeal by communicating Christendom through all sorts of arts such as paintings, sculptures, architecture, and mu-



Fig 8 Sun king depicted on the golden gate at Versailles. (Château de Versailles, by Thomas Garnier, Retrieved from <https://presse.chateauversailles.fr/estate-news/pictures-of-the-palace-of-versailles/>)

sic. This art style which exaggerated emotions and illustrated drama became known as the Baroque.

Moore (2010) says that King Louis XIV of France employed the Baroque style as a propaganda medium to establish an absolute, centralized state in the monarchy. He adds that a myth of the king’s princely perfection was created, and the Palace of Versailles was turned into the biggest Baroque palace of Europe after the royal court moved there. The king adopted the sun as his personal emblem [Fig 8]. The sun is associated with Apollo, the god of peace and arts, and just like god, Louis XIV fought for peace and he additionally advocated arts (Château de Versailles, n.d.).

THE 18TH CENTURY

The 18th century was the age of revolution in the sense of politics, the efficiency of transport, and developments in paper and printing techniques. The opinion of the public grew, while the state simultaneously became aware of the ability to create censored information systems for the general people (Taylor, 1990/2003). The state used the press as a political instrument for manipulation.

This century gave rise to political and satirical cartoons. Philippe (1982) explains that caricature is a means of distortion by which prints became more popular and appealing to a wider public. He specifies: “A print is neither historic evocation nor narrative, but rather a conjunction of symbols and allusions. It enlarges, shrinks, or disguises people, to reveal their many facets at a glance” (p. 9). Some examples of great caricature artists were William Hogarth, Thomas Rowlandson, and James Gillray. Jowett and O’Donnell (1986/2015) pinpoint that all Gilray’s creations were ones of social or political satire, which came to circulate widely throughout Europe and even North America.

In one of his cartoons [Fig 9], Napoleon is baking gingerbread cakes of three kings while eliminated cakes have been brushed under the oven. The cakes represent different countries, take as an example the boot that is symbolizing (and inscribed with) Italy and the eagle that is symbolizing (and inscribed with) Austria. The dominance of France under Napoleon is shown through tricolor elements like Napoleon’s feathers, the ribbon on the broom of destruction, and the cap of Napoleon’s foreign minister Talleyrand.

Across the ocean, the American Revolution took place in Northern America between 1765 and 1783. The British attempt to maintain control of their colonies provoked criticism among the native Indians and so a conflict emerged (Moore, 2010). Propaganda pieces were created in the fight for independence by people like



Fig 9 Tiddy-doll, the great French-gingerbread-baker; drawing out a new batch of kings. Cartoon by James Gillray, 1805. (The Trustees of the British Museum)

Benjamin Franklin, who was one of the founding fathers of the United States of America, says Moore (2010). He adds that Franklin was seen as a polymath — being a journalist, scientist, and diplomat. He created a cartoon to illustrate the consequences if Britain would tax the colonies [Fig 10]. The woman symbolizes Britannica, who is seated next to the globe with amputated limbs and her spear and shield (containing the Britain flag) on the floor. Britannica on the floor shows that she could not keep balance anymore, the limbs represent the possible ruination of the colonies, and the fallen spear and shield containing the British flag signify Britain's defeat (Founders Online, 1969/n.d.).

Some years later, the French Revolution (1789-1799) ended the centuries-long monarchy of France and the first French Republic was established. The revolutionaries derived inspiration from the American Revolution in the attempt of establishing a new form of government (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1986/2015). The leaders of the revolution “mobilized all the available media— printed texts, visual images, theatrical productions, popular songs, stately hymns, games, playing cards, and architecture—to impress, accommodate, and serve the masses” to try and make this happen (Leith, 2003b, p. 347). The revolutionaries understood that symbols were important tools to convey complicated ideas in an easy format. Taylor (1990/2003) illustrates:

The red, white, and blue tricolor came to represent the various revolutionary factions and was also worn as a sash, while other



Fig 11 The emperor Napoleon in his study at the Tuileries. Painting by Jacques-Louis David, 1812.



Fig 10 Magna Britannia: Her colonies reduc'd. Cartoon by Benjamin Franklin, ca. 1766. (Retrieved from <https://librarycompany.org/2017/06/09/treasures-at-the-library-company-of-philadelphia-3/>)

garments and symbols came to represent the calls for ‘Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity’. Right from the start, the revolutionaries recognized the importance of symbols as propaganda: the Phrygian cup [sic] was worn as a symbol of equality, the Fasces emerged as a symbol of fraternity, and the female figure of Marianne as a symbol of liberty. (p. 148)

Several researchers say that this is when Napoleon Bonaparte emerged as a leader of both the revolution and the revolutionary army until he became emperor in 1804 (Leith, 2003a; Taylor, 1990/2003). According to Leith (2003a), Napoleon “needed propaganda to muster support for his ongoing warfare against other European powers, which lasted all but fourteen months of the period in which he led France” (p. 260). Napoleon’s way of dissemination was a form of total propaganda by which he controlled all aspects of French life. “Like most other European governments of the time, he maintained domestic censorship, but he went out of his way to plant pro-French items in foreign-language newspapers on the Continent” (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1986/2015, p. 99).

Napoleon presented himself as an imperial legend, just as Caesar did, by appearing everywhere. As a sign of power, he imprinted the letter ‘N’ all over Paris and spread his portrait all around via coins, medals, statues, and paintings (Taylor, 1990/2003). Napoleon is painted as a legendary leader in *The emperor Napoleon in his study at the Tuileries* [Fig 11]. Elements like the clock ticking 04:12, the working papers, and the almost burned-out candle signify that the leader has been working until late. Other symbols are also

present; the blue/white jacket with red cuffs shows solidarity with the armed forces, the medals on his jacket show the extent of his power, the ornate lion shows him as a conqueror, the golden bees on the chair refer to the emblem of the first French rulers, and the letter 'N' is engraved in the chair (National Gallery of Art, n.d.).

THE 19TH CENTURY

The main development of the 19th century was the speed by which propaganda could be spread towards the audience. Moore (2010) explains how the newspaper became the prominent medium for expression during this century:

At the beginning of the century the best presses were capable of producing only about 200 prints an hour, but the introduction of steam-driven, and later electrically-driven, presses was to achieve dramatically improved performance, so that by the middle of the century the latest presses could produce up to 10,000 prints an hour, an improvement which galvanized the development of the newspaper industry. The first mass-circulation papers began to appear in the 1830s, and, with the introduction of the New York Sun in 1833, the cheap daily newspaper, the 'penny press', had arrived. ... The press became the Fourth Estate, the key intermediary between the people and their government, and newspapers became a potent influence on public opinion. (p. 72)

Besides the newspaper, the printing possibility of engravings and later also photographs, the development of a global cable network, and the arrival of cinema and radio made this century a revolution of communication (Taylor, 1990/2003; Jowett & O'Donnell, 1986/2015). This made the spread of disseminating messages possible on another level.

The American Civil War was one of the conflicts that appeared during this period. Philippe (1982) says that the war was fought against slavery as well as for societal choices. While slavery was already forbidden in most parts of the world, Southern America was still fighting for abolitionism. All slaves in the North were freed in 1804 and the import of slaves into the United States was officially banned in 1808 (Moore, 2010). The Confederate states seceded from the nation in 1861, but they disbanded with the end of the war in 1865 together with the near abolishment of slavery (Corbould, 2020). Political cartoons were created on both sides, with the *Southern Ass-stock-crazy* serving as an example [Fig 12]. The donkey represents the confederacy as it carries a confederate flag while trying



Fig 13 Are YOU in this? Poster by Robert Baden Powell, 1915. (Library of Congress)

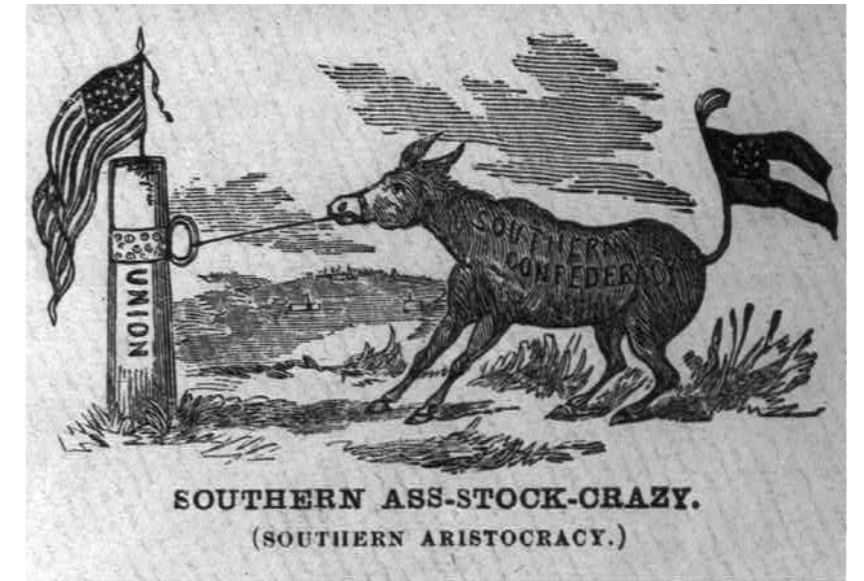


Fig 12 Southern ass-stock-crazy, 1861.

to pull the Union down. The Union is depicted as a pole with the Union flag on top, that would not cease.

THE 20TH CENTURY

World War I was a global conflict in which populations of entire countries were actively involved for the first time (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1986/2015). Badsey (2003) states that propaganda played an eminent role in the war effort, as it was "directed toward the home population to support the war, toward neutral countries as a means of influence, and toward the enemy as a weapon" (p. 437). On August 15, 1914, the British cut the undersea cable linking Germany to the United States, which showed that the British clearly understood the role of communication in the upcoming conflict (Moore, 2010). This move allowed the British to be one step ahead in generating sympathy from the still neutral United States (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1986/2015). Universal conscription to the army did not exist at the start of war, which is why it was Britain's first priority to get people to enlist in the army (Moore, 2010). Many wartime posters were created with the goal of enlisting people, one example being *Are YOU in this?* [Fig 13]. The poster depicts soldiers and other citizens involved in the struggle and unity is symbolized through depiction of the Union flag.

Propaganda in the form of slogans and posters became prevalent and for the first time cinema was exploited as an extensive means of manipulation (Moore, 2010). After four years of war, Ger-

many got defeated in 1918 after the collapse of Austria-Hungary and the arrival of the Americans on the Western Front.

Adolf Hitler acknowledged the power of political graphic design after Germany got defeated during World War I by the effective Allied propaganda (Heller, 2008a). In the post-war period, Hitler promised hope and a better life to the people. Hitler wrote *Mein Kampf* (1939) in which he established key rules for the creation of successful propaganda:

- (a) Avoid abstract ideas and appeal instead to the emotions, which was the opposite of the Marxist concept;
- (b) employ constant repetition of just a few ideas, using stereotyped phrases and avoiding objectivity;
- (c) put forth only one side of the argument;
- (d) constantly criticize enemies of the state; and
- (e) identify one special enemy for special vilification. (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1986/2015, p. 261)

These principles played a fundamental role in the growth of National Socialism. Additionally, Moore (2010) explains that Hitler branded Nazism prominently by using the swastika as their logo and Hitler himself appeared at the center of it all, as the Führer of the Nazi state. The eagle, which derived from the Roman Empire, represented domination of the weak Republic and the Heil salute was used as a greeting (Heller, 2008a). Heller (2008a) adds that Joseph Goebbels was Hitler's propaganda minister who presented Hitler as a man of the people, for instance by picturing him with young children to show his softer side. There were no visuals to be found from other political ideologies after the Nazis came to power in 1933. Nazi propaganda was substantially influenced by Fascism in Italy (Heller, 2008a). This ideology was founded by Benito Mussolini as a right-wing movement that ruled Italy from 1922 to 1943. Borgnigia (2003) explains how Mussolini spread Fascism into society by using photographs, symbols, and posters. Mussolini himself was pictured as leader of a heroic country and he made the fasces an icon of collectivism and governmental power. The fasces is composed of wooden rods bound around an axe, which stands for strength in unity and power in Roman society (Cooper, 1978/2012). On the poster *Agenda Agricola 1934-XII* (*Agricultural Agenda 1934-XII*), the fasces symbolized support of the Fascist party for the agricultural program [Fig 14]. The party namely provided farmers and merchants with information and advice regarding farming, products and machinery (Special Collections Department, 1998). Furthermore, "Mussolini utilized many tools of paramilitary propaganda, including uniforms (the Black Shirt),



Fig 14 *Agenda Agricola 1934-XII*. (Retrieved from <https://www.library.wisc.edu/exhibits/special-collections/italian-life-under-fascism-selections-from-the-fry-collection/fascist-propaganda/>)



Fig 15 *Illustrated History of The Russian Revolution 8*. Photomontage by John Heartfield, 1927.

flags, and parades to create a sense of belonging among his followers" (Cull, 2003f, p. 256).

During the interwar years the Russian Revolution happened in 1917 and communism in the Soviet Union came to arise.² Heller (2008a) says that Russian revolutionary flags and banners were simply blood red and initially red was the one emblem of the Communist state for the Bolsheviks. He adds that state symbols were adopted when the Soviet Union was established in 1922. When the Bolsheviks gained power under Lenin, "other political parties were banned, newspapers were censored and a secret police force was set up" (Roberts, 2003, p. 350). Art and politics came together during the revolution and the poster was one of the most prominent persuading mediums (Heller, 2008a). Moreover, photography and film played such an important role that the Soviet-style montage came to define the era. An example of a photomontage is a cover of *Illustrierte Geschichte der Russischen Revolution* (*Illustrated history of the Russian revolution*) created by John Heartfield [Fig 15]. The publication depicts red as the color of communist revolution (Heller, 2008a).

The previously mentioned political developments all played direct roles in the upheaval that started World War II in 1939 (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1986/2015). All parties concerning the conflict were aware of the importance of propaganda. Developments in possible ways of communication played an important role: "radio became the principal means of sending propaganda messages to foreign countries. The traditional propaganda media of pamphlets, posters, and motion pictures were again used but with an increased awareness of the psychology of human behavior" (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1986/2015, p. 274). Hitler invaded Russia in 1941, but their resistance appeared to be tougher than expected. Germany started to lose control of the military situation and ultimately lost the war.

After World War II, a period of antagonism between capitalist and communist countries occurred, particularly the United States and the Soviet Union, and this period from 1945 to 1989 was called the Cold War (Daniel, 2003). The Cold War was a new period of conflict between two ideologies. The fight was not one of weapons, but one of words (Taylor, 1990/2003). Every medium was exploited on both sides to convince people of the best ideology. Moore (2010) exemplifies:

During this period TV played a significant role in propaganda for the first time, though in the West it would not achieve majority penetration till the 1960s and most people in the Soviet bloc would

2. The Russian Revolution is more explicitly discussed on pp. 71-72.



Fig 16 Little Red Book. (Fooding Around, Retrieved from <https://www.flickr.com/photos/yearofeats/5584361577/in/photostream/>)

not gain access to it till the 1970s. Consequently, in the early years of the Cold War, radio and film remained the principal propaganda media. . . . Science, the arts, sport, the exploration of space - everything was exploited by both sides in the attempt to demonstrate the superiority of their own system. Completed in 1962, the Berlin Wall became the universal symbol of a divided world, the physical manifestation of the Iron Curtain. (pp. 162-163)

Taylor (1990/2003) concludes that the West did not really win the Cold War. The Soviet Union finally collapsed in 1991 because it could not fight the capitalist system anymore.

In the meantime, Mao Zedong emerged as the preeminent leader of Chinese Communism and he was seen as a hero for the establishment of the Republic of China in 1949. This gave him “direct control over the mass media and the educational system in China” (Cull, 2003e, p. 236). After a fallback, Mao gained many followers again through the Cultural Revolution where he gave the young responsibility to restore the communist ideology of the society. Moore (2010) explains that youngsters, or the Red guards, took up the task and spread his image everywhere. Mao was often pictured as the source of light and additionally printed texts, mainly from the *Little Red Book*, were also distributed all around (Moore, 2010). The *Little Red Book* [Fig 16] contained quotations of Mao and it came to symbolize the ten-year revolution (Cathcart, 2015). The revolution was so successful that even after his death this model of guerrilla warfare was adapted beyond China (Cull, 2003e).

Besides China, communism also had a great influence in other countries in South America and in Asia. In the twentieth century, Vietnam had both communist and nationalist struggles by which



Fig 17 Facebook advertisement Stop A. I. (US House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence)



Fig 18 You can't stump the Trump, Retweet by Donald J. Trump, 2015. (Twitter)

the Americans and French were involved (Cull, 2003g). Fidel Castro was the communist leader of the Cuban Revolution, which took place in 1959. “By 1961 he had formally aligned himself with the Soviet Union and declared himself a Marxist. In so doing Castro embarked on a propaganda duel with the United States that would outlast the century” (Cull, 2003a, p. 69).

MODERN WORLD

In the digital age, new forms of propaganda occur and everything and everybody is connected. The internet “has created one of the most potent media of mass communication spanning the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first centuries”, says Cull (2003b, p. 182).

An example of online propaganda is a case made by the United States Justice Department in connection to the 2016 presidential elections. An indictment charged three companies and 13 Russians for committing federal crimes in obstruction of the United States political system, and in particular the 2016 election. The indictment of the Department of Justice (2018) stated that twelve of the defendants worked for the Internet Research Agency, which “employed hundreds of persons for its online operations, ranging from creators of fictitious personas to technical and administrative support, with an annual budget of millions of dollars” (para. 4). The Department of Justice (2018) explains that defendants created accounts on various social media platforms, through stealing and imitating Americans, where they supported and opposed certain political candidates. The department adds that political advertisements were bought and spread via social media platforms. One Facebook advertisement [Fig 17] photoshopped Obama in the oval office with an Al-Qaeda flag and the flag of the Kingdom of Egypt in the back. Obama is presented as a traitor to the country.

The internet also gave rise to memes, which are often used to express irony, yet some have also been appropriated to symbolize hate. For instance, Pepe the Frog was a cartoon created in 2005 by Matt Furie for the comic *Boy's Club* and since then it spread through online communities like MySpace and 4chan (Swinyard, 2019). This popular internet meme was appropriated, altered, and shared on social media by the Alt-Right movement. Trump retweeted a tweet [Fig 18] in 2015 in which he appeared as Pepe the Frog with the caption “You can't stump the Trump” (BBC, 2016). The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) added the cartoon to its database of hate symbols, nonetheless not every representation of the meme has sinister connotations (BBC, 2016).

These examples show that sharing and spreading information was never so easy and that the internet can be used as a medium by all sorts of propagandists.

CONCLUSION

This chapter clarified the concept of propaganda and the purpose of it. Some brief examples of how propaganda can be practiced are given so that the reader can comprehend that propaganda plays a role in all aspects of life. Developments within dissemination mediums and the growing comprehension of propaganda play a role in its effectiveness. Our opinions are being directed by spreading messages through several mediums through the use of semiotics. Signs and symbols play a prominent role in visual propaganda and their effectiveness. Something can be of symbolic meaning, like Mao Zedong representing the Cultural Revolution. Conversely a symbol can also appear as a logo for a brand, like the fasces was for Italy. The focus in this dissertation will be on the second example, how a logo can function as propaganda tool. Using symbols to spread an idea is a way of compulsion which can influence people to choose a leader, believe in an ideology, or even to fight in war. Analyzing the meaning of symbols in visual propaganda could help to create an understanding towards the power of a political message. Accordingly, this dissertation will analyze several political symbols based on their connotations, meanings and uses.

CHAPTER 2.

DATA COLLECTION

2.1. DATA TABLE

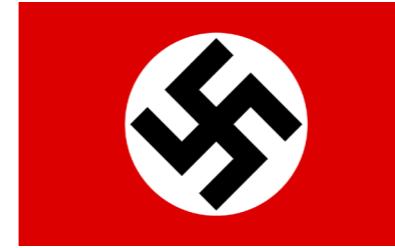


Fig 19 Flag of the Nazi Party (NSDAP).



Fig 20 Flag of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB).



Fig 21 Logo of the White Liberation Front (BBB).

The first step of this research was the creation of an extensive collection of contemporary political symbols. The collected data was organized in one information table, in the form of an excel sheet, with information detailed below [Fig 22]. This collection required for the symbols to be in contemporary use and to have an eminent visual aspect. With the latter is being referred to symbols which have familiar aspects, such as the clenched fist or the hammer and sickle. Later some less eminent symbols were added, those symbols were found because they were in a way – visually or ideologically – linked to a symbol which was already part of the collection. To illustrate, the symbolism of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) is similar to the Nazi flag picturing a Swastika, which is why this organization was added to the first collection [Fig 19, 20]. “The organization calls itself a cultural movement dedicated to the creation of an all-white independent Boer republic” (Battersby, 1988, para. 4). The White Liberation Movement (BBB) was found through the AWB, since they are both situated in Africa and share the same extremist ideology. Its emblem represents an odal rune [Fig 21], which is part of the runic alphabet system. The Nazis in Germany adopted this system to express their ideology and nowadays symbols from the runic alphabet are used by white supremacists to spread hate (Anti-Defamation League [ADL], n.d.-g). BBB led yet again to another similar organization, namely the British National Front, which resulted in an expansion of the collection. This research method has been used to create a more thorough collection. The collection contains various entities with a political aspect, including political parties, organizations, movements, country flags and hate groups. The Cambridge Dictionary describes the word entity as “something that exists apart from other things, having its own independent existence.” The meaning of the word includes the previously mentioned collected data, which is why this term has been used throughout the dissertation.

Some examples which are not based on a political ideology, yet share visual resemblance, were added to the table so that they might be used in a future part of the project. Take as an example the

ID	Other Symbol	Name	Description	Connotations	Keywords	Influences	Source
1		American People's Party	Political party in the United States, founded in 1964.	USA, Democracy, Socialism	USA, Democracy, Socialism	USA, Democracy, Socialism	http://www.apep.org
2		American People's Party	Political party in the United States, founded in 1964.	USA, Democracy, Socialism	USA, Democracy, Socialism	USA, Democracy, Socialism	http://www.apep.org
...
239		American People's Party	Political party in the United States, founded in 1964.	USA, Democracy, Socialism	USA, Democracy, Socialism	USA, Democracy, Socialism	http://www.apep.org

Fig 22 Excel sheet containing 239 collected entities.



Fig 23 Unit emblems of the Finnish air force. Old logo on the left – a swastika and pair of wings, new logo on the right – a golden eagle and a circle of wings. (Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-53249645>)

unit emblem of the Finnish air force which was changed recently, despite the usage of the emblem since 1918, states Allen (2020). She adds that the force silently stopped using the swastika because of the inherent link to Nazi Germany [Fig 23].

The Excel sheet came to function as an alphabetical system which was divided into eight columns and 239 rows (with the first row being the descriptions of the column content). The format of Excel had been chosen to create this collection, so that an organized overview of the symbol together with its background information could be shown. The columns were divided into segments with a different function:

Column A	symbol	(flag or symbol)
Column B	other symbol	(flag or symbol)
Column C	name	(of establishment)
Column D	description	(of the symbol)
Column E	connotations	
Column F	keywords	
Column G	influences/relations	
Column H	sources	

Some rows are color-coded due to three possible reasons. A red row signifies that the background information is (still) too ambiguous or the symbol might not be relevant enough. An orange row signifies that the symbol is included in a later process to the graph, hence it was not incorporated in the subsequent visual organizations. A blue row signifies that the symbol has familiar visual aspects, but the entity might not have a political incentive (e.g. Finnish air force). The color-coded symbols had not been included in the following step of the process.

After the collection contained more than 200 symbols, a sufficient amount of data was gathered to analyze and go to the next step. Excel was a practical way to create a first and detailed overview, nonetheless it was very condensed. The organization of the table helped to understand the collection according to numerous aspects – in this case the columns. However, the amount of information made it difficult to focus on the visual aspects of the collected data. Subsequently, the symbols of the Excel sheet were translated into a visual manner, in order to comprehend the information from another perspective.

2.2. VISUAL ORGANIZATIONS

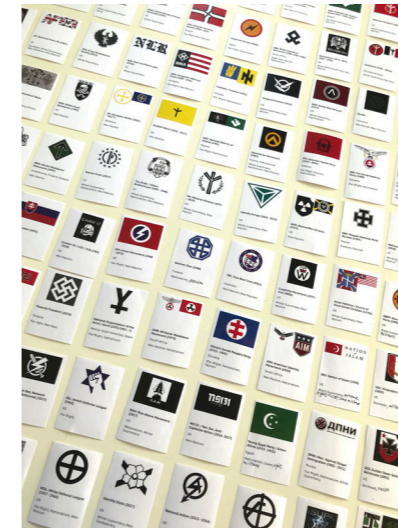


Fig 24 Cut-out symbols.

For the subsequent step, the 198 symbols were organized on an A4 format, presenting 16 symbols per sheet, resulting in a total of 13 sheets [Fig 25]. One or two symbols associated with the entity were displayed on top, with the name and dates of operation written in bold. Underneath, one could find the country/countries of operation and additionally some descriptive keywords were included to create a brief overview.

The symbols were printed and cut out, so that they could be organized in an analog way [Fig 24]. It was expected that this would help organizing and processing the data in a more convenient way. As a result, symbols could be seen as an individual and their details were more visible. Spreading all symbols on a table made it easy to browse through the collection and reflect on what had been found thus far. However, it was quickly acknowledged that this was not the most efficient way of processing the data. In consequence, the analysis was done in a digital way, which made scaling and comparing the data more efficient.

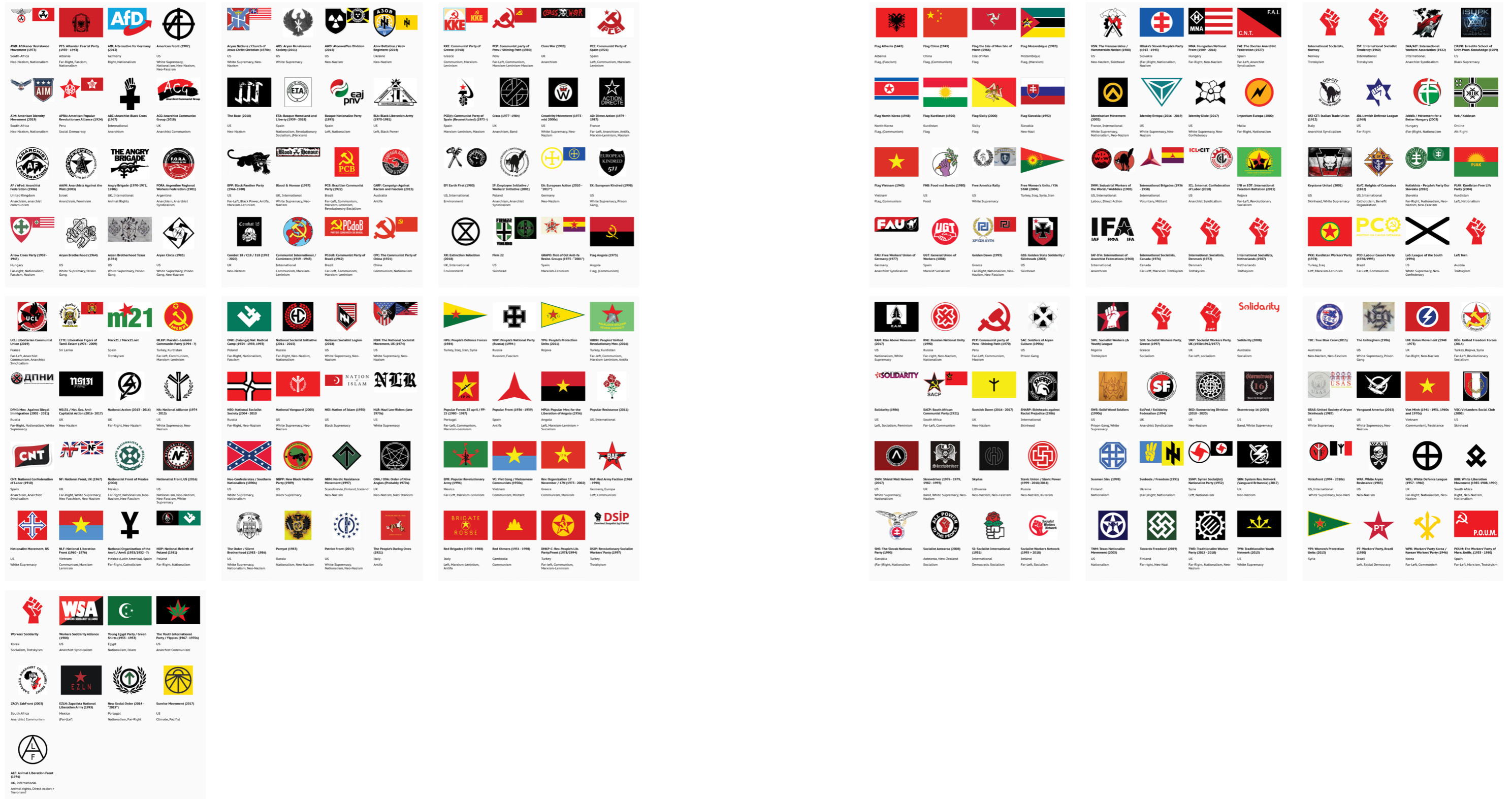


Fig 25 Sheets with symbols and short descriptions.

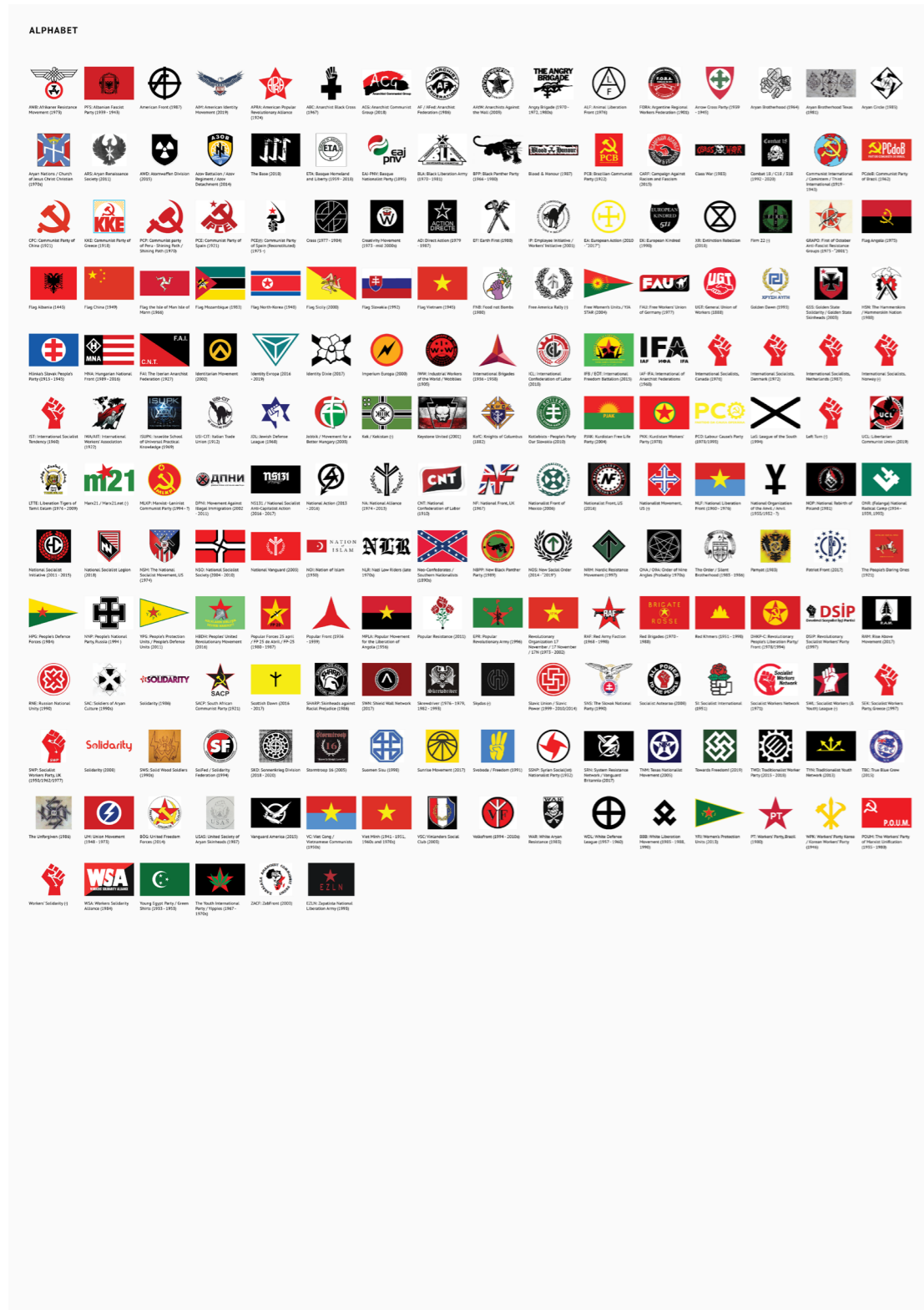


Fig 25 Visual organization according to alphabet.

ALPHABET

The collection was organized according to different rules inspired by the LATCH theory, as has been mentioned in the methodological approach. The information got narrowed down so that a symbol was represented with its title and date of operation only. Therefore, the focus was mainly on the symbol itself, which also resulted in an overview that was easier to comprehend. The first organization was done according to the alphabet [Fig 26]. This was simply done to see the whole collection at a glance in a neutral state.



Fig 27 Visual organization according to location.

LOCATION

The second organization was created based on the entities' location [Fig 27]. The data was organized into the continents, being North America, South America, Europe, Africa, Asia, and Oceania. An international category was also included for entities with more than one location. From this way of organizing could be understood that many of the collected hate groups were/are situated in North America. It also shows that most symbols containing a five-pointed star were/are situated in Asia. Afterwards, it was apprehended that the categorizing would have been more accurate if the organization was not based on continents, but on areas in the world. This is due to the fact that a handful of entities are more accurately located in the Middle East than in Asia.

Take the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) as an example; the group was formed with the goal of creating an independent Kurdish state. PKK is involved in the Kurdish-Turkish conflict and it maintains different branches and affiliations with others, like the Democratic Union Party (PYD), the Kurdistan Free Life Party (PJAK), and the Peoples' United Revolutionary Movement (HBDH). These preceding symbols are grouped under Asia in the actual visual organization. Whereas they would be located in the Middle East if the visual organization was based on areas of the world. This would have painted a more accurate picture, because the objectives of the mentioned entities are directly linked with their location of operation – thus the Middle East.

In a similar manner, Russian entities are grouped under Europe in the current visual organization. While they would be situated in Russia if the data was organized by areas. Examples are Russian National Unity (RNU), People's National Party (PNP), Slavic Union / Slavic Power, and Movement Against Illegal Immigration (DPNI). These entities all advocate neo-fascist beliefs and their visual aspects are also similar in the way that they all depict a variation of a cross in their symbol. These observations would have been highlighted more clearly if the data was organized on areas. Finally, the previously mentioned hate groups are situated in the United States and not in other parts of North America.

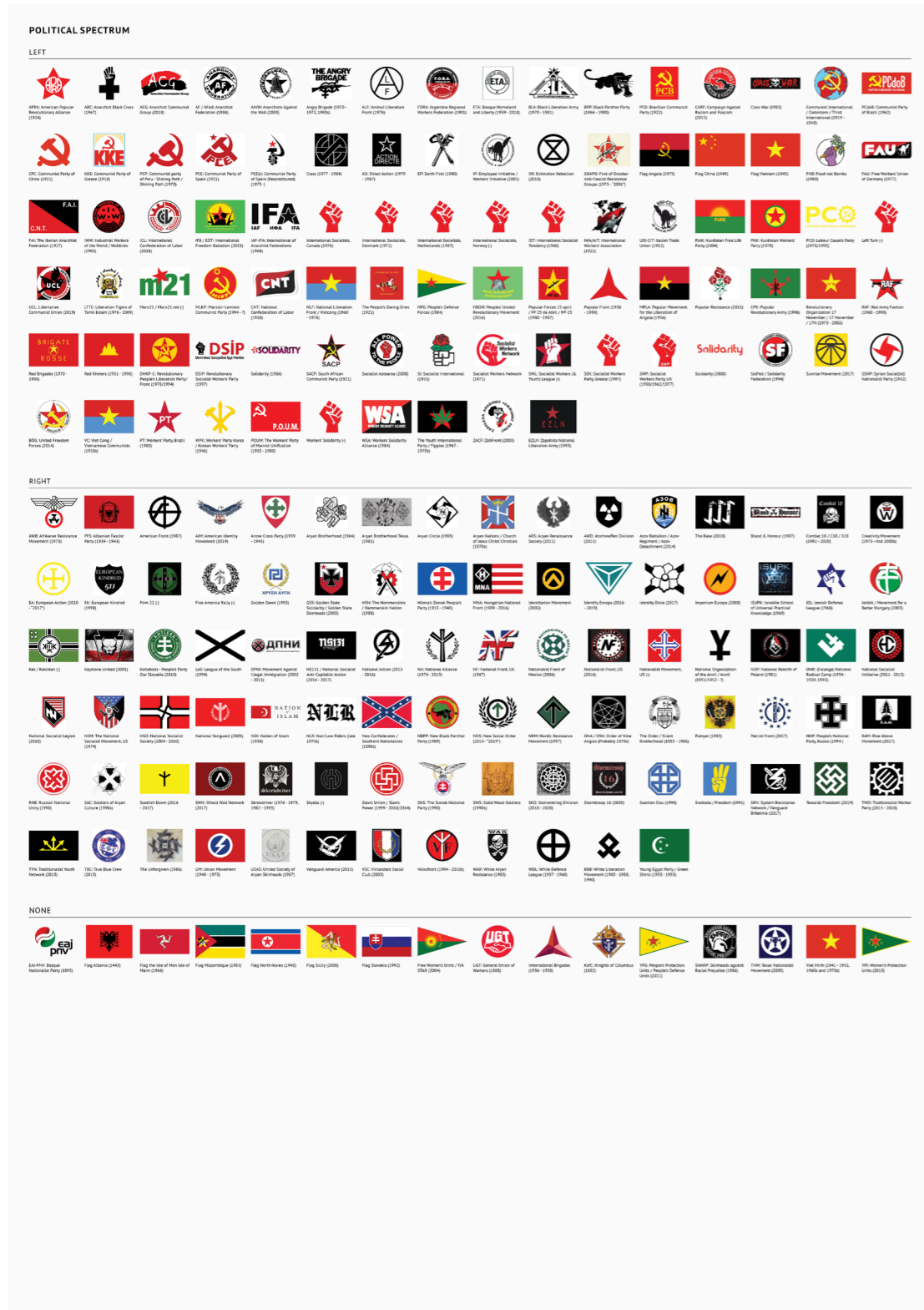


Fig 28 Visual organization according to category: left vs right.

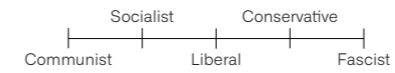


Fig 29 Linear political spectrum. (Simulated from Sense and Nonsense in Psychology, 1966, p. 281)

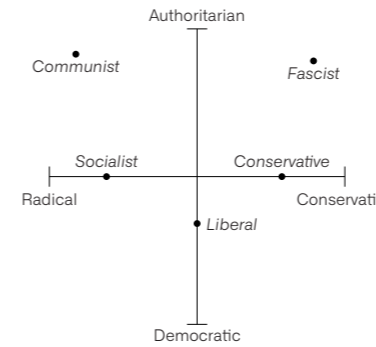


Fig 30 Two-dimensional political model. (Simulated from Sense and Nonsense in Psychology, 1966, p. 281)

CATEGORY: LEFT VS RIGHT

Next, the data was organized in different categories, with the first one being the political spectrum — more precisely *left vs right* [Fig 28]. It was anticipated for this division to be easy and straight forward. When in fact, the political spectrum is not something that can be grasped solely by defining an entity as left or right.

“The origins of the terms ‘left’ and ‘right’ in politics date back to the French Revolution and the seating arrangements of radicals and aristocrats at the first meeting of the Estates General in 1789”, justifies Heywood (1992/2017, Chapter 1, Left and Right section). He explicates that *left vs right* is part of a traditional linear spectrum which can be distinguished according to several varieties. Initially, it reflected the choice between revolution and reaction. Moreover, it expressed itself in its political attitude, with the left believing in progress and the right holding onto conservatism. In this arrangement communism and socialism are regarded as being on the left, while fascism and conservatism are situated on the right [Fig 29]. Heywood (1992/2017), among other researchers, claims that the *left vs right* division is overly simplistic and generalized, since ideologies are constantly evolving and they cannot be understood through one dimension only.

As a response, both Leonard Ferguson and Hans Eysenck developed a two-dimensional model symbolizing the political spectrum. Eysenck (1957/1966) argues that a linear spectrum is unaccurate, since communism (far left) and fascism (far right) have something in common and are in that sense in opposition to democratic parties. He illustrates his hypothesis in a diagram [Fig 30] which has a horizontal axis representing radical (left) vs conservative (right) and a vertical axis representing authoritarian vs libertarian. Other multiple-dimension models have been developed by scientists to try and understand the political spectrum.

This being said, for part of the entities it was straight-forward to place them in the *left vs right* category. An example are entities believing in a communist or socialist ideology. Other entities, with for instance anarchist beliefs, are a point of discussion as they could be placed on either the far left (anarcho-communism) or the far right (anarcho-capitalism) side of the political spectrum. One could also argue for anarchism to be outside of the political spectrum, because anarchists are against order and they “look to the creation of a stateless society through the abolition of law and government” (Heywood, 1992/2017, Chapter 5, Preview section). In this visual organization anarchist entities were placed on the left, because the collected examples have political motifs that contain leftist ideologies.

Another debatable example can be trade unions, which organize themselves for workers and do not necessarily choose a side within politics. Figure 27 also shows the category none, in which some symbols have been located. Most symbols placed here are country flags, since the flags do not directly indicate that a country as a whole supports left or right politics. Altogether, the preceding arguments show that *left vs right* is too shallow as a category, meaning that no conclusions were made based on this visual organization. Even so, another glance was given to the keywords by which the entities were described due to the attempt of arranging them in one of the two categories.

CATEGORY: PACIFIST VS MILITANT

A similar obstacle occurred for the following category, namely whether the entity was/is pacifist or militant. Some were clearly militant, like Angry Brigade who are known for several bomb attacks in Britain. While others were more ambiguous, such as the Albanian Fascist Party that was a political organization (pacifist) with a military wing. Other cases like this followed, which is why there was never a completed visual organization based on this principle.

HIERARCHY

In addition, the data could have been organized on hierarchy. It would be interesting to group entities through their prominence by taking their size and influence into consideration. However, while the size of some entities is known, the size of other entities remain roughly predicted or unknown. This means that this way of organizing the data would result in an inaccurate portrayal of results that could not be compared.

TIME

Following visual organization structured the data on time [Fig 31]. A timeline was created whereby the entity with the oldest date of operation is located highest in the figure, while more contemporary entities are pictured below. On the horizontal axis one can find the timeline in years, from 1900 until 2020. This resulted into a figure with a diagonal focus.

The entities are displayed together with one of their symbols and they are represented in dark grey, light grey, or red color blocks. An example of a dark grey block is the International Socialist Ten-

dency (n.d.-a), who describe themselves as “a current of revolutionary socialist organisations, based in different countries, which share a political outlook and seek to help each other by exchanging experience and practical support” (para. 1). This primary organization has secondary entities connected to them, which is made clear by the difference in color and the black horizontal lines in between the color blocks [Fig 32]. The primary entity is colored in dark grey and the secondary linked entities are colored in light grey. A few of the symbols are red, because the exact dates of operation were at the point of creation not clear (yet). Arrows are used to indicate multiple possible aspects. First, they are used to indicate a change of name within an organization, such as the Socialist Review Group who modified their name into International Socialists and later to the Socialist Workers Party [Fig 32]. In this case the color block is shown in a continuous motion. Arrows are also used to illustrate a merger or a split within an organization. This is exemplified by separated color blocks. A symbol is taking up multiple color blocks when a merger of multiple organizations took place. The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) is an example of a merger of three entities [Fig 33]. The creation of the timeline helped to acknowledge certain connections and affiliations between entities like such.

The figure shows that multiple communist parties came to rise after 1920, which was when the ideology started spreading around the world. This was after the first communist government was established in Russia after the revolution (Heywood, 1992/2017). This being said, the collected data does not include all communist parties around the world, which is why this analysis cannot be regarded as absolute.

Despite certain findings like the ones mentioned above, it was acknowledged amidst working on the timeline that the collected data contained too many varying aspects for it to be readable in just one figure. As was described before; political parties, organizations, movements, country flags, and hate groups of different sizes and importance were included. Moreover, the incorporated entities advocate a broad variety of beliefs and they are solely a partial representation of all existing entities. For these reasons this visual organization stagnated in 1986, making the timeline incomplete. Most of the collected neo-Nazi groups within the collection organized themselves only after this period, which is why they cannot be seen in this current figure.

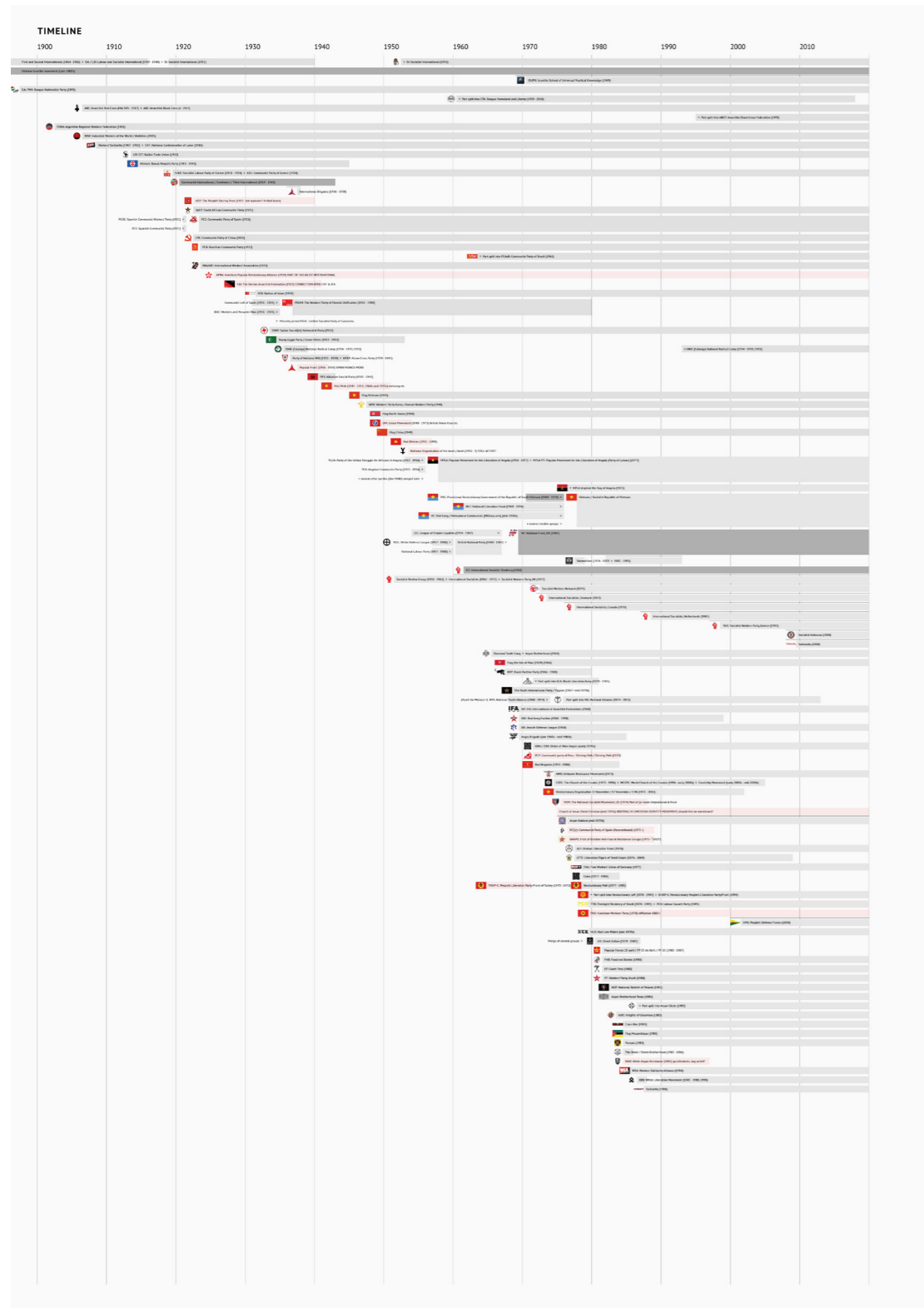


Fig 31 Visual organization according to time.



Fig 32 Detail of the timeline.



Fig 33 Detail of the timeline.

2.3. REVISING COLLECTION

Structuring the data in an information table was efficient for the creation of a comprehensive overview. Working with little requirements regarding the addition of symbols helped to apprehend that different entities can share the same political symbol or political theory. For instance, music band Skrewdriver and skinhead group the Hammerskins both advocate neo-Nazism. An example of entities depicting the same symbol are the Anarchist Black Cross, Socialist International, and Popular Resistance. They namely all incorporate the clenched fist in their symbolism. Nonetheless, as was mentioned before, this way of structuring the data was very condensed and focussed on the entities' theoretical aspects rather than their visual aspects.

The first collection contained many various entities and this was emphasized when the data was organized according to different LATCH rules. As a result, it was difficult at times to visualize all data in one figure. Accordingly, a decision had to be made whether to envision the collected material as part of a database or to focus on certain aspects of the existing collection.

The collection contained about 200 symbols at this stage, which would be a good starting point for a database. This would mean more data had to be collected for it to be strong in its objective. In this case the focus would be on showcasing diverse symbols with their contexts and comparing them with one another. It is nonetheless unattainable to collect all existing contemporary political symbols, which implies that this collection would come to serve as the start of a bigger database. This approach could establish a basic concept with the possibility of expanding in future research. However, it would mean that the research would be rather generic, as there would be no scope to discuss the developments and meanings of the symbols in detail.

It would also be an option to create case studies around different ideologies like fascism, communism and anarchism. Yet this choice would result in omitting many of the already collected data, particularly revolutionary movements. It additionally seems relatively shallow to group the symbols on ideology, as not all similar symbols are associated with the same ideology. Notably, the clenched fist is used as a symbol by socialist entities, but also by anarchist entities.

When reflecting on the visual organizations was realized that the data was structured on the entities' theoretical aspects, rather than on their visual aspects. This is when another category came about, namely structuring the data through their symbolism. This point of view also coheres in a better way with the field of study, being communication design. Therefore, the collection was orga-



Fig 34 Logo of the Black Panther Party (BPP), designed by Dorothy Zellner. (Retrieved from <https://designobserver.com/feature/the-women-behind-the-black-panther-party-logo/39755>)



Fig 35 Logo of the Anarchist Communist Group (ACG).



Fig 36 Logo of Basque National Party (EAJ-PNV).

nized on iconography [Fig 37]. This resulted in several groups, specifically the hammer and sickle, the cogwheel, the five-pointed star, the clenched fist, the cross, the circle-A, the wreath, the crescent, and the sun. Consequently, some of the collected entities were left out, while other entities were added to the categories. Entities with runes in their symbolism were excluded, because Heller already includes many symbols containing runes in *The swastika and symbols of hate* (2019) and this research is not solely focussed on neo-Nazi symbols. Other entities were left out when their symbolism was not repeated by other entities. This applied for instance to the Black Panther Party (BPP), the Anarchist Communist Group (ACG), and the Basque National Party (EAJ-PNV) [Fig 34, 35, 36].

Finally, this visual organization was revised again and as a result five eminent symbols were selected for the case studies [Fig 38]. The red star, the hammer and sickle (and cogwheel), the clenched fist, the circle-A, and the cross were incorporated while the wreath, the crescent and the sun were excluded. The scope of this study did not allow for all groups to be discussed, which is why a selection was made. It was generally chosen to focus on the symbols that already contained a substantial number of entities. In addition, those symbols mostly reflect the primary objective of an entity. For instance, the hammer and sickle is frequently depicted as the sole logo of a communist party to represent its ideological foundation. Wreaths and the sun are not typically used as a political symbol and they are frequently presented in combination with other more primary symbols. Notably, figure 37 shows that some neo-Nazi groups combine the wreath (mostly laurel) at times with other symbols, like a type of rune, number, or cross. It is possibly included as a symbol of supremacy. It would have been interesting to include the crescent, as it would have added another discussed political view in the research. However, the symbol was left out because the category was rather limited at this point and there was no room to include another category.

The group of the five-pointed star was modified to be called the red star for the first case study, because the red star is a five-pointed star whereas the five-pointed star is not always red. The red star has its origins in communism and it later also represents revolution, while the five-pointed star could for instance also be a symbol of American nationalism (as it is displayed on their national flag). The hammer and sickle are combined with the cogwheel for the second case study, since they all represent workers. The clenched fist is discussed in the third case study, because this familiar political symbol is employed through time by entities with different political standpoints. Case study four discusses the circle-A as the prominent symbol of anarchism. And lastly, the cross and its numerous variations are discussed as a symbol of fascism and neo-fascism. Some symbols were added to these final categories throughout compiling the case studies, which can also be seen in figure 38.



Fig 37 Visual organization according to iconography.

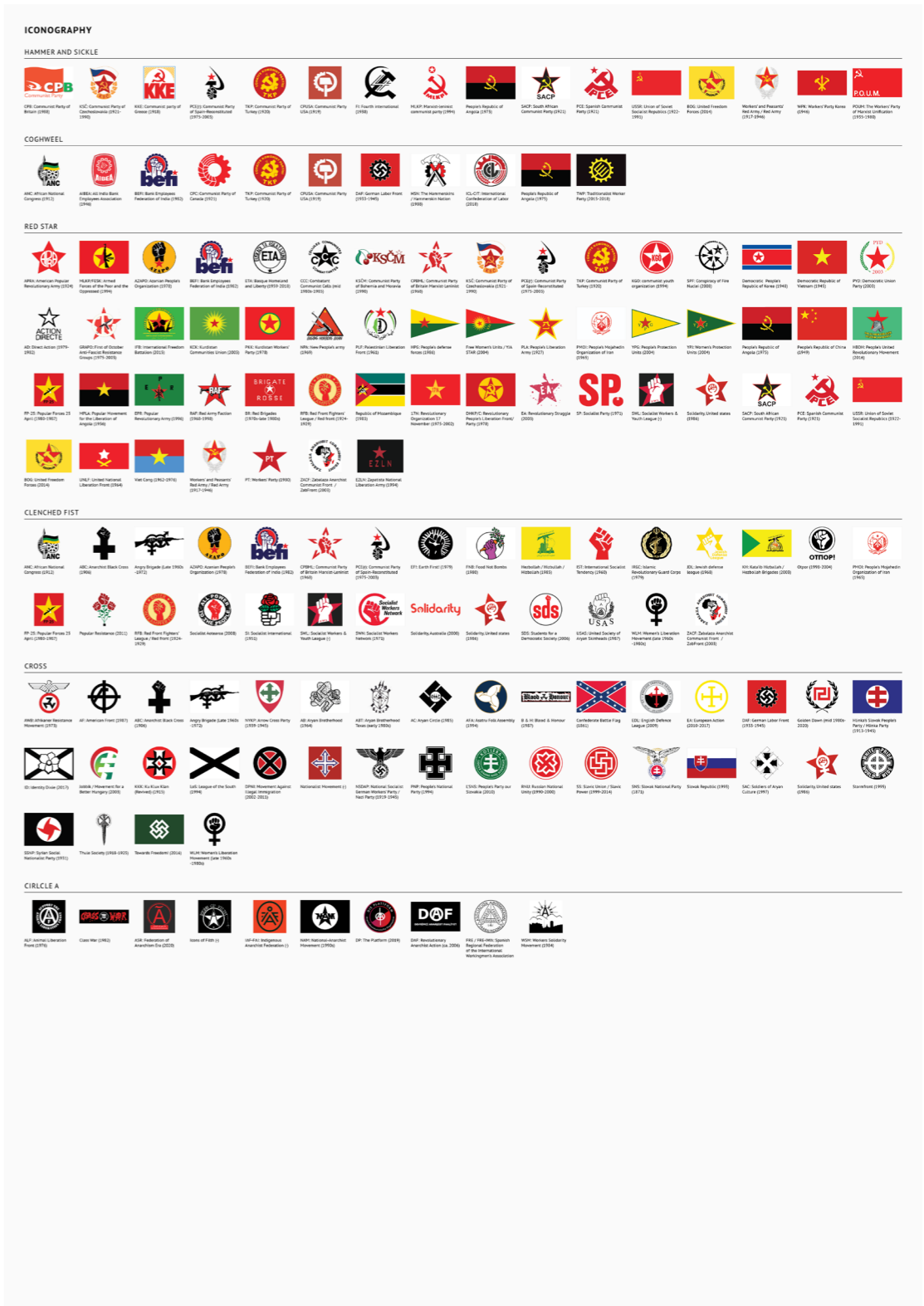


Fig 38 Final collection according to iconography.

CHAPTER 3.

CASE STUDIES

3.1. THE RED STAR

ORIGIN

The exact history of the red star as a political symbol remains unknown. However, there is visual material illustrating that the red star was initially seen in use by the Russian Red Army. Khvostov (1996) explains that the Bolsheviks mainly imposed communism on Russia through the Red Army. A series of preliminary events occurred that made the spread of communism through Russia happen.

Carr (1985) tells that the real foundational congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (RSWDP) took place in 1903, first in Brussels and after in London. He adds that this congress also caused a split between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. Russia dealt with a revolution in 1905 that started a division of the nation after the loss of war with Japan (Khvostov, 1996). The February Revolution of 1917 resulted in the replacement of tsar Nicholas II by the Provisional Government (Roberts, 2003). This Provisional Government was a coalition that could not solve the current ongoing issues, including poverty (Roberts, 2003). The Bolsheviks, led by Vladimir Lenin, gained support and in October 1917 they seized power while the Provisional Government became less popular (Khvostov, 1996). Lenin used propaganda to secure power and it "also became an essential ingredient in the ideological war against capitalism and the struggle for world revolution" (Taylor, 1990/2003, p. 198). After the October Revolution, a civil war between the Reds (Bolsheviks or communists) and the Whites (Mensheviks or counter-revolutionary forces) followed.

The army of the Bolsheviks, the Red Army, initially consisted only of peasants and workers (Carr, 1985). Khvostov (1996) explains that this army evolved from paramilitary detachments known as 'Red Guards'. These detachments were already formed during the revolution of 1905 by militant workers who wanted to resist against the Russian state. The Red Guards of Petrograd helped the Bolsheviks to gain power in 1917 and soon they became the only military force that could protect Petrograd against the Germans (Khvostov, 1996). Demobilization of the Tsarist Army happened and the creation of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, or simply the Red Army, was announced on January 15, 1918, states Khvostov (1996). He adds that existing military units or Red Guards could apply to join this army.

The primal Soviet conception of communism was based on what Karl Marx believed. State symbols were rejected by the Soviet leaders, because Marx saw symbolism as a false front for an honest social dynamic through which the population can be tricked (Heller, 2008a). Red became the color of the revolution and accordingly

flags and banners were simply colored red. Khvostov (1996) explains the following:

red has for centuries been the international symbol of mutiny and brigandage; it was the traditional color, symbolizing blood, of pirates' flags (alongside black, standing for death). In international naval usage, the red flag was known as the 'flag of defiance', and was raised when a ship was preparing for battle; in contrast to the white flag, which of course, was the flag of peace and surrender. (p. 20)

Moreover, "the Jacobins used red in the French Revolution, and during the nineteenth century red became the color of socialism, culminating as the symbol for the historic uprising of the Paris Commune" (Heller, 2008a, p. 128).

In the first year of the revolution, Red forces did not wear a special uniform. Even so, they often wore a piece of recognition in the form of a red ribbon and/or a red armband containing the word 'Red Guard', says Khvostov (1996). The first official symbol of the regime was a breast badge for the Red Army which appeared in 1918 [Fig 39], which design is subsequently explained by Khvostov (1996). A red star was set in silver wreath which was formed from two branches, one oak branch and one laurel branch. At the center of the star, one could find a crossed hammer and plow — symbolizing the unity of workers and peasants — pictured in brass. This later changed into the hammer and sickle — or scythe — as this was easier to recognize. Khvostov (1996) adds that the badge was initially only worn by commanders and military cadets. When it became the revolutionary military symbol of the army, it had to be worn on either the headgear, on the left side of the greatcoat or tunic, or in a buttonhole on civilian dresses.

The origin of the red star as the badge of the Red Army has several legends according to Khvostov (1996). One says that in 1917 many soldiers began to arrive in Moscow at the end of World War I. Soldiers from the Moscow garrison were ordered to wear a white tin star on their hats so that they could be differentiated from the others. The Bolsheviks would have approved this and as a result the official badge of the Red Army was created. "Another legend has it that the five-pointed star was introduced by Jews, who had a major presence in the first Soviet government and military structures", explains Khvostov (1996, p. 20). He says that they believed the Promised Land would be formed. Either way the five points of the red star came to signify world revolution on the five continents (Khvostov, 1996).



Fig 39 Breast badge Red Army, 1918. (Retrieved from *The Russian civil war: The red army* (Vol. 1), 1996, p. 6)



Fig 40 Flag of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).



Fig 41 Coat of arms of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

Only six months after the revolution the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (RSDWP) changed their name into the Russian Communist party and the term 'Bolshevik' completely dropped in 1952 (Heller, 2008a). In the spring of 1921, the Bolsheviks controlled much of the past Russian Empire with the defeat of the white armies and a successful conclusion of the revolution (Roberts, 2003). Heller (2008a) says that

Soviet Russia became the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) when four Soviet Socialist Republics—Russian, Transcaucasion, Ukrainian, and Byelorussian—merged together in 1922. SSRs were subsequently added, to a total of fifteen, until the disintegration of the USSR in 1991. (p. 126)

Once the USSR was established, the Soviet leaders adopted state symbols with a shift in their prior view towards the use of political symbolism (Heller, 2008a). First, a red flag was used with the initials of the state in the upper hoist corner (Gill, 2011) and in 1924, a red flag with a yellow star and the hammer and sickle representing unity was adopted (Heller, 2008a) [Fig 40].

A new coat of arms with significant symbolism was adopted as well [Fig 41]. The center of the emblem portrays a globe, with the yellow representing the land masses, blue representing the oceans, and a red star outlined in yellow presented on top (Heller, 2008a). Gill (2011) points out that a crossed hammer and sickle were depicted, the agricultural basis of the state was represented with wreaths of grain, and the sun rays marked a new beginning. He includes that it also contained two inscriptions, namely the name of the country (RSFSR) and 'Proletarians of all countries unite'. All autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics — Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belorussia, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan — got their own coat of arms and flag based on the symbolism of the USSR.

The Soviet regime propagated the revolution internationally by creating magazines, books and exhibitions (Heller, 2008a). After all, the Bolsheviks wanted to spread their ideas about world revolution. Heywood (1992/2017) explains how Soviet communism became the dominant model of communist rule, with Marxism-Leninism as the ruling ideology:

Communist parties set up elsewhere accepted the ideological leadership of Moscow and joined the Communist International, or 'Comintern', founded in 1919. The communist regimes established in eastern Europe after 1945, in China in 1949, in Cuba in

1959 and elsewhere, were consciously modelled on the structure of the Soviet Union. (Chapter 4, Orthodox communism section)

After Lenin died in January 1924, Stalin took his chance to position himself as the new leader of the communist party after being general secretary for two years (Heller, 2008a). Heywood (1992/2017) says that Soviet communism was greatly influenced by both Lenin and Stalin. He adds that the revolution led by Stalin in the 1930s had a more significant effect on the Soviet Union than the October Revolution. Stalin generated a shift within the communist ideology by embracing 'Socialism in One Country', which was originally developed by Nikolai Bukharin (Heywood, 1992/2017).

COMMUNIST REGIMES IN ASIA

After 1945, the world went through a process of decolonization which influenced the view towards communism. Communist regimes came to power in China, North Korea, and North Vietnam (Gill, 2011). Whereas a wave of change happened as well:

'Decolonization' and 'self-emancipation' became powerful visions, applicable to the most diverse contexts around the world, from guerrilla warfare in South East Asia to the Black struggle in the USA. It was, above all, developments in South East Asia during the 1960s that demonstrated to the eyes of the world communism's potential to contribute to, or even guide, such calls for liberation. (Bracke, 2014, p. 164)

China

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP), or Communist Party of China (CPC), was formed in 1921 as a political party and a revolutionary movement (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica [Britannica], 2016). Mao Zedong was one of the founders of CCP and he became the dominant leader of Chinese communism during the period surrounding the 'Long March' of 1934 against the nationalists, says Cull (2003e). He explains that this resulted in the establishment of the People's Republic of China by Mao in 1949, which simultaneously gave him direct control of the mass media and the educational system in China. The Chinese Communist Party has controlled China's government since the formation of the Republic (Britannica, 2016).

According to Heller (2008a), the Chinese communists used a red banner based on the Soviet Union, who established red as the



Fig 42 Flag of the People's Republic of China.



Fig 43 Logo of the People's Liberation Army (PLA).



Fig 44 Flag of the People's Liberation Army (PLA).



Fig 45 Flag of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

international color of communism until the creation of the Republic. A red flag with five yellow stars came into use when the Republic was established [Fig 42]. "The large one represents the Communist party's overarching power, while the four small ones stand for the workers, peasants, petit bourgeoisie, and patriotic capitalists" (Hope & Hope, 1973, as cited in Heller, 2008a, p. 185). Another historical base of the color red is connected to the traditional ethnic color of the Han, who form the overwhelming majority in the country (Smith, 2018b).

CPC launched an armed uprising in Nanchang on August 1, 1927, which gave rise to the armed forces of the political party, being the People's Liberation Army (PLA), writes GlobalSecurity.org (2011). The organization adds that the beginning of independent leadership over armed struggles by the CPC was marked. An article by Britannica (2017c) states that it was officially called the Red Army and its troops grew from 5,000 in 1929 to 200,00 in 1933 under Mao Zedong and Zhu De. The article includes that the Red Army was renamed PLA after World War II and additionally it made the founding of the People's Republic of China possible in 1949. PLA currently consists of the army, navy and air force and it is the active army of the country (GlobalSecurity.org, 2020). The insignia of the army pictures a red star outlined in yellow with the Chinese characters 'ba-yi' written inside [Fig 43]. The Chinese characters are disassembled when displayed on the red flag [Fig 44]. 'Ba-yi' translates to 'eight-one' and it refers to the anniversary of the Nanchang Uprising of August 1, 1927 (GlobalSecurity.org, 2020).

Korea

In 1905, Japanese troops entered Korea and in 1910 Japan had control over the country (Cull, 2003c). The Korean peninsula got divided by the allies after the defeat of Japan, resulting in Soviet control in the North and American control in the South (Smith, 2014). Cull (2003c) points out that this led to two separate regimes in 1948, namely the Communist Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the North under Kim Il Sung and the Republic of Korea in the South under Rhee. The new flag for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was introduced in 1948 [Fig 45]. "Its red stripe and star are symbols of the country's commitment to communism, while blue is said to stand for a commitment to peace. The white stripes stand for purity, strength, and dignity" (Smith, 2016, para. 1).

Vietnam

Vietnam was under French colonial rule in the 19th century, but eventually communism came to a rise with the origin of the Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth League in 1925 and the Vietnamese Communist Party in 1930 by Ho Chi Minh (Cull, 2003g). A communist-led coalition for national independence was established in China in the year 1941 by Ho Chi Minh (Britannica, 2020a). This organization is known under the name Viet Minh – in full Viet Nam Doc Lap Dong Minh How or League for the independence of Vietnam. The Viet Minh aimed to overthrow both France and the Japanese forces who were occupying the country during World War II (Cull, 2003g). “The Viet Minh forces liberated considerable portions of northern Vietnam, and after the Japanese surrender to the Allies, Viet Minh units seized control of Hanoi and proclaimed the independent Democratic Republic of Vietnam” (Britannica, 2020a, para. 2). In 1945, the Communist Party of Vietnam announced its rule and a red flag with a central yellow star was adopted (Smith, 2018c) [Fig 46]. Smith (2018c) explains that “the five points of the star are said to stand for the five principal classes composing the political front—the proletariat, peasantry, military, intellectuals, and petty bourgeoisie” (para. 2).

The first Indochina war, or the French Indochina war, was fought between 1947 and 1954 when the French tried to restore their control of Vietnam (Cull, 2003g). As a result, the 1954 Geneva Accords divided the country into the communist-led Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the North and a pro-Western Republic of Vietnam in the South (Bracke, 2014). Cull (2003g) exemplifies that South Vietnam got support from the United States against communism while the North became part of the communist block.

The Viet Minh wanted to reunite the country and it started to advertise the National Liberation Front (NLF) in the South (Belogurova, 2014). In 1960, this new coalition of South Vietnamese opposition groups with communist leadership was established to fight the current government (Cull, 2003g). Britannica (2018) asserts that NLF openly established a (primarily) communist party in 1962 with the Viet Cong, or Vietnamese Communists, as its military arm. In another article, Britannica (2020b) writes that NLF formed the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) in 1969 by joining groups in the South of Vietnam which were being controlled by the Viet Cong. The Republic of Vietnam adopted the Viet Cong banner – picturing horizontal stripes of red over light blue with a central five-pointed star – when PRG was established (Smith, 2018c) [Fig 47].



Fig 46 Flag of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.



Fig 47 Flag of the Republic of Vietnam (Flag of Viet Cong).

North Vietnam conquered South Vietnam and in 1976, Vietnam was reunified. At this moment, a National United Front was created when NLF joined the Vietnamese Communist Party together with other political organizations (Britannica, 2018). Smith (2018c) adds that the reunification of the country also resulted in the withdrawal of two separate flags, and the red flag with a yellow star is still used today to represent the whole country.

A PERIOD OF REVOLUTION

Soviet communism dominated the image in the 20th century (Heywood, 1992/2017). Gonzalez (2014) states that the revolutionary wave following the October Revolution gave rise to communist parties, but also to other organizations encountering forms of resistance. He adds that other revolutionary movements with a difference in traditions – such as syndicalism, anarchism, and socialist democracy – were set up around the world. These radicalized groups organized themselves in the need for self-expression, social justice, liberty, and recognition based on different political traditions (Bracke, 2014).

Bracke (2014) states that communism grew as a global movement after 1968, particularly in developing countries. Socialist ideas were spread throughout African, Asian, and Latin American countries that had little or no experience with industrial capitalism (Heywood, 1992/2017). A mixture between socialism and nationalism took place, as the developing countries responded to the anti-colonial struggle, more so than because of class struggle (Heywood, 1992/2017). Between the 1950s and 1980s, no less than 35 out of 55 countries in Africa announced themselves as being socialist in some form or another (Smith, 2014). While the late 1960s made young people in the West strive for revolutionary change drawn in individual liberation and liberal justice (Bracke, 2014).

Vietnam became a powerful symbol for revolutionary change throughout the world in the second half of the 1960s (Bracke, 2014). Smith (2011a) states that countries in Africa, Asia, and elsewhere had been struggling for independence for decades. He adds that the Viet Cong was admired by many for “its strategy, principles, and above all its success in challenging France and the United States” (para. 1).

Next, all kinds of revolutionary entities will be discussed and grouped on their location, since the reasons for revolt are often tied to the ongoing geographical struggles. Entities fighting for drastic change are discussed here, while communist parties are included in the following case study of the hammer and sickle. Seeing that political parties frequently incorporate the hammer and sickle in their

visual identity, while entities seeking radical change often include the five-pointed star.

Africa

The flag from the Viet Cong was a notorious and probable inspiration for the flag [Fig 48] of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), whose flag replaced the blue stripe for a black stripe as a symbol for the African people (Smith, 2011a).

The political party MPLA was founded in 1956 to fight for the independence of Portugal (Britannica, 2017b). The party gradually became socialist, more precisely Marxist-Leninist, in 1977 which is when they added PT (Party of Labour) to their name (Britannica, 2017b). Smith (2011a) explains that MPLA fought other groups to gain control over the nation when Portugal withdrew from the country in 1975 and it gained international recognition for announcing the People's Republic of Angola on November 11. Accordingly, the national flag of Angola [Fig 49] came into use, and still today it depicts a striped red-black background with a yellow central emblem in connection with the dominant political party (Smith, 2011a). The emblem contains a star (representing internationalism and progress), a cogwheel (for industrial workers), and a machete (for agricultural laborers), and together they appear like the old Soviet flag with the hammer, sickle, and star (Smith, 2011a).

Similarly, the political and military movement called the Mozambique Liberation Front, or Frelimo, was fighting Portugal until Mozambique became independent in 1975 with Frelimo as the governing party (Britannica, 2019b). The national flag of Mozambique got changed in 1975 and it was replaced in 1983 with a modified version of the Frelimo flag [Fig 50] (Smith, 2011b). Smith (2011b) points out that the green-black-yellow striped flag shows a red triangle on the left with a yellow star, an open book, and a crossed hoe and assault rifle inside. He adds that this symbolizes education, peasantry, and defense of the native country.

Asia

UNLF: United National Liberation Front (1964)

The oldest Meitei rebellious group in Manipur (India) is called the United National Liberation Front (UNLF) and was formed in 1964 by Areambam Samrendra Singh, with the objective of forming an independent socialist state (South Asia Terrorism Portal, n.d.). GlobalSecurity.org (2018) points out that the group consisted of deriving members from other similar movements and accordingly opposing



Fig 48 Flag of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).



Fig 49 Flag of the People's Republic of Angola.



Fig 50 Flag of the Republic of Mozambique.



Fig 51 Flag of the United National Liberation Front (UNLF). (Reconstructed from <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/in-frame-inner-line-permit-campaigner-with-militant-flag/>)



Fig 52 Logo of the New People's Army (NPA).

views with regard to strategics happened within UNLF. The organization adds that the Manipur People's Army (MPA) was eventually formed as its armed wing by mid-1990 and soon the first militant attack took place. In February 2005, UNLF created a four-point proposal aiming to end the ongoing conflict, but without any current advancements as it was not accepted by the government of India (GlobalSecurity.org, 2018). The banner used by UNLF depicts a centered white star (signifying the socialist origin) with yellow crossed segments underneath, presented on a red background [Fig 51].

NPA: New People's Army (1969)

The New People's Army (NPA) is the military wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), which wants to overthrow the government through conducting a long guerrilla fight (Weinberg & Pedahzur, 2004). NPA has mainly targeted Philippine security forces, corrupt politicians, and drug traffickers since its establishment in 1969, say Weinberg and Pedahzur (2004). They add that NPA also obstructs the military presence of the US, which is why it has carried out several attacks against US personnel. The Maoist group has grown in both size — with an estimated 20,000 members in 1988 — and strength, and simultaneously their power expanded from the rural areas to the urban areas of the country (US Department of Defense, 1988). NPA's logo consists of a red triangle outlined in black, with a golden star in each corner to represent its Maoist ideology [Fig 52]. In the middle, one can find a rifle and a spear to indicate militancy, with the spear referring to the long-lasting fight. The name is written underneath in black in the native language.

Latin America

APRA: American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (1924)³

Gonzalez (2014) says that European Marxism had nothing to offer in Latin America with regard to the Indian communities, which is why organizations with different theories were set up. Particularly, the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) — also known as the Aprista Movement — was created by Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre in 1924 in Mexico City (Britannica, 2020c). Julio Antonio Mella, the founder of the Cuban Communist Party, described the politics of APRA “as populist, confused, and calling for revolution in stages with no end in view” (Gonzalez, 2014, p. 254). While an article by Britannica (2020c) asserts that APRA wanted Latin American unity and that it took an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist stand appeal-

3. Most revolutionary entities came into existence after the second half of the century, however some movements like the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) were already established earlier on.

ing to intellectuals, the Indians, and the lower middle class. The article adds that several incidents lead to constant friction between the military establishment and APRA. The democratic constitution was finally approved in 1979 and since 1982, after the death of Haya de la Torre, the party proposed a nationalist, democratic and popular program to the country (Partido Aprista Peruano, 1999).⁴ The logo of APRA is comprised of a red star, which visualizes the resistance and revolutionary means of the party in contrast with Marxist ideology [Fig 53]. In the center, one can find the acronym of the party written in white, stylized as a circle.



Fig 53 Logo of the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA).

EZLN: Zapatista National Liberation Army (1994)

The Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN), also known as Zapatistas, operated for the first time during the violent uprising of 1994 throughout several towns in Chiapas (Mexico) to order acknowledgment and safety for the indigenous communities (Villegas, 2017). It was planned to be at the same time as the North American Free Trade Area, which was a trade agreement in favor of globalization (Gonzalez, 2014). Villegas (2017) says that the EZLN fight for equality made a shift from using violence towards focusing on building communities for a better world. She adds that it supported Mrs. Patricia for the 2018 presidency to fight for a democratic system in another manner. EZLN concentrated more on a political dialogue after its uprising, while the subsequently discussed Popular Revolutionary Movement (EPR) used terrorism to fight for independence (Wrighte, 2002). The flag of EZLN pictures a red star (for its revolutionary purpose) and the acronym in red on a black background [Fig 54].



Fig 54 Flag of Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN).

EPR: Popular Revolutionary Movement (1996)

EPR is a radical Marxist-Leninist group from 1996 which is situated in the south of Mexico and has performed terrorist acts directed at military bases and oil pipelines (TRAC, n.d.-b). Wrighte (2002) points out that several peasant groups came together to form EPR in opposition to the ruling government in advocacy of change for the region. He adds that the group mainly operates in Guerrero, but it is sometimes also active in the neighboring states. Several splits occurred within EPR and currently the number of attacks is receded, notwithstanding one of its offshoots named the Insurgent People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), who has been the biggest threat throughout time (Wrighte, 2002). One of EPR's flags [Fig 55] depicts a black hammer, gun, and machete in front of a red star, signifying armed struggle and the Marxist-Leninist radicalism of the group. The initials are portrayed in black and the background is colored green, which is also present on the national flag of Mexico. Another



Fig 55 Flag of the Popular Revolutionary Movement (EPR). (Reconstructed from <https://insightcrime.org/news/brief/mexican-guerrilla-groups-rearming/> and <https://images.app.goo.gl/sP1fKwcuGCoEwiMWB>)



Fig 56 Flag of the Popular Revolutionary Movement (EPR). (Reconstructed from <https://insightcrime.org/news/brief/mexican-guerrilla-groups-rearming/> and <https://images.app.goo.gl/sP1fKwcuGCoEwiMWB>)



Fig 57 Logo of Red Army Faction (RAF).

flag of EPR portrays a red star in front of a diagonally divided green-black background [Fig 56].

Europe

“In the West, the questioning of everyday life—and everything it meant in terms of established moral and sexual norms, social hierarchies, urban alienation, and work routines—was at the heart of this politico-cultural revolt” (Bracke, 2014, p. 158). Heywood (1992/2017) defines such movements as ‘the New Left’. He says that they were inspired by some form of libertarian socialism and that they rejected the traditional Soviet-style state socialism and de-radicalized western social democracy. The movements were influenced by anarchism, as they combined activism and politics in the form of protest and direct action (Heywood, 1992/2017). Lekea (2014) argues that the following organizations — Red Army Faction, the Communist Combatant Cells, Direct Action, the Red Brigades, the First of October Anti-Fascist Resistance Groups, the 17 November Revolutionary Organization, the Popular Forces of April 25 and the Revolutionary Left — were most prominent, which is why those will be discussed accordingly.

RAF: Red Army Faction (1968-1998)

The Red Army Faction (RAF) was a radical leftist group that was formed in West Germany in 1968 by Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhof (Jenkins, 2018b). The group originated around the German University protest movement of the 1960s, who according to Jenkins (2018b) denounced the United States as imperialist and the West German government as a fascist remnant after the World War. Terrorist actions like robberies, bombings, and arson were done to trigger an aggressive response from the government with the intention of a broader revolutionary movement (Jenkins, 2018b). RAF lost followers due to an increase in violence and several members were in jail or dead, states Jenkins (2018b). He adds that the group formally dissolved in 1998 while the arrests and trials continued. The logo of RAF portrays a red star (for revolution), with a submachine gun (referring to armed struggle), and the acronym in white in the front [Fig 57].

CCC: Combatant Communist Cells (mid-1980s-)

The Combatant Communist Cells (CCC) was an anarchist, leftwing terrorist organization that was formed in Belgium in the mid-1980s

4. Translated from Spanish with the help of Google Translate.

(Encyclopedia.com, 2020b). CCC opposed the NATO alliance and capitalism, and additionally CCC cared more about gaining publicity than taking lives, which is why they targeted property (Encyclopedia.com, 2020b). Dekeyzer (2013) says that the group created pamphlets with a warning or CCC contacted authorities before an attack took place. Nonetheless, CCC's actions resulted in the death of two firemen and a total of 28 injured people (Dekeyzer, 2013). Dekeyzer (2013) states that the four prominent leaders of the CCC were arrested on December 16, 1985, and accordingly the terrorist attacks stopped. She concludes that the leaders were all convicted with a lifelong sentence on October 21, 1988. CCC was during its existence briefly afflicted with RAF and Direct Action (Encyclopedia.com, 2020b). Its logo depicts the organization's acronym, with the middle 'C' in front of a five-pointed star [Fig 58]. The full name of the organization is stylized in a circle surrounding the other elements. Sometimes the logo appeared in black, other times in red, and sometimes the star and acronym were depicted without the other elements.



Fig 58 Logo of Combatant Communist Cells (CCC).



Fig 59 Logo of Action Directe (AD).



Fig 60 Flag of Red Brigades (RB).

AD: Direct Action (1979-1988)

Direct Action (AD) was a clandestine French extremist group that emerged in 1979 and was banned officially by the French government in 1982 (Britannica, 2008). Terrorism Research & Analysis Consortium (TRAC, n.d.-a) writes that AD saw itself as an urban guerrilla organization with a libertarian communist view. Its ideology is “described variously as communist, anarchist, or Maoist, with strong sympathies for Third World aspirations” (Britannica, 2008, para. 1). The group carried out assassinations and more than 80 bomb or gunfire attacks and between 1986 and 1988, 38 members of the group were arrested and some convicted (Britannica, 2008). The logo of AD consists of a five-pointed star with the group's name in French underneath [Fig 59]. The logo was colored black when presented on a white background and it appeared in white when on a black background.

BR: Red Brigades (1970s-late 1980s)

Red Brigades was an extremist Marxist-Leninist group, formed in Italy in the 1970s by student protestors who were opposing the capitalist state (Westcott, 2004). Westcott (2004) states that “the Red Brigades gained notoriety throughout the 1970s and early 1980s for violent attempts to destabilize Italy with sabotage attacks on factories, bank robberies and kidnappings” (para. 24). Its self-proclaimed aim was the creation of a Marxist upheaval, led by a ‘revolutionary proletariat’ (Jenkins, 2018a). The Red Brigades carried out about 50 attacks by which nearly 50 people were killed between 1974 and 1988



Fig 61 Logo of the Communist Party of Spain-Reconstituted (PCE-r).



Fig 62 Logo of First of October Anti-Fascist Resistance Groups (GRAPO).



Fig 63 Flag of First of October Anti-Fascist Resistance Groups (GRAPO).

(Jenkins, 2018a). In the late 1980s, the terror group slowly disbanded, nevertheless a group claiming to be the Red Brigades took responsibility for several violent attacks of the 1990s (Westcott, 2004). The red flag of the Red Brigades portrays the name in Italian and an encircled five-pointed star (representing the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary purpose) in white [Fig 60].

GRAPO: First of October Anti-Fascist Resistance Groups (1975-2003)⁵

Some members split from the Spanish Communist Party (PCE) and formed the Communist Party of Spain-Reconstituted (PCE(r)) in 1975 (Encyclopedia.com, 2020a). The First of October Anti-fascist Resistance Group (GRAPO) was formed, only days after the Spanish dictator Francisco Franco died, as the armed wing of the illegal PCE(r) (Encyclopedia.com, 2020a). It was GRAPO's aim to establish a communist state in replacement of the Spanish government (Encyclopedia.com, 2020a). An article by CNN (2000) states that GRAPO “was especially active in the early years of Spain's transition to democracy in the late 1970s, when it carried out dozens of murders in its bid to create a Marxist state” (para. 5). The article adds that the group is known for bomb attacks and killings, and it has been blamed for 82 deaths. Manuel Perez Martinez had been secretary general of the PCE(r) before he became leader of GRAPO in 1979, after the death of founder Juan Carlos Delgado de Codex (Encyclopedia.com, 2020a). He was arrested in 2000 after a failed attempted robbery and no replacement for leadership of GRAPO has been publicly named since (Encyclopedia.com, 2020a). Both GRAPO and PCE(r) were outlawed and identified as a single unit for the first time by the Spanish government in 2003, writes Encyclopedia.com (2020a). The online encyclopedia adds that “the group has also developed ties with other organizations such as the German Red Army Faction, the Red Brigades, and Irish Republic terrorists” (Philosophy and tactics section).

The logo of the PCE(r) is similar to the logo of the PCE, as they both show a hammer and sickle and a red star. In the logo of the PCE(r), those elements are being held by a fist, making it appear as an object of resistance [Fig 61]. The logo of GRAPO [Fig 62] depicts a gun (using force to achieve its goals) on top of an intertwined ‘G’ and ‘R’ (standing for Grupos de Resistencia) with a red star in the back (for communism). GRAPO's flag [Fig 63] presents a red star on a horizontally striped background with the colors red, yellow and purple. The flag is similar to the flag of the Second Spanish Republic

5. The Spanish Communist Party (PCE) is discussed in the following case study (p. 100).

(1931-1939), which connects the aims of the early Spanish republicans with GRAPO's aim of replacing the Spanish government.

17N: 17 November Revolutionary Organization (1975-2002)

The military dictatorship that was ruling Greece from 1967 to 1974 gave rise to domestic terrorism based on leftist and anarchist ideologies (National Counterterrorism Center [NCTC], n.d.). Radical groups 17 November Revolutionary Organization (17N) and Revolutionary Popular Struggle (ELA) were formed soon after the dictatorship fell apart (NCTC, n.d.) — with ELA not employing symbolism.

Radical leftist group 17N detested America, the West and capitalism (Council on Foreign Relations [CFR], 2007). According to CFR (2007), the first attack took place in December 1975, when the organization shot the CIA station chief of Athens and after this event it took responsibility for twenty-one murders. CFR (2007) adds that the primal attacks of 17N were directed at important figures from the United States and Greece and subsequently it started bombing ordinary citizens and property. The organization was named after the uprising at Athens Polytechnic University that took place on February 17, 1973 (CFR, 2007). 17N formed to strike back against the ruling military group when twenty students were killed during the protest. The organization operated between 1975 and 2002, which was when members were captured, tried, and convicted (Lekea, 2014). The flag of 17N features a red banner with a yellow star (signifying their radical origin), and the initials of the organization are written in red inside the star [Fig 64].

NCTC (n.d.) claims that several resurgent groups arose afterwards, among which Revolutionary Struggle (EA), Conspiracy of Fire Nuclei (SPF), and Sect of Revolutionaries (SE) were the most prominent — with the latter not using symbolism.

EA: Revolutionary Struggle (2003)

EA surfaced in 2003 when the courthouse in Athens was bombed and a police officer was injured (CFR, 2007). The group is ideologically linked with 17N and ELA and analysts believe that EA has some prior members of those organizations (CFR, 2007). GlobalSecurity.org (2019b) states that EA is accountable for multiple attacks against Greece, the US, and other targets. Nikolaos Maziotis, the leader of EA, was arrested with some other members in 2010, but he disappeared in the middle of his trial (GlobalSecurity.org, 2019b). However, the EA bombing of 2014 was managed under the leadership of Maziotis, after which he was arrested again (GlobalSecurity.org, 2019b). Its logo consists of a red star with the initials of the group in the middle [Fig 65].



Fig 64 Flag of 17 November Revolutionary Organization (17N).



Fig 65 Logo of Revolutionary Struggle (EA). (Reconstructed from <https://uniformnews.gr/police/θα-παραμείνω-ισοβίως-πιστή-στο-δικαίο/>)



Fig 66 Logo of Conspiracy of Fire Nuclei (SPF).



Fig 67 Logo of Popular Forces 25 April (FP-25).



Fig 68 Flag of Popular Forces 25 April (FP-25).

SPF: Conspiracy of Fire Nuclei (2008)

Conspiracy of Fire Nuclei (SPF), also known as the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire (CCF), originated in 2008 when it launched a stream of fire-bombings directed at car dealerships and banks in both Athens and Thessaloniki (GlobalSecurity.org, 2019a). The communiqués primal to the attacks are according to Kassimeris (2012) “brief and to the point, seeking to create a feeling of revolt and resistance against modern power structured, lack of representation, and the hierarchies of capitalist society” (pp. 634-635). SPF views itself as anarcho-revolutionary and the attacks were meant to compensate the intimidating power of capitalism and other ways of domination (Kassimeris, 2012). In the upcoming years, the group has claimed responsibility for multiple actions, such as mail parcel bombs and bomb attacks (GlobalSecurity.org, 2019a). The logo is all black, showing five black arrows connected by a half-circle, directed at a five-pointed star with an ‘A’ written inside [Fig 66]. The full name of the group is written in such a way that it completes the circle. Variations of this symbol are used by other groups like the Informal Anarchist Federation (FAI), to whom SPF is connected (GlobalSecurity.org, 2019a).

FP-25: Popular Forces 25 April (1980-1987)

Popular Forces 25 April (FP-25) was a revolutionary Portuguese group that was virulently anti-US and anti-NATO and moreover it wanted to violently overthrow its government in order to establish a Marxist state (U.S. Department of Defense, 1988). Furthermore, “it claims to be a workers’ organization dedicated to a struggle against exploitation, misery, and repression” (U.S. Department of Defense, 1988, p. 54). The group was named after the military coup of April 25, 1974, which overthrew the authoritarian Second Republic (U.S. Department of Defense, 1988). The U.S. Department of Defense (1988) points out that the group has committed several terrorist actions such as assassinations, bombings, and rocket attacks directed at the Government and economic targets. The department adds that 56 members were arrested in 1984 and Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho was convicted of a 15-year sentence for leading the group. The group’s logo [Fig 67] consists of a white fist holding a black rifle, representing the armed struggle. This is pictured in front of a yellow star (for revolution), which is presented on a red background together with the acronym in black. FP-25’s flag features this logo and the name in full in yellow in front of a diagonally striped red, yellow, and black flag [Fig 68].

ETA: Basque Homeland and Liberty (1959-2018)

Weinberg and Pedahzur (2004) describe Basque Homeland and Liberty (ETA) as a nationalist separatist group based on Marxist principles, founded in 1959 with the aim of forming an independent homeland within the Basque regions of Spain and France. They add that ETA split into two factions in 1979, being the ETA-M (military) and the ETA-PM (political-military), and the group had an estimated amount of 1,800 members in 2004. “ETA regularly targets Spanish Government officials, members of the military and security forces, and moderate Basques for assassination” (U.S. Department of Defense, 1988, p. 36). The terrorist group also executed several bomb attacks against Government facilities and economic targets (U.S. Department of Defense, 1988). Between 1968 and 2010, it has killed more than 800 people of which more than half were Spanish Civil Guards and in 2018 the group announced its dissolution (Hedgecoe, 2018). The group used two logos; one contained a snake and an ax together with the acronym and its slogan, while the other is more simple and all black; two circles are surrounding the acronym, the full name (Euskadi Ta Eskatasuna) is written on top and a star (for revolution) is pictured below [Fig 69].



Fig 69 Logo of Basque Homeland and Liberty (ETA). (Reconstructed from https://elpais.com/politica/2019/07/29/actualidad/1564421720_293935.html)

Middle East

During the 1960s, state-capitalist economic developments formed the base of many post-colonial regimes within the Islamic world, says Smith (2014). He elaborates that these regimes often followed the model of the economic policy and political course of the Soviet Union. Post-colonialism did not enhance situations in the Arab world, because of inefficient and corrupt regimes and imperialism (Heywood, 1992/2017). The West and mainly the United States were often opposed by nationalist groups, since it was seen as a dominant force and a cause of oppression and exploitation (Heywood, 1992/2017).

DHKP/C: Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (1978)

Dev Sol, or Revolutionary Left, was a Marxist-Leninist terrorist group formed in Turkey in 1978, and it changed its name to Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (DHKP/C) in 1994 (McHugh, 2017). An article of BBC (2013) describes that the organization opposes US imperialism and that it wants to replace its government with a Marxist one. The article adds that “Ankara says the DHKP-C has killed dozens of police officers and soldiers along with more than 80 civilians since it was formed in 1978” (para. 2). The group is identified as the assassins of two retired generals, a former min-



Fig 70 Flag of Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (DHKP/C).



Fig 71 Flag of Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (DHKP/C).

ister of justice and an important businessman (BBC, 2013). McHugh (2017) states that the Turkish government started raids against DHKP/C warehouses which resulted in a decrease in its attacks. He adds that the organization made a failed attempt to form an alliance with the terrorist group Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). There seemed to be a leadership struggle after the death of leader Dursun Karatas in 2008 and by the second decade of the 21st century, the operations against Turkish targets were rather limited (McHugh, 2017). DHKP/C uses two flags; one pictures a yellow outlined star on a red background [Fig 70] and the other flag pictures a yellow hammer and sickle inside a red star, which is encircled in yellow and presented on a red background [Fig 71]. The symbols and colors of the flags signify the communist origins of the group.

PKK: Kurdistan Workers' Party (1978) and affiliations

The Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) was formed in 1978 by Abdullah Ocalan with the aim of establishing a Kurdistan state in parts of Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Syria (PKK Research Center, n.d.). The group was primarily defending an independent state while it later intended to gain greater Kurdish autonomy, states an article of Britannica (2019a). The article includes that the ages-long settlement of the Kurdish population was never acknowledged and often even mistreated. The major social changes in Turkey conduced the expansion and radicalization of Kurdish nationalist groups between the 1960s and 1970s (Britannica, 2019a).

Jongerden and Akkaya (2011) say that Ocalan broke away from the conventional Marxist-Leninist principles to create his own version of socialism by presuming a Kurdish constitution through the principles of radical democracy and democratic confederalism. They add that PKK distinguished itself during the 1980s and it grew out to be the only Kurdish political party of significance in Turkey. From the beginning of 1980, PKK started to train the first groups of militants in Lebanon, growing exponentially, and in 1984 the PKK initiated a guerrilla war against the ‘colonial and racist’ Turkish state (Jongerden & Akkaya, 2011). PKK conducted acts of terrorism through “guerrilla operations against a range of targets, including government installations and officials, Turks living in the country's Kurdish regions, Kurds accused of collaborating with the government, foreigners, and Turkish diplomatic missions abroad” (Britannica, 2019a, para. 4). Ocalan established connections with other militant organizations, and parts of PKK were sent to neighboring countries (Britannica, 2019a).

The imprisonment of Ocalan in February 1999 shifted PKK's focus even more, yet the entity still conducted guerrilla attacks ac-

cordingly (Britannica, 2019a). In January 2000, a congress was held in which Ocalan announced the party's ideological switch towards a democratic republic (Akkaya & Jongerden, 2011). In 1986, the military wing the Kurdistan Liberation Force (HRK) was replaced with the People's Liberation Army Kurdistan (ARGK) and during the 2000 congress, ARGK changed its name to the People's Defense Forces (HPG). White (2015) explains that this was done to indicate a new, purely defensive armed wing in line with the party's new ideology.

On May 17, 2005, PKK founded the Council of Associations of Kurdistan (KKK) "as the umbrella organization of all bodies affiliated to the PKK in Kurdish communities in Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and the diaspora" (White, 2015, p. 125). It promotes Ocalan's radical democracy in the form of assemblies, and later on, it changed its name to Kurdistan Communities Union (KCK) (White, 2015). Cartier (2019) defines the other groups, created by the PKK, within the KCK: "the PYD (Democratic Union Party) that leads Syria's revolution in the north, the PJAK (Kurdistan Free Life Party) that operates in Iran, and PCDK (Kurdistan Democratic Solution Party) which organizes in Iraq" (Chapter 4, Fundamentals section). All mentioned groups are part of one unified organization that shares membership and ideology under the command of Abdullah Ocalan and his deputies (Orton, 2017).

Marcus (2007) claims that Ocalan understood that he could create a strong ally if he would advocate for female rights, despite if he actually believed that. She adds that Ocalan made women feel important by asserting that putting up a revolutionary fight would be impossible with their help and in 1993 the PKK was composed of one-third of female members. The first female congress took place on January 24, 1995, where the Kurdistan Women's Freedom Movement (TJAK) was founded (White, 2015). TJAK changed its name to the Association of Free Women of Kurdistan (YJAK) and currently, the female army is called the Free Women's Units (YJA STAR) (White, 2015). According to White (2015), 'STAR' is a combination of the name Ishtar (pagan goddess) and the Kurdish word 'sterk' which means star.

Negotiations for peace between Turkish officials and the PKK were discussed in 2009 without success and again in 2012 while they kept targeting the PKK periodically (Britannica, 2019a). Subsequently, PKK-aligned groups initiated self-governance over large portions of northeastern Syria, making the government increasingly worried (Britannica, 2019a).

On March 12, 2016, the Peoples' United Revolutionary Movement (HBDH) was founded — as a union of Communists, Marxist-Leninists, and Maoists — in the headquarters of the PKK (PKK



Fig 72 National flag of Kurdistan.



Fig 73 Flag of Rojava.



Fig 74 Flag of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK).



Fig 75 Flag of the Kurdistan Communities Union (KCK).



Fig 76 Flag of the People's Defense Forces (HPG).



Fig 77 Flag of YJA star / Free Women's Units.



Fig 78 Flag of Peoples' United Revolutionary Movement (HBDH).

Research Center, 2019). HBDH has a bigger audience than the traditional Kurdish communities:

In several statements, the HBDH has called upon the Alawites, democrats, seculars, workers, the poor and all the opposition forces to unite in their struggle against the Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan and his allies. The group mostly operates in Syria, where it claims that the Rojava revolution is under the attack of Turkey, but it has also carried out assaults on military targets within Turkey. (PKK Research Center, 2019, para. 1)

The above-mentioned entities share some resemblances in the designs of their flags and some contain elements of the national flag of Kurdistan [Fig 72]. This flag was first used by the Kurds in the struggle for independence from the Ottoman Empire and in 1946 it was adopted as the official flag of the Republic of Kurdistan at Mehabad (Eliasi, n.d.). The flag consists of a horizontally striped tricolor (red-white-green) background and in the middle, a golden sun with 21 equal rays is depicted. The golden sun has been in use by Kurds since antiquity and the number 21 is of special importance in the indigenous Yazdani religious tradition of the Kurds (Eliasi, n.d.). The colors of the subsequent flags resemble the yellow, red and green colors that are portrayed on the flag of Rojava [Fig 73].

The flag of the PKK portrays a red star (for the revolutionary purpose) on a yellow circle, which is outlined in green and placed on a red background [Fig 74]. The flag of KCK features a red star on a yellow sun, which is presented on a green background [Fig 75]. HPG's flag is shaped like a triangle and it is made of a yellow-green striped background on which a red star is presented [Fig 76]. The flag of YJA Star is similarly shaped, but the background is comprised of the colors red and green, with a yellow sun and red star on top [Fig 77]. HBDH's flag is made of a green background on which a red star, slightly outlined in yellow, is presented. In front, two hands appear in grey signifying unity, and underneath the name is written in full in Turkish [Fig 78].

MLKP: Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (Turkey) (1994)

The Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (MLKP) was founded on September 11, 1994, as a merger of four communist parties (Marxist Leninist Communist Party [MLKP], n.d.-a). The party aims to create a proletarian revolution leading to freedom, socialism, and a unified working class in opposition to imperialism, capitalism, and the current wage system (MLKP, n.d.-a). MLKP is outlawed by the Turkish government because of terrorist attacks directed at civilians and

officials, states PKK Research Center (2019). The research center includes that MLKP was part of the primary foreign organizations to engage in the Syrian conflict and in 2013 it was fighting side by side with YPG during the war. MLKP is both part of IFB and HGDH in the ongoing conflict (Carter Center, 2017). The logo of MLKP shows the acronym and a hammer and sickle in red, with a five-pointed star encircled in red [Fig 79]. The logo appears in yellow when presented on a red flag [Fig 80]. The featured colors and symbols all signify the communist origin of the group.

MLKP/FESK: Armed Forces of the Poor and the Oppressed (1994)

The armed wing of MLKP, the Armed Forces of the Poor and the Oppressed (MLKP/FESK), is fighting against the fascist regime during the Rojava revolution (MLKP/FESK, 2018). It states to conduct its military attacks in defense of the poor and oppressed and the entity asks for all workers, women and youths to join this revolutionary fight (MLKP/FESK, 2019). MLKP/FESK (2018; 2019) has taken responsibility for several bomb attacks, under which the attack of February 3, 2018, directed at the Riot Police Department in Bursa and the attack of September 25, 2019, directed at the palace regime in Adana. The flag of the MLKP/FESK shares the colors of MLKP, while the design is different [Fig 81]. A red half-star is centered and surrounded by a yellow circle, a gun in black is pictured for armed struggle, and 'FESK' is written in black on the right side of the weapon.

KGÖ: Communist Youth Organization (1994)

The youth division of the MLKP is called the Communist Youth Organization (KGÖ) and it functions separately on an organizational level (MLKP, n.d.-b). KGÖ sees it as its duty to take part in military struggles where needed in order to achieve revolution and socialism in opposition to imperialism and fascism (MLKP, n.d.-b). The organization calls up all young people to join the revolutionary communist fighters (MLKP, n.d.-b). The colors in the logo and flag of KGÖ are the same as used by MLKP, while the design is different. The logo features the acronym in red, which is surrounded by a star and placed inside a double red circle [Fig 82]. The logo is presented in yellow when it appears on the red flag [Fig 83].

PYD: Democratic Union Party (2003) and affiliates

The Democratic Union Party (PYD) and its armed wing, the People's Protection Units (YPG), were set up in Syria by the PKK in 2003, states Orton (2017). He explains that the remains of the banished PKK were simply rebranded into the PYD. PYD advocated democratic confederalism since its establishment and in 2012, it bene-



Fig 79 Logo of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (MLKP). (Reconstructed from <http://www.mlkp-info.org/index.php?lang=2>)



Fig 80 Flag of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (MLKP). (Reconstructed from <http://www.mlkp-info.org/index.php?lang=2>)



Fig 81 Flag of the Armed Forces of the Poor and the Oppressed (MLKP/FESK). (Retrieved from <http://www.mlkp-info.org/index.php?kategori=1215&MLKP/FESK>)



Fig 82 Logo of the Communist Youth Organization (KGÖ). (Reconstructed from <http://www.mlkp-info.org/index.php?kategori=60&Gençlik>)



Fig 83 Flag of the Communist Youth Organization (KGÖ). (Reconstructed from <http://www.mlkp-info.org/index.php?kategori=60&Gençlik>)

fitted from the ongoing chaos during the war by asserting self-governance in the major part of Kurdistan (Cartier, 2019). The relation with the Assad government caused a clash with the anti-Assad rebellion and all Kurdish political organizations and activists became brutally restrained (Orton, 2017). PYD operates with little devotion for the creation of a beneficial government for Syria, because PKK sees Syria as a starting point in its battle with Turkey (Orton, 2017). Cartier (2019) states that particularly many western Marxists decline to support PYD and its military arms, because it seems to neglect 'socialist' character.

The units of YPG started to form secretly in 2004 and they were officially formed in 2011 after acquiring military experience and the creation of establishments in all Rojava (People's Defense Units, YPG, n.d.). YPG (n.d.) writes on its website that it was established "to protect the legacy and values of the people of Rojava and is founded on the principles of the paradigm of a democratic society, ecology and woman's liberation" (para. 2). YPG adds that it protects the nation against all foreign attacks without excluding anyone. The entity also states to be unrelated to any political party, yet other sources claim otherwise (Orton, 2017; Cartier, 2019). The Women's Protection Units (YPJ) was set up as a result of the growing number of female members (YPG, n.d.). This force is autonomous and thus following its own program (YPG, n.d.). However, Orton (2017) points out in his report that the number of YPJ members is rather small and that the view of the YPG towards women is less extensive as its broadcasting suggests.

Since 2014, foreign volunteers came to join YPG in the Kurdish struggle (The Carter Center, 2017). The first wave of volunteers were mainly apolitical military veterans and later people with all kinds of motivations joined (Orton, 2017). Subsequently, YPG directed its recruitment at the Western far left and in 2015, the International Freedom Battalion (IFB) was set up as an umbrella group for foreign fighters (Orton, 2017). "Members of the IFB come from many nations, including the UK, the US, Germany, Greece, and France. Subunits include communist, anti-fascist, and anarchist Western elements as well as Turkish communist parties of varying ideologies" (The Carter Center, 2017, p. 2).

The United Freedom Forces (BÖG) is the biggest group within IFB, and it includes in a similar manner different foreign brigades advocating leftist political ideologies (The Carter Center, 2017). BÖG was set up in 2014 during the battle of Kobanî with the help of backers of BÖG (The Carter Center, 2017). Another affiliate group of IFB is the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (MLKP) which is discussed before.

In a like manner, these preceding entities also depict colors that are featured on the Rojava flag. The logo [Fig 84] of PYD has a red star in the center, to show the resistant origin of the group. On the side, one can see yellow and green wreaths, and the acronym of the group is written on the top, while the date of origin is written below. The flag of YPG [Fig 85] is in the shape of a yellow triangle that is outlined in green. It features a red star which is also outlined in green and the acronym surrounding the star is fully colored green. The flag of YPJ shows the same, but the green and yellow colors are reversed and the acronym is changed [Fig 86]. IFB's flag [Fig 87] portrays two people holding guns (armed struggle). Behind, a red star (for the revolutionary purpose) is pictured in a yellow circle in front of a green background. The name of the organization appears multiple times on the flag in yellow, in different languages. The flag of BÖG [Fig 88] shows a red star and yellow hammer and sickle in the middle. The flag is pictured in yellow and the name is written in full in Turkish, stylized in half a circle.

PMOI/MEK/MKO: People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (1965)

The oldest and longest-standing Iranian opposition movement called the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI/MEK) was established in 1965 (Mahoutchi, 2018). The three intellectual founders believed that the conflict in Iran was not between beliefs but between the oppressor (the Shah regime) and the oppressed (the people) (Mahoutchi, 2018). During the 1970s, the Islamist-Marxist group played an important role in the 1979 revolution and the main objective became the defeat of the Islamic republic after the banishment within Iran in the 1980s (Merat, 2018). Members and affiliates of PMOI were executed or jailed by the regime and a coalition was formed with other groups against the fascist regime (Mahoutchi, 2018). Merat (2018) explains that PMOI attacked civilians and military targets along the border of the country for almost 20 years and it even had ties with Saddam Hussein for a period of time.

He adds that PMOI subsequently became cult-like and it wanted to overturn the terrorist title it had received. In 2009, the EU delisted PMOI as a terrorist organization, and a few years after the US, Canada, and Australia followed (Mahoutchi, 2018). Merat (2018) states that the group reinvented itself with a focus on democracy, human rights, and secularism and subsequently it worked together with the US government. He adds that the remaining members of PMOI were accepted in Albania between 2014 and 2016 to prevent total extermination by the Iranian regime and its Iraq allied forces. Support for PMOI grew outside of Iran and the fight for freedom against the regime still stands today (Mahoutchi, 2018).



Fig 84 Logo of the Democratic Union Party (PYD).



Fig 85 Flag of the People's Protection Units (YPG).

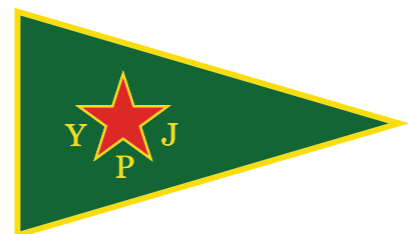


Fig 86 Flag of the Women's Protection Units (YPJ).



Fig 87 Flag of the International Freedom Battalion (IFB).



Fig 88 Flag of the United Freedom Forces (BÖG).



Fig 89 Flag of the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI).



Fig 90 Logo of the Palestinian Liberation Front (PLF). (Reconstructed from <https://www.aljazeera.net/encyclopedia/movementsandparties/2014/2/12/ة-بج-12/2014/2/12/ة-بج-12/2014/2/12/ة-بج-12>)

The flag of the group is white and it contains several red-colored elements; a five-pointed star for the Marxist origin, Iran is outlined to signify the operational place of resistance, the circle representing the globe indicates world revolution, and out of an anvil raises a clenched fist holding a scythe and pick to show the armed struggle for the people [Fig 89].

PLF: Palestinian Liberation Front (1961)

The leftist nationalist Palestinian (or Palestine) Liberation Front (PLF) was originally formed in 1961 and it merged with two other groups to form the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) in 1967 (Encyclopedia.com, 2020c). Only a few months later, PLF followers formed the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC) (Encyclopedia.com, 2020c). PFLP-GC executed several attacks in the early 1970s and a part broke away after the Syrian incursion in Lebanon and formed the renewed PLF in 1977 (Encyclopedia.com, 2020c). PLF was recognized as an independent group in 1981 and around 1983 it split into three factions (U.S. Department of Defense, 1988). Those three factions share the common goal to break up the current state of Israel through organizing terrorist attacks, so that an independent Palestinian state can be established (U.S. Department of Defense, 1988).

The logo [Fig 90] of the organization contains several symbols; a red star representing the Marxist-Leninist ideology, a gun barrel in the middle for the armed struggle, Palestine borders outlined in green on the left, and the name of the group written in Arabic. The featured colors are derived from the Palestinian flag (red, black, white, and green), which signifies the nationalist origins of PLF.

CONCLUSIVE SUMMARY

We see that the red star was introduced as a symbol of communism when it was worn together with the hammer and plow on the badge of the Red Army in 1918. Khvostov (1996) explained that the five points of the star came to symbolize world revolution on all continents. The Soviet regime tried to bring about revolution around the world with the help of propaganda after the establishment of the Soviet Union. This resulted in a revolutionary wave of movements fighting different forms of repression. The red star became the eminent symbol of radical change on a worldwide level.

This symbol was adopted by the revolutionary entities with different beliefs and objectives, nonetheless most of these entities had socialist or communist origins. The star was often featured as a central part on the logos and flags, to represent the main objective

3.2. THE HAMMER AND SICKLE

of the entity. Additionally, components and shapes were featured to symbolize the purpose of the entity in relation with its context. For instance, entities involved in the Kurdish-Turkish conflict used colors and elements (like the sun) from the flag of Kurdistan and Rojava in their designs. Some of the examples show that communism had such a big influence in countries in the world, that it was even incorporated in the designs of national flags. The five-pointed star mainly appeared in the color red or yellow, but some of the entities also used a five-pointed star in black. The entities incorporating a black star frequently had other leftist views, particularly anarchism. The black star also became a symbol of anarchism and is probably derived from communism.



Fig 91 World coins, Chile Republic. Silver Essai Peso, 189- So, Santiago, 19.94g. (Retrieved from <https://www.numisbids.com/n.php?p=lot&sid=956&lot=1042>)

ORIGIN

Some references can be found that indicate that a crossed hammer and sickle were initially found on Chilean coins dating back to as early as 1895. An exemplar is mentioned for auction on <https://www.numisbids.com> and a coinciding coin is briefly described in the book *Encyclopedia small silver coins* on page 88 [Fig 91]. Besides these and some other references, extensive or detailed sources regarding these coins could not be found.

Later found representations of the crossed hammer and sickle date back to the Russian Revolution, just as the red star. The history of the hammer and sickle and the red star are often connected, which is why references to the previous chapter will be made to prevent a repetition within this research. To be brief, the 1918 breast badge of the Red Army (page 74) shows the crossed hammer and plow inside a red star, which was soon replaced by a hammer and sickle to improve recognition. In a like manner, both the star and crossed hammer and sickle were portrayed on the coat of arms and the flag of the USSR (page 75). The hammer and sickle came to symbolize solidarity between the industrial workers (hammer) and the peasants (sickle).

THE COMINTERN AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The Soviet government founded an association of national communist parties in 1919 with the name Communist International — also known as Comintern or Third International (Britannica, 2017a). The Comintern was established in March 1919 at a congress in Moscow and it is also known as the Third International, because it descends from the First and Second Internationals (McDermott & Agnew, 1996). The association was presented as a promotion tool of world revolution, yet it mainly functioned as a means of Soviet control over the international communist movement (Britannica, 2017a).

Tactics within the organization of the Comintern have changed multiple times from left to right and some of those will be appointed next to give some insight. Rees and Thorpe (1998) say that the approach of the Comintern shifted from creating united fronts of multiple political parties against their regimes towards a 'class against class' battle in the end of the 1920s. It was decided at the last congress in 1935 that popular fronts of anti-fascists would be set up in the fight against fascism (Britannica, 2017a). Stalin and Hitler signed a Non-Aggression pact in 1939 and still World War II was around the corner (McDermott & Agnew, 1996). In 1943, Stalin dissolved the Comintern when the tides were turning (McDermott & Agnew, 1996).

McDermott and Agnew (1996) say that those differences of opinion within the organization of the Comintern made Stalin expel Trotsky and Zinoviev from the Russian party in 1927 after accusing them of disrupting the integrity of the party and the country. While Trotsky wanted a permanent revolution on an international level, Stalin had disregarded this idea for making use of other communist parties to promote Soviet foreign policy (Gonzalez, 2014).

Trotsky and his followers had the idea of setting up a new international by affiliating with other entities that left either the Comintern or the Socialist International (Alexander, 1991). As a result, the founding congress of the Fourth International (FI) took place on September 3, 1938, and the World Party of the Socialist Revolution was announced (Alexander, 1991). Trotsky wrote the *Transitional Program*, also known as the *Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International*, for the founding congress and it became the entity's most elementary piece of strategics (Alexander, 1991). Trotsky (1974) wrote that the ultimate goal was "the conquest of power by the proletariat" by overthrowing capitalism with the help of transitional demands (p. 75). Fourth International (n.d.) summates that the organization went through several splits between the 1940s and 1950s, yet it was mostly reunified again in 1963, and in the 1960s and 1970s, FI joined in the worldwide ongoing radical and liberation struggles together with its sections. FI enhanced its Marxist strategy based on the prevailing class struggle around the 1990s (Fourth International, n.d.). In the 21st century, FI is engaged with activists from different perspectives and movements (such as feminism) and since 2010 it characterizes itself "as Ecosocialist as the concentrated expression of the common struggle against the exploitation of human labour and the destruction of the planet by capitalism" (Fourth International, n.d., para. 12).

The initial logo of the FI shows the number four overlapping with a crossed hammer and sickle in black [Fig 92]. The logo that is currently being used depicts no hammer and sickle, but simply a four with the word international written inside. An actual photo (in this case from a Black Lives Matter protest) is depicted behind [Fig 93].



Fig 92 Initial logo of the Fourth International (FI). (Reconstructed from <https://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/workers-fight-uk/Workers%20Fight%20and%20the%20Fourth%20International%20pamphlet.pdf>)



Fig 93 New logo of Fourth International (FI) depicted in front of a photograph.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF POLITICAL PARTIES

In the aftermath of the October Revolution, most countries had a Communist party by the end of 1920 and those parties were seen as national sections of a world party, explain Rees and Thorpe (1998). They add that it was expected for those parties to obey and participate in decisions of the world party, being the Communist Inter-

national. The Soviets established their dominance over the Communist International. More precisely, they founded the association which was being operated from Moscow, the Soviet party was represented largely in the administrative bodies and they had the fortune that most foreign communists felt loyal to the world's first socialist state (Britannica, 2017a). Rees and Thorpe (1998) summarize the early establishments of communist parties:

By the end of 1921, there were Communist parties in all but four of the European states: Norway (where the party was eventually formed in 1923), Greece (1924), Ireland (1933) and Albania (1941). In Asia, there were by that time Communist parties in China, Korea, the Dutch East Indies, Iran and Turkey (Japan had to wait until 1922, and India until 1928); in North America, they existed in the USA and Canada; and they had also been formed in Australia and New Zealand. (p. 2)

The Communist International was generally more involved with Europe and Asia than it was with Africa (Drew, 2014). Even though, communist ideas were being spread along coastal import and export areas with a connection to Europe (Drew, 2014). Communist parties were formed in 1921 in Egypt and South Africa besides the fact that most of Africa was under colonial rule (Rees & Thorpe, 1998). Communism slowly started to gain influence in Latin America and the Caribbean:

by the end of 1921 they existed only in Argentina, Mexico and Uruguay. Although parties were formed in Brazil and Chile in 1922. Guatemala in 1924 and Cuba in 1925, other parts of Central and South America had to wait until after the Sixth World Congress (July-September 1928) showed some interest in the region before they were able to form Communist parties. (Rees & Thorpe, 1998, p. 2)

All in all, the success of the Revolution was so big that new parties defined themselves in relation to Russia, says Gonzalez (2014). Revolutionary movements inspired by the Russian Revolution are discussed in the previous case study while this chapter discusses political parties with a communist or socialist foundation. Communist parties from for example Portugal, Brazil, and Peru are (almost) identical to the symbols used by the USSR. Entities like those will not be included in this research, as the aim is to analyze and illustrate developments and alterations rather than repetitions.

KKE: Communist Party of Greece (1918)

The Communist Party of Greece (KKE) was founded in 1918 as the Socialist Workers' Party of Greece (SEKE), states the Communist Party of Greece (2019) on its website. The entity adds that KKE became associated with the Comintern in 1924, which is why it changed its name. KKE has a Marxist-Leninist ideology at its foundation and it has been defending the working class in the fight against capitalism since its existence (Communist Party of Greece, n.d.). The party became eloquent during World War II, but lost popularity by means of its revolting activities during the civil war of 1946-1947 and it was as a consequence temporarily outlawed (Hass, 1983/2006). KKE was recognized again as a party in 1974 and it has been the third-largest political party in Greece since 1981 (Hass, 1983/2006). KKE is still following the Soviet-style communist ideology and it attempts to distinguish itself from other leftist groups (Hass, 1983/2006). The party's logo contains the acronym and the hammer and sickle in red, with yellow sun rays and a small blue squared line surrounding those elements [Fig 94]. On Twitter, the logo is picturing all elements in red [Fig 95].



Fig 94 Logo of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE).



Fig 95 Logo of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE).

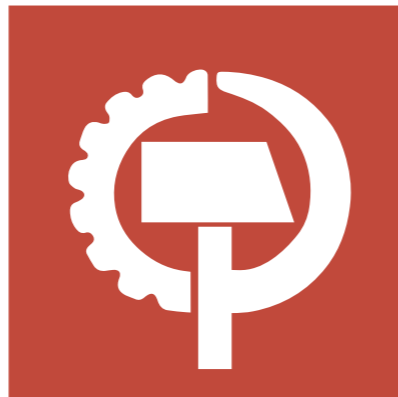


Fig 96 Logo of the Communist Party USA (CPUSA).

TKP: Communist Party of Turkey (1920)⁶

The Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) was originally established in 1920, but it had been operating underground for many years after its banishment of 1923 (Hobday, 1986). Nevertheless, the party exposed itself “in the 1990s as the Party for Socialist Turkey and the Party for Socialist Power;” and in 2001, the party reconstructed itself with yet again the name TKP (Türkiye Komünist Partisi [TKP],



Fig 97 Logo of the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP).



Fig 98 Flag of the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP).



Fig 99 Logo of the South African Communist Party (SACP).



Fig 100 Flag of the South African Communist Party (SACP).

n.d., para. 69). TKP (n.d.) is the party of the working class, guided by Marxism-Leninism, fighting for equality and freedom in opposition to imperialism and capitalism. Above all, the party aims to achieve the construction of socialism — a world without classes and exploitation — through a political revolution (TKP, n.d.). The party's logo indicates the fundamentals of the party; as workers are represented through a hammer and cogwheel and a small outlined star (for communism) is pictured above [Fig 97]. The acronym is written underneath, while the full party name is written in Turkish on top. All these elements are colored in yellow and placed on a red circle. TKP keeps several flags with various designs, one sample portrays yellow elements of the logo on a red background [Fig 98].

SACP: South African Communist Party (1921)

The South African Communist Party (SACP) was founded in 1921 as the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA). The South African Communist Party (n.d.) writes on its website that the party “has always been in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism and racist domination. SACP is a partner in the Tripartite Alliance consisting of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Congress of South African Trade Union” (para. 1).⁷ CPSA got banned by the Suppression of Communism Act in June 1950 and three years later the underground SACP was set up by former members (Drew, 2014). Instead of focusing on class struggle, the political party was now mainly concerned about national liberation and fighting apartheid (Drew, 2014). SACP survived the collapse of the Soviet Union as one of the few and since 2008, it plays a leading role in the African Left Networking Forum to spread a Marxist-Leninist view (Drew, 2014). The logo of the party [Fig 99] pictures a golden hammer and sickle inside a black star with a red outline (or background). Underneath, the acronym SACP is written in black. The red outline becomes a rectangular background when the logo is depicted on the flag [Fig 100].

CPC: Communist Party of Canada (1921)

The Communist Party of Canada (CPC, n.d.-a) states that it is a small party for the working class, that was established in 1921 with the goal of forming a socialist country. The Marxist-Leninist guided party fights for a real democracy by uniting international and Canadian workers in order to achieve fundamental change (CPC, n.d.-a). CPC started off as an underground party, it had been banned several times, and it also changed its name to Labour Progressive Party

6. Other parties following a communist ideology and situated in Turkey are included in the previous case study, as they took on a radical or revolutionary course of operation.

7. the African National Congress (ANC) is discussed in the following case study (p. 119).

(LPP) from 1943 till 1959 (Hobday, 1986). CPC (n.d.-b) presented its emblem [Fig 101] at its 39th convention: “a roundel comprised of half a gear, on the right side, and an ear of wheat, on the left side, forming a circle and symbolizing the unity of the workers and farmers of Canada. The official emblem shall be red in colour” (article 2). The logo is presented in white when on a red background.

PCE: Spanish Communist Party (1921)⁸

“The Spanish Communist Party (PCE) had been one of the smallest in Europe, beset by factional struggles and rarely engaging the serious attention of the Comintern” (McDermott & Agnew, 1996, p. 139). However, in the mid-1930s, PCE played a minor role in the emerging Spanish Popular Front. McDermott and Agnew (1996) say that this still very fragile political alignment consisted of PCE, the liberal Republican party, the Spanish Socialist Workers’ Party (PSOE) and the Workers’ Party of Marxist Unification (POUM). The Spanish Civil war (1936-1939) was a big opportunity and a test for the Comintern to see if it could control and influence the actions of political parties, says Rees (1998). He includes that the Communist International was at that point in danger of going extinct, making it a perfect moment for the Communist International to offer decisive leadership in a moment of crisis. It was the task of the Communist International to strengthen the Popular Front in defense of the Republic during the Civil War (McDermott & Agnew, 1996). The War became a controversial issue in the way that it came to symbolize the wider struggle for democracy over fascism for the international left (McDermott & Agnew, 1996). Partido Comunista de España (n.d.-b) writes that PCE became a strong defender of the foundational progressive republicanism by which it made enemies of ones in favor of surrender, deriving into the collapse of the Republic in March 1939.

PCE was established in 1921, through a merger of the original Spanish Communist Party (PC) and PCOE (Partido Comunista de España, n.d.-b). On its website, Partido Comunista de España (n.d.-a) writes that “the PCE aims at taking political power, controlling the economic activity and bringing the capitalist system down, in order to build socialism in Spain and to contribute to world socialism that allows for human emancipation” (para. 2). The communist origins of the entity are reflected in the red logo. It namely pictures a hammer and sickle and a five-pointed star in the upper left corner with the acronym ‘PCE’ underneath [Fig 102].

POUM: The Workers’ Party of Marxist Unification (1935 - 1980)

After the October Revolution of 1934, Marxist groups around Spain apprehended that unity was more important now than ever in the



Fig 101 Logo of the Communist Party of Canada (CPC).



Fig 102 Logo of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE).



Fig 103 Flag of the Workers’ Party of Marxist Unification (POUM).

fight against fascism, after which the Workers’ Party of Marxist Unification (POUM) was formed in 1935 (Alexander, 1991). Alexander (1991) points out that POUM participated shortly in the Popular Front and two months before the start of the Civil War, it became part of the regional government of Catalonia with Non as its minister of justice. He adds that the party grew quickly during the war with a rise from 6,000 to 30,000 members, and simultaneously its press increased. Alba and Schwartz (2009) say that POUM was initially more influential than PCE, where the founders of POUM proceeded from. The party was inspired by Trotsky’s ideas, it was in conflict with the official communists from the beginning, and finally some members of POUM were persecuted of fascism (Alexander, 1991). The red flag of POUM pictured a white crossed hammer and sickle in the up-left corner and the initials in white in the corner below [Fig 103].

KSC: Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (1921-1990)

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) was formed in 1921 when the left-wing broke away from the Social Democratic Party (Pederson, 1983/2006a). Skilling (1955) states that the party affiliated itself with the Comintern and it had members of all nationalities within the country. KSC became the most powerful Communist Party after the Soviet Union and in 1949 it gained control of the country and kept authoritarian strength until 1968 (Pederson, 1983/2006a). People started to dissociate themselves from the communists because of the Prague Spring that year, which was when Dubcek wanted to impose “socialism with a human face” (Bauer, 2002). Bauer (2002) points out that a conversation was started in 1989 about how the political system could be more democratic and in the same year the superiority of KSC was discarded from the constitution. He adds that KSC divided itself into the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) and the Communist Party of Slovakia (KSS) in 1990 – which became the Party of the Democratic Left (SDL) the year after. KSCM saw itself as the descendant of the KSC while KSS/SDL broke away from communism (Bauer, 2002).

KSCM: Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (1990)

KSCM maintains a conservative communist viewpoint by holding on to the ‘old’ state socialism (Bauer, 2002). Pederson (1983/2006a) asserts that the party is mainly appealing for older people who feel distant from the present societal structure and in areas where the unemployment rate is high. KSCM needs to gain back people’s trust

8. The breakaway faction of PCE – Communist Party of Spain-Reconstituted (PCE(r)) and its armed wing First of October Anti-Fascist Resistance Groups (GRAPO) – are discussed in the previous case study (pp. 83-84).

and no other parties within the Czech parliament want to form a coalition with KSCM because of concerns regarding the communist regime of the past (Pederson, 1983/2006a). The party aims for free and equal citizens inside a politically and economically diverse and just democratic society based on Marxist theory (Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy [KSCM], n.d.).⁹

At the center of KSC's logo appears a red star outlined in orange, with an orange hammer and sickle inside [Fig 104]. Underneath, a wreath is formed with the acronym in red in the middle. On top, one sees the flag of Czechoslovakia. The logo of KSCM pictures the acronym with a star above the 'M' in red with two red cherries and a green leaf on the left [Fig 105]. The cherry refers to a revolutionary poem written by Jean Baptista Clément, which is associated with the Paris Commune of 1871 (KSCM, n.d.).⁹

WPK: Workers' Party Korea (1946)

The Korean Workers' Party (KWP) was founded in 1946 with the Korean Communist Party at its base (Lee, 1982). Park (1983/2006) states that the party took the USSR Communist Party as its example, but the party slowly grew to one-man leadership of Kim Il Sung. He adds that Kim dominated KWP in the early 1960s, which simultaneously gave him full state power, and in 1972 he became president of North Korea after the constitution was established. Industrialization boosted the number of technical intellectuals and a large number of them joined the KWP (Lee, 1982). Kim is seen as the revolutionary leader who freed the country of Japan and especially as the founder of Juch'e ideology, which stands for self-reliance and it works like a Marxist-Leninist ideology shaped for Korea (Park, 2006). In 1980, Kim's son Kim Jong Il became his successor and in 2011, Kim Jong Un quickly established his course of leadership (Cheong, 2014). WPK's logo pictures a crossed hammer and sickle (facing upwards), with a writing brush at its center. The hammer stand for the industrial worker, the sickle stands for the farmer, and the brush stands for the intellectuals. The elements are colored in yellow and presented on a red flag [Fig 106].

SP: Socialist Party (1971)

The Socialist Party (SP) was originally established in 1971 as the Communist Party Netherlands (Marxist-Leninist) and in 1972, it changed its name to SP (Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen [DNPP], n.d.). The party's ideology advanced from a Maoist point of view towards being a social democratic party (DNPP, n.d.). SP (n.d.) presented itself as an opposition party in 1993 and the tomato became the symbol of this new approach. It indi-



Fig 104 Logo of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC).



Fig 105 Logo of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM).



Fig 106 Flag of the Workers' Party Korea (WPK).



Fig 107 Logo of the Socialist Party (SP).



Fig 108 Logo of the Workers' Party (PT).



Fig 109 Flag of the Workers' Party (PT).

cates healthy vitamins and at the same time it is a protest weapon directed at the bad political theatre (SP, n.d.). The new approach succeeds as membership grows and in 1999 the first seat within the European government was obtained (SP, n.d.). Design studio thonik redesigned the party's logo for the 2005 national elections, based on the transition of being an opposition party to being one of the biggest political parties in the country with a relevant applicable program (thonik, n.d.). The concept developed from a thrown tomato as a sign of protest into something friendly; feeding people with the help of a mobile (tomato) soup kitchen (thonik, n.d.). The tomato with a star at its center became part of the party's identity and it came to function as a punctuation mark in the logo [Fig 107].

PT: Workers' Party (1980)

The Workers' Party (PT) was officially formed on February 10, 1980, as a way of advocating change for workers in the city and the countryside, leftist activists, intellectuals, and artists (Partido dos Trabalhadores [PT], n.d.-b). PT (n.d.-a) pursues its policy for equality and freedom, also within the internal democratic structure of the party by setting up rules and presenting different forms of participation. The Brazilian party used to defend quite radical policies in relation to a fair distribution of wealth and income, but the 2002 presidential elections were won by union leader and party founder Lula da Silva because of a more centrist position (Rinne, 1983/2006). As a result, radical members broke away from the party in 2005 to form a new political party (Rinne, 1983/2006). The logo of PT entails a red star for its socialist background, with the acronym in white in the middle [Fig 108]. The flag is similar, but it shows the colors reversed [Fig 109].

CPB: Communist Party of Britain (1988)

The Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) was established in 1920 as a result of the merger of members from the British Socialist Party (BSP), the Socialist Labour Party (SLP), and other Marxist groups (Hobday, 1986). CPGB "has been in the frontline of the political class struggle, fighting for working class interests against exploitation and oppression, in favour of human liberation and socialism" (Communist Party of Britain [CPB], n.d., para. 26). The Communist Party of Britain (CPB) was founded in 1988 by members who were expelled from the original party (CPB, n.d.). CPB (n.d.) re-established the party based on Marxist-Leninist theory, and remnants of CPGB joined the new party when CPGB dissolved in 1991.

9. Translated from Czech with the help of Google Translate.

The party describes itself as the Marxist party of the labor movement, with the goal of creating a socialist society where unity, democracy, and liberation are fundamental principles (CPB, n.d.). The party has two logos; one shows a stylized hammer and sickle in red, by which the sickle is shaped like a dove [Fig 110]. A symbolic representation of a dove could represent peace or moving from one state to another (Cooper, 1978/2012), which could be applicable to the aim of CPB. The other logo presents the hammer and dove in white, in front of a red flag, in addition to the words ‘Communist party’ and ‘CPB’ [Fig 111].



Fig 110 Logo of the Communist Party of Britain (CPB).



Fig 111 Logo of the Communist Party of Britain (CPB).



Fig 112 Logo of the Communist Party of Britain Marxist-Leninist (CPBML). (Reconstructed from <https://www.cpbml.org.uk>)

CPBML: Communist Party of Britain Marxist-Leninist (1968)

Another earlier split was formed within CPGB and in 1968, the Communist Party of Britain Marxist-Leninist (CPBML) was formed under the leadership of Reg Birch (Hobday, 1986). The Communist Party of Britain Marxist-Leninist (CPBML, n.d.) aims for an independent and self-reliant country in the fight of international capital and it states that the Brexit was an essential part of this goal. The party argues that Marxist thinking is the only way to achieve a socialist society run by the working class. Its red logo contains a clenched fist to refer to socialism and a red star to refer more specifically to communism [Fig 112]. The logo also appears in other colors.

REPRESENTATION OF THE COGWHEEL

By looking at the previously mentioned entities, one can see that workers are represented not only through the hammer and sickle, but also through the cogwheel. Examples that have already been discussed are; the flag of Angola (p. 80) and the symbols of several communist parties — CPUSA, CPC, and TKP. The cogwheel is also portrayed on national emblems of several countries, including the emblem of China, Angola, and Italy [Fig 113, 114, 115]. The references of this symbol are rather practical than historical as it appears to be. This is in contrast to other political symbols, like the red star or the hammer and sickle. Besides entities linked with communism, the cogwheel or gear can also be found in use by other entities that have the worker at interest. Some cases will be discussed accordingly so that the usage of the symbol is elucidated.

ICL-CIT: International Confederation of Labor (2018)

The International Confederation of Labour (ICL-CIT) was formed in May 2018 as an international working-class organization, devoted to real worldwide change on social, political, and economic levels (ICL CIT, 2018). ICL-CIT wants to build a revolutionary



Fig 113 National emblem of the People's Republic of China since 1950.



Fig 114 National emblem of the People's Republic of Angola since 1975.



Fig 115 National Emblem of the Italian Republic since 1948.



Fig 116 Logos of the International Confederation of Labor (ICL-CIT) in English and Spanish.



Fig 117 Logo of the International Confederation of Labor (ICL-CIT).

and transformative global movement with anarcho-syndicalist and revolutionary member organizations that share “a number of principles, such as solidarity, class struggle, internationalism, horizontality and federalism, independence, direct action, antifascism, and the protection of the environment” (ICL CIT, 2018, para 7). Members of the sections were asked to send in proposals for the logo and finally two logos were chosen through a referendum (ICL CIT, 2019). The first logo [Fig 116] symbolizes the worker in multiple ways, which is imagined as a piece of wheat referring to agriculture, part of a cogwheel for industrial workers, a pencil for office workers, and part of a tire for transportation jobs. These representations are all in red and form a circle together. In the middle, the acronym is stylized in black so that it forms a circle, in both the English and Spanish versions. The full name is also featured below. The second logo [Fig 117] shows the acronym of the organization with the full name in both English and Spanish underneath. ICL is colored red while CIT is colored black and the star (for revolutionary purpose) in the middle is half-half. As we have seen before, the color for revolution is red and the color black is often used by anarchist organizations.

AIBEA: All India Bank Employees Association (1946)

The biggest and oldest union of bank employees of India, the All India Bank Employees Association (AIBEA, n.d.), was established on April 20, 1946. Bank employees started organizing some forms of protest and small unions after they saw industrial workers fight for better salaries and working conditions (AIBEA, n.d.). The number of unions grew and finally settlements and negotiations were made with the rising voice of unsatisfied workers (AIBEA, n.d.). Naresh Paul contributed to establishing both AIBEA and Bank Employees

Federation of India (BEFI) after he lost his job at the Central Bank of India for managing a strike of the recently formed trade union (Bank Employees Federation of India [BEFI], n.d.). The base of AIBEA's logo is a rounded rectangle with the acronym and a cogwheel inside [Fig 118]. A hand holding a hammer is depicted inside the cogwheel, which could either represent a working hand or a hammer of court. The second hand with a (what looks like a) pen could indicate the negotiations it is trying to settle for the working class.

BEFI: Bank Employees Federation of India (1982)

BEFI (n.d.) was established in October 1982 as a bank trade union, defending matters such as “service conditions of bank employees, development of the banking industry, defense of public sector banking in India and exemplary service to customers, including the marginal and neglected” (para. 1). Mankidy (1996) states that BEFI grew from a small splinter organization towards a prominent entity that is backed by the Marxist Communist Party of India (CPIM). BEFI is the third biggest union concerning bank employees after AIBEA and the National Confederation of Bank Employees (BEFI, n.d.). BEFI's logo shows two raised fists inside a cogwheel, this indicates the unity of workers fighting for change [Fig 119]. The acronym is written on the right of that and above the letter ‘i’, one can find a star. This is expected to refer to the change the union wants to make.

DAF: German Labor Front (1933-1945)

The cogwheel can also be seen in use by the German Labor Front (DAF) and some neo-Nazi groups, like the Traditionalist Worker Party (TWP) and the Hammerskins or Hammerskin Nation (HSN), who might have been inspired by DAF. Korf and Drost (1993, p. 113) state that the Nazis “either proscribed or destroyed the socialist symbols or “nationalized” them, thereby destroying them in two ways, by liquidation and transformation (a precondition of the Nazi appropriation)” after Hitler came to power in 1933.

The Nazis gained sympathy from workers when they set up a labor front with the goal of improving labor conditions and independency from foreign markets (von Mises, 1944/1985). DAF became the organization that forced all trade unions into one big Nazi organization in 1933 (Hamburger, 1944). Hamburger (1944) states that the union gained control of all German labor news and its weekly publication was the biggest piece of Nazi propaganda. He adds that the DAF press reduced quickly as soon as the war broke out and with the collapse of Germany the press ceased. The trade union's logo shows a centralized swastika as the logo of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP), which is surrounded by a



Fig 118 Logo of All India Bank Employees Association (AIBEA). (Reconstructed from <https://aibea.in>)



Fig 119 Logo of the Bank Employees Federation of India (BEFI).



Fig 120 Flag of the German Labor Front (DAF). (Reconstructed from *Organisationsbuch der NSDAP, Tafel 25*)



Fig 121 Logo of the Hammerskins (HSN). (Retrieved from <https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/hammerskins>)



Fig 122 Flag of the Traditionalist Worker Party (TWP).

cogwheel to represent the origin of the entity [Fig 120]. The swastika and cogwheel are featured in black on a red flag.

HSN: The Hammerskins / Hammerskin Nation (1988)

Neo-Nazi skinhead group HSN was formed in Dalles in 1988 (Kontos & Brotherton, 2008). It is the most eminent skinhead group of the United States with six official sections in the nation and twelve sections internationally (Burley, 2017). The group uses lots of violence and it grew because of its online appearances, a proper ‘supporter’ system, and the organization of public events like the Hammerfest (Burley, 2017). ADL (n.d.-f) states that the group adopted the crossed hammers from the movie *The Wall* of Pink Floyd. The organization adds that HSN's logo normally portrays two crossed hammers in front of a cogwheel, in the colors of the nazi flag — red, white, black [Fig 121]. Different sections of the group often use small symbolic elements to differentiate themselves (ADL, n.d.-f). The skinhead movement originated during the 1960s in Britain as a movement of working-class youths (Borgeson & Valeri, 2018). This is probably why certain skinhead groups, like HSN, incorporate symbols to represent workers.

TWP: Traditionalist Worker Party (2015-2018)

Matthew Heimbach and Matthew Parrott founded a white nationalist group called Traditionalist Youth Network (TYN) in 2013, with a focus on recruiting students (Southern Poverty Law Center [SPLC], n.d.-e). In 2015, TWP was established as its political wing with an advocacy for pure racial nations and communities (SPLC, n.d.-e). SPLC (n.d.-e) states that TWP joined the Aryan Nationalist Alliance (ANA) of white power groups in 2016, which was later that year rebranded as the Nationalist Front (NF). The organization adds that TWP helped to organize the seemingly deadly ‘Unite the Right’ rally in Charlottesville in 2017 and the group disbanded in 2018, shortly after the arrest of Heimbach for several acts of violence. The logo of TWP portrays a four-pronged pitchfork in the center with a cogwheel around it [Fig 122]. The logo often appeared in yellow or white, on a black flag.

CONCLUSIVE SUMMARY

The hammer and sickle (initially the hammer and plow) came to represent communist ideology when it was worn on the badge of the Red Army together with the red star. Together, the tools signified the unity of the industrial workers and peasants and the idea of united workers was spread around the world through this symbol. We

3.3. THE CLENCHED FIST

see that communist parties globally incorporated the hammer and sickle in their logo. This emphasizes that the entities advocate for the working class. In some cases, the worker was depicted through a representation of the cogwheel. The hammer, sickle and cogwheel also appeared together in various combinations, or by which one of the elements was exchanged for another symbol. To illustrate, the logo of the Communist Party of Britain (CPB) depicts a hammer and dove (in place of a sickle), which adds another meaning to the symbol while still being visually recognizable as a hammer and sickle. The cogwheel also appears as a representation of the worker by other entities like workers unions. In this case, the cogwheel does not necessarily signify communist origins of the entity, as it can also symbolize organizations that care about workers with a focus on different principles. Some examples were given by which the far right working-class adopted symbols like the cogwheel to represent themselves. This shows that the connotations of working-class symbols can vary in meaning when applied to a different context.



Fig 123 *The Socialist*. Painting by Robert Köhler, 1885. (Deutsches Historisches Museum)

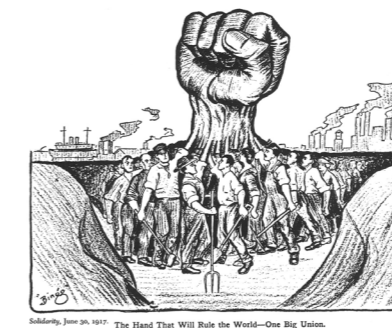


Fig 124 *Solidarity*. "The hand that will rule the world — one big union." Poster by Ralph Chaplin, 1917.



Fig 125 Emblem of the Red Front Fighters (RFB). (Reconstructed from <https://www.team-militaria.de/Abzeichen-Roter-Frontkaempferbund-RFB-SELTEN->)

ORIGIN

The clenched or raised fist can be employed as both a sign (gesture) and a symbol. According to Korff (1992), the clenched fist was used for the first time during the labor strike wave of the 1880s as a simple gesture of protest, dissatisfaction, and readiness to fight. He adds that the image of the fist spread fast because of *The Socialist* painting by Robert Köhler, which was reproduced repeatedly [Fig 123]. This gesture came to be used during strikes and protests, and around 1900 the (primarily communist-oriented) workers' organizations took over the clenched fist (Korff, 1992). It became a solidarity symbol for workers of all backgrounds when the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) used it on a poster of 1917 (Korff, 1992) [Fig 124].

In 1926, the clenched fist became the official salute of the paramilitary organization that was linked to the Communist Party of Germany (KDP) — the Red Front Fighters, Red Front Fighters' League, or simple Red Front (RFB) — after which it extended to Communist parties around the world (Weitz, 1997). Rosenhaft (1983/2008) explains that political violence intensified after 1929, which is why communist organizations changed their focus on fighting and defending themselves against the Nazis and their paramilitary wing, the Stormtroops (SA). She adds that RFB got banned in the same year while it continued operating underground as the most prominent illegal group, together with its youth section the Red Young Front (RJ).

After RFB's establishment in 1924, the salute became widely promoted "in marches, demonstrations and festivals. It was also widely used in election posters, leaflets and armband" (Korff, 1992, pp. 77-81). This offensive symbol in opposition to the social democratic workers' movement also became part of RFB's emblem [Fig 125], which was created by John Heartfield and inspired by the drawing *Tend the Graves of March* by Georg Grosz (Korff 1992; Korff, 1993). In 1931, the clenched fist was employed as a gesture together with the word 'freedom' by paramilitary antifascist movement the Iron Front, which was formed by the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) (Korff, 1992). Simmons (2000) points out that the clenched fist and the swastika soon became counterparts in the fierce political battle between left and right during the Weimar Republic.

A SOCIALIST SYMBOL

The raised fist was adopted by the Popular Front in France and particularly because of the Spanish Civil War, the clenched fist became the international socialist sign of recognition and ceremonial greet-

ing (Korff, 1993). The Republican forces, among who the Popular Front, used the anti-fascist salute in the war against the nationalists, which resulted in real popularization of the fist as both a sign and symbol (Kelly, 2012).

SI: Socialist International (1951)

Various socialist entities adopted the fist as their symbol. One example is the Socialist International (SI), which was re-established in 1951 as the successor of the Labour and Socialist International (Sibilev, 1984). The emerging Korean War in 1950 enhanced the aspiration of social-democratic leaders to collaborate on an international level, states Sibilev (1984). He explains accordingly that SI was set up because of several reasons. First, the social-democratic leaders expected to gain respect from workers by including 'International' in the name. Second, they saw the creation of SI as a way to gain influence in Asia, Africa, and Latin America after the period of national liberation. Additionally, they wanted to become more organized and connected with other socialist parties, and lastly, the West European socialist parties started recovering again after a period of war and Nazi influence. In the past years, the membership has more than doubled and SI currently consists of 135 social democratic, socialist, and labor parties worldwide (Socialist International [SI], n.d.). The symbol of SI shows a clenched fist for solidarity while holding a red rose [Fig 126].

The first case study already mentioned that red became the color of socialism after the French Revolution of 1848. Additionally, the clenched fist and the rose became symbols to represent the ideology. Wolff (2019) explains that German Chancellor Bismarck outlawed the red socialist flag after the 1871 collapse of the Paris Commune in fear of a coincidental situation. He describes next how this resulted in the red rose as a symbol of socialism. Socialists notably started wearing small pieces of red ribbon, but they started wearing small roses after this was also banned. The judge overruled this and after imprisonment, the judge allowed the right of wearing a flower to court. It was constituted a socialist symbol when it was worn by a group of people. Socialists were banished from France and Germany, which is when the symbol spread across Europe and the United States. Finally, it was considered a symbol of socialism in 1910.

IST: International Socialist Tendency (1960)

The International Socialist Tendency (IST, n.d.-a) is a movement of revolutionary socialist groups that believe in socialism from below, based on theories from Marx and Engels, and enhanced by other revolutionaries. The origin of IST is rooted in the 1939-1940 dispute



Fig 126 Logo of the Socialist International (SI).



Fig 127 Stylized clenched fist, in use by the International Socialist Tendency (IST) and some of its affiliates.



Fig 128 Logo of the Socialist Workers Network (SWN).

between Leo Trotsky and the bureaucratic collectivism believed by the Shachtmanites (Alexander, 1991). The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was formed with this objective in Britain in the early 1950s, which connected with its United States counterpart in the late 1960s, and there were already representatives from multiple countries during a world meeting in 1984 (Alexander, 1991). Currently, the tendency has 27 international affiliates that share the same political viewpoints (IST, n.d.-b).

Some of the affiliated groups share the red stylized clenched fist as their logo [Fig 127]. Among those groups are the International Socialists (Netherlands), the International Socialists (Norway), Left Turn (Austria), and the Socialist Workers Party (Greece). A few groups use this clenched fist in a slightly different manner; Workers' Solidarity (Korea) uses the same fist but in white on its website, International Socialists (Canada) and the Socialist Workers Party (UK) feature a red fist with the acronym inside, and Revolutionary Socialist Workers' Party (Turkey) uses the fist in black with the acronym inside.

A few connected tendencies will be discussed separately because they incorporate the clenched fist in a (more noticeable) different way. Among those are Solidarity (Australia), Socialist Aotearoa (New-Zealand), Socialist Workers Network (Ireland), and Socialist Workers & Youth League (Nigeria).

SWN: Socialist Workers Network (1971)

In 1971, the Socialist Workers Movement was established in Ireland. It changed its name to the Socialist Workers Party in 1995 and since 2018, the group is known as the Socialist Workers Network (SWN) (Irish Left Archive, n.d.-a). SWN helped to set up People Before Profit, which is a 32 county socialist party that has been successful around the country (Socialist Workers Network [SWN], 2018). Since the name change in 2018, SWN decided to focus on PBP while maintaining SWN as an occasional independent external force (SWN, 2018). SWN's logo consists of a red clenched fist (with rounded corners), surrounded by a circle in red, with the full name in black on the right [Fig 128].

Solidarity, Australia (2008)

Solidarity [AU] (n.d.) is a socialist group that was formed in Australia in 2008 as a merger of Solidarity, Socialist Action Group, and the International Socialist Organisation. Its name indicates what it stands for; fighting for the rights of the working class and uniting with others in solidarity to fight capitalism (Solidarity [AU], n.d.). Solidarity [AU] (n.d.) takes a stand against oppression, racism, sexism, and ho-

mophobia, and it fights for an alternative system that is based on socialism from below. The logo displays ‘Solidarity’ written in red, with the raised fist incorporated in the letter ‘o’ [Fig 129].

SA: Socialist Aotearoa (2008)

Socialist Aotearoa (SA, n.d.-b) was founded in 2008 as a working-class revolutionary group that is also connected to the IST. The group believes that a workers’ democracy can only be created when workers and citizens unite in the struggle against capitalism (SA, n.d.-b). The logo of SA looks quite similar to the emblem used by RFB, since they both picture a centralized raised fist in red, surrounded by a circle with text inside. SA’s logo pictures the initials in the fist and the black circle around it says ‘All power to the people’ [Fig 130]. On its website, SA (n.d.-a) posted five founding principles under the title *Five Fingers for a Fist*; socialism from below through revolution, unite against imperialism and racism, equality for all, co-operations in United fronts while keeping independency, and creating a network through unions.

SWL: Socialist Workers & Youth League (-)

Socialist Workers & Youth League (SWL, n.d.) is a revolutionary party in Nigeria that wants to overthrow the current system in order to establish a real workers’ democracy. SWL (n.d.) advocates socialism from below, solidarity on an international level, and equality while opposing capitalism and all forms of discrimination and oppression. The organization’s logo pictures a white clenched fist with the acronym inside in red, with a red star for the revolutionary purpose in the back, presented on a small black square [Fig 131].

Solidarity, US (1986)

Another socialist organization (disconnected from IST) is Solidarity [US]. This independent revolutionary group was formed in 1986 and states to be feminist, anti-racist, and democratic (Solidarity [US], n.d.-a). The entity wants to regroup the US left by self-organization of the working class and oppressed people in opposition to capitalism and imperialism (Solidarity [US], n.d.-a). Every two months, Solidarity [US] (n.d.-b) brings out a magazine, called *Against the Current*, with articles of the global socialist movement. Moreover, some members are in a group of supporters connected to the Fourth International. Solidarity’s [US] logo portrays a red star for revolution with the feminist fist symbol as a cut-out [Fig 132]. The origins of the feminist symbol will be discussed subsequently.



Fig 129 Logo of Solidarity [AU]. (Reconstructed from <https://www.solidarity.net.au>)



Fig 130 Logo of Socialist Aotearoa (SA). (Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/socialistaotearoa/>)



Fig 131 Logo of Socialist Workers & Youth League (SWL). (Reconstructed from <https://socialistworkersleague.org>)



Fig 132 Logo of Solidarity [US]. (Retrieved from <https://solidarity-us.org>)



Fig 133 La lutte continue. Poster by Atelier Populaire. (Retrieved from *Beauty is in the Street*, 2011, p. 30)

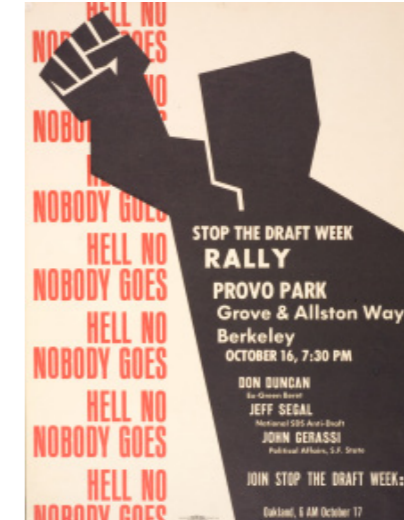


Fig 134 Stop the Draft Week. Poster by Frank Cieciorka, 1967.



Fig 135 Poster Harvard Strike, 1969. (The Harvard Art Museums, Retrieved from <https://hvrd.art/o/318040>)

A SYMBOL OF PROTEST

In the 1960s and early 1970s, the symbol of the clenched fist was picked up by European and American youth (Korff, 1922). The raised fist appeared as part of radical art in this period for student strikes, black solidarity, and feminism (Morris & Withers, 2018).

The student movement in France made quite an impact as it began to strike against the traditional hierarchical university system, and within days the protests spread around the country to other universities and factories, says Rubin (2018). She adds that these strikes were the result of “more than five years of social upheaval, intensifying an antiwar movement in Europe and contributing to the women’s liberation and gay rights movements” (para. 3). The Fine Arts School in Paris created political posters under the name Atelier Populaire, often including the raised fist as a call to fight [Fig 133], which they duplicated and spread around the city (Rubin, 2018).

Heller (2008b) states that Frank Cieciorka created a woodcut in 1967, containing the clenched fist, which became the model for the New Left [Fig 134]. To specify, Lincoln Cushing said in an interview with Cieciorka: “the iconic New Left fist very stylized and easy to reproduce, picked up almost immediately by Students for a Democratic Society and others” (Heller, 2008b, para. 7).

SDS: Students for a Democratic Society (1960)

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was a student activist movement that was set up by Tom Hayden in 1960 (Collins, 2009).

SDS was a prominent representation of the New Left in the United States, which grew quickly during the mid-1960s (Collins, 2009). It expanded to almost 100,000 members, of whom most were white men of the upper-middle class, before breaking down into smaller factions in 1969 (Aviv, 2008). SDS made a poster containing a raised fist in 1968 to protest against the Vietnam War and the electoral politics right before the Chicago Democratic Convention (Brown & Noonan, 2000).

SDS also played a leading role in the Harvard strike of 1969, by occupying University Hall and presenting demands for evolution and change, says Epps (1995). He adds that SDS formed an alignment with the New Left and the radical Progressive Labor Party with whom it wanted to force the University to take an antiwar position. Brown and Noonan (2000) state that posters with political and personal liberation demands were disseminated and copied after Atelier Populaire. The fist of the 1969 Harvard Strike was designed by Harvey Hacker and depicted on walls and t-shirts (Patton, 2006) [Fig 135].

A new SDS was established in 2006 and remodeled after the original SDS — even though that it resulted in self-destruction (Aviv, 2008). SDS (2019) states that they “strive to build a long-lasting and resilient political organization led by students and youth, to fight back against the system we live under controlled by the rich” (para. 1). SDS wants economic justice, it is anti-racist, it takes an anti-war position, it is pro-labor and it values safety, accessibility, and environmentalism (SDS, 2019). The entity’s logo shows the acronym in lowercase and colored red, with the ‘d’ extending into a fist, and a black circle drawn around it [Fig 136].



Fig 136 Logo of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). (Retrieved from <https://newsds.org>)



Fig 137 Award ceremony at the Olympics in Mexico, 1968.

Black Power Movement

Black nationalist groups around the world used a dark-skinned raised fist as a gesture or image of black power during the 1960s and 1970s (ADL, n.d.-c). An iconic image of the black power salute is a photograph [Fig 137] of Afro-American sprinters Tommie Smith and John Carlos, who raise their gloved fists on stage during the 1968 Olympics (Kelly, 2012). According to Patton (2006), Smith said that his right fist was raised as a symbol for black power in America and Carlos said that his clenched left fist symbolized black unity. This event put great prominence on the raised gloved fist and at last, the fist became the most significant symbol of the Black Power Movement (Henderson, 2013). The clenched fist was used by the Black Panther Party (BPP) as a salute during public events, which reinforced the synonymy between the symbol and the struggle for black civil rights (Duffield, 2020). The political group was founded



Fig 138 Symbol of the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM). Designed by Robin Morgan and Kenneth Pitchford, 1969.

by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale in 1966 to challenge police brutality against African Americans (History.com Editors, 2020). Its popularity flourished when BPP initiated several social programs and participated in political actions, with a peak of membership in 1968.

In the 21st century, the clenched fist became intertwined with the Black Lives Matter movement (BLM) as a reaction to unreasonable police cruelty against black people (Duffield, 2020). After Trayvon Martin was murdered, Black Lives Matter (n.d.) was set up in 2013 with the goal of wiping out white supremacy and founding local power to defend black communities. Duffield (2020) states that the raised fist (among other symbols) was adopted by the movement after the death of Michael Brown in Missouri in 2014, and it has been used in social media posts and rallies since. With the recent killing of George Floyd (2020), the movement spread even further with BLM chapters across the world and large protests in Europe, the UK, and Canada (Maqbool, 2020). On the internet, lots of photos from BLM protests can be found whereby the clenched fist appears on protest signs. BLM grew into an international umbrella network, which is receiving grants and assurances from entities that want to align themselves with the movement (Maqbool, 2020).

WLM: Women's Liberation Movement

Garland-Thomson (2020) says that the raised fist was adopted by the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) after the 1968 Olympics, and it was featured on its protest banners during the late 1960s and 1970s. She argues that this suggests solidarity with the Black Power movement as well as imitation. WLM is perceived as a part of the second wave of feminism, which focussed on a wide range of matters — like sexuality, politics, workplace, and family structure — whereas the first wave was more concentrated on women's legal rights (Burkett, 2020). This movement seeking equality was mostly based in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s (Burkett, 2020). The movement spread messages and ideas through different graphic outputs to reach an international public, which became a big part of WLM's visual language (Mcquiston, 2019). Robin Morgan and Kenneth Pitchford designed the women's liberation symbol [Fig 138] — a raised fist inside of the female gender symbol — for the Miss America demonstration in 1969 (DuPlessis & Snitow, 2007). The symbol came to represent the movement in the fight for equality and it was easily made onto pins and sprayed on walls (Morris & Withers, 2018).

Graphic designer Deva Pardue founded *For All Womankind* in 2016 after President Trump got elected as president (McLaughlin, 2018). She designed the *Femme Fists*, which is a design composed of

three illustrated female hands with nail polish in three skin colors [Fig 139]. Pardue made the design available ahead of the Women's March of 2017, after which the image of the *Femme Fists* went viral (McLaughlin, 2018).

A FIST FOR OTHER MOVEMENTS

The clenched fist was also adopted by a variety of other entities, ranging from radical groups to people fighting for the planet. The first case study already shortly discussed that the New Left came to rise with a big variety of movements. Some of those liberation movements are discussed here, seeing that they incorporate the raised fist while other entities use the star more dominantly.

ABC: Anarchist Black Cross (1906)

The Anarchist Black Cross (ABC) has been supporting prisoners in the fight for freedom and liberty since around 1906 (in Russia) and 1907 (internationally) (Anarchist Black Cross Federation [ABCF], n.d.). ABC used to be called Anarchist Red Cross (ARC), but it changed its name during the Russian Civil War to prevent confusion with the International Red Cross (ABCF, n.d.). Amster (2012) asserts that ABC is a concept rather than an organization, which resulted in developments and enlargement of the general mission and organizations with specified prisoner support. ABCF (n.d.) states that a small part of ABC broke away in 1995 to form the Anarchist Black Cross Federation (ABCF) to focus on full support and defense of Political Prisoners (PP) and Prisoners of War (POW). The entity clarifies that these people “are in prison as a result of conscious political action, for building resistance, building, and leading movements and revolution... for making change” (para. 12). The logo [Fig 140] used by ABC is composed of a black cross, with the vertical axis extending into a raised fist (resembling fighting for freedom). Smaller organizations or sections sometimes use this logo in a slightly alternated way.

JDL: Jewish Defense League (1968)

Rabbi Kahane established the right-wing group Jewish Defense League (JDL) in 1968 in New York (Weinberg & Pedahzur, 2004). JDL initially acted against the violence of black power activism with its own violence (Iancovici, 1971). JDL's goals were defined by Kahane as “to teach Jewish pride, Jewish self-defence and the exercise of Jewish political power” (Iancovici, 1971, p. 11). At its formation, JDL also embraced the slogan “Never again”, which refers to the killing of six million Jews during the Holocaust (Iancovici, 1971).



Fig 139 *Femme Fists*. Illustration by Deva Pardue, 2017.



Fig 140 Logo of the Anarchist Black Cross (ABC). (Reconstructed from <https://www.abcf.net/about-us/>)



Fig 141 Logo of the Jewish Defense League (JDL). (Reconstructed from <https://www.haaretz.com/jewish/controversial-jdl-revived-in-montreal-1.5305709>)



Fig 142 Flag of the Jewish Defense League (JDL). (Reconstructed after logo)



Fig 143 Logo of Angry Brigade.



Fig 144 Logo of Earth First! (EF!).

At present, it has branches in eight US cities and seven countries and it is still dedicated to help Jews and shift their image through all means necessary (Weinberg & Pedahzur, 2004). Iancovici (1971) states that the militancy of the group is reflected in the employed symbology, which consists of a clenched fist inside the star of David. This image is often featured in black or yellow when used on its own and it is mostly shown in black (on yellow) when portrayed on a flag [Fig 141, 142].

The Angry Brigade (Late 1960s -1972)

The Angry Brigade was one of the radical movements of the 1960s, and it is responsible for multiple bombings between 1970 and 1972 in Britain (Christie, 2010). Carr (2010) states that it was Angry Brigade's goal

to push back the boundaries of the state by a more combative approach to civil liberties and demands for greater democracy and accountability—as well as challenging, among other things, institutional racism, sexism, colonialism, the consumer society, the nuclear state and US and Soviet militaristic imperialism. (p. 194)

The logo used by the Angry Brigade shows two raised fists, one inside the biological female symbol and the other in the biological male symbol [Fig 143]. One can acknowledge that it is inspired on the symbol of WLM. These fists simultaneously represent a unified fight. The two fists are holding a gun, this reflects that the group used violence to achieve its means.

EF! Earth First! (1979)

Earth First! (EF!) was established in 1979 as a radical environmental movement, that literally puts earth first by following “No compromise in defense of mother earth” (Earth First!, n.d.). Lange (1990) says that EF! is different from mainstream environmental movements as EF! uses direct action and does not want to compromise to achieve its goal. He explains that the entity is organized without any form of hierarchy and it is committed to biocentrism and deep ecology. EF! uses two logos; one shows a monkey wrench, which refers to the kind of action it intends to take for its cause and the other logo is a raised fist popping up from a circle [Fig 144].

FNB: Food Not Bombs (1980)

Food Not Bombs (FNB, n.d.) is a voluntary organization that provides hungry people with vegetarian food for free as a sign of protest against war and poverty. The first group of this grassroots

movement started in Massachusetts in 1980 and has expanded to all continents (FNB, n.d.). According to Maddern (2009), the initiative started by rescuing food from going to waste by cooking hot vegetarian meals and giving it to the ones in need. She enhances that FNB subsequently started providing meals at protests and other events, and not to mention the provision of food for survivors of natural disasters or acts of terrorism. FNB works together with other organizations that are fighting for positive social change and resistance, among who the previously mentioned EF! and ABC (FNB, n.d.). FNB's logo [Fig 145] depicts a purple raised fist with a carrot in its hand inside a circle, which shows the struggle for food as a human right.



Fig 145 Logo of Food not Bombs (FNB).

Otpor (1998-2004)

Otpor was founded as a social movement in Serbia in 1998 after the protests of the previous years, with the goal of making real democratic change (Sombatpoonsiri, 2015). The entity called a thousands of youngsters up for action to join the nonviolent resistance against the Milosevic regime (Nikolayenko, 2017). Otpor spread lots of promotional material as a form of protest through which it hoped to gain support from the public and opposition parties (Sombatpoonsiri, 2015). Nikolayenko (2017) points out that Otpor's logo was a principal part of its branding and it was widely distributed through badges, t-shirts, and other means [Fig 146]. He adds that the logo designed by Nenad Petrovic consisted of an encircled clenched fist with the movement's name in Serbian — with 'resistance' as its literal meaning. Membership and purpose diminished after the regime was overthrown, and in 2004 Otpor was officially dissolved (Engler & Engler, 2016/2017).



Fig 146 Logo of Otpor.

AZAPO: Azanian People's Organisation (1978)

The Azian People's Organization (AZAPO) established itself in 1978 after student activists and similar organizations within South Africa were banned in 1977 (Maaba, 2001). AZAPO acknowledged the significance of student organizations in the liberation fight, and it regarded capitalism as the primary oppressing force in the country more so than apartheid (South African History Online [SAHO], 2019). SAHO (2019) says that AZAPO advocated the Black Consciousness philosophy of Steven Hiko and only blacks, coloureds, and indians could become members. The website adds that AZAPO involves black workers in the political class struggle and it wants a socialist state by which all production is nationalized and centralized. AZAPO was forced to operate underground starting in 1987, until it was unbanned in 1990, which is when it merged with the Black Con-



Fig 147 Logo of the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO).



Fig 148 Logo of the African National Congress (ANC).

sciousness Movement of Azania BCM(A) (Maaba, 2001). AZAPO continues as an opposition party and has engaged in all elections after it boycotted the 1994 democratic elections (SAHO, 2019). AZAPO's logo [Fig 147] consists of a yellow circle, featuring a black clenched fist (for the Black Conscious philosophy). The bottom of the fist is slightly cut off to form a red star (for the revolutionary purpose of the party) and the party's initials are written in black underneath.

ANC: African National Congress (1912)

The African National Congress (ANC) is a national liberation movement that has united African people in the fight for structural political, social, and economic change since 1912 (Montwedi, 2018). ANC has been guiding the struggle against racism, oppression, and apartheid with the goal of establishing "a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society" (Montwedi, 2018, About ANC section). The party mainly consisted of middle-class blacks in the first years of operation, while promoting multiracialism and opposing white supremacy (Meyers, 2006). During the 1950s, ANC's activities and visibility expanded through strikes and civil disobedience towards the government, and the party holds a prominent position in South African politics since its significant victory of the 2004 elections (Meyers, 2006). Montwedi (2018) describes the logo [Fig 148] used by ANC:

The logo contains a spear and so represent [sic] the early wars of resistance to colonial rule, the armed struggle of the ANC's former armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the ANC's ongoing struggle against racial privilege and oppression. The wheel dates back to the campaign for the Congress of the People, which adopted the Freedom Charter, and marks the joining in a common struggle for freedom people from all South Africa's communities. It is a symbol of the strong non-racial traditions of the ANC. The fist holding the spear represents the power of a people united in struggle for freedom and equality. (para. 2)

He also explicates the colors of the flag:

The black symbolises the people of South Africa who, for generations, have fought for freedom. The green represents the land, which sustained our people for centuries and from which they were removed by colonial and apartheid governments. The gold represents the mineral and other natural wealth of South Africa, which belongs to all its people, but which has been used to benefit only a small racial minority. (para. 1)

ZACF: Zabalaza Anarchist Communist Front / ZabFront (2003)

Zabalaza Anarchist Communist Front (ZACF) or simply Zabalaza — meaning struggle in Zulu and Xhosa — is a political anarchist organization based in Johannesburg since 2003 (Zabalaza, n.d.-b). Zabalaza (n.d.-b) was set up as an alternative to ANC with a different approach on the trade union movement. They are anarcho-communists seeking a classless, stateless, and non-hierarchical society through organizing as a federation of individuals (Zabalaza, n.d.-b). Zabalaza (n.d.-a) states that it wants to overthrow capitalism and the state so it can be replaced by a democratic society with self-sufficiency of workers and socialism. The logo [Fig 149] depicts the outlined African continent, colored in anarchist black and red, with a raised fist in a chain representing struggle. A black star is pictured at the bottom of the continent, signifying the revolutionary purpose. The full name of ZACF is stylized into a circle and surrounding the rest of the image.



Fig 149 Logo of the Zabalaza Anarchist Communist Front (ZACF). (Retrieved from <https://zabalaza.net/organise/what-is-the-zacf/>)

Popular Resistance (2011)

Popular Resistance (n.d.) reports resistance news online since 2011 from the United States and the rest of the world. The entity was primarily called the October 11 movement, because it was modeled after the Spanish Indignados Movement, and subsequently it was called Occupy Washington (Popular Resistance, n.d.). Popular Resistance (n.d.) employs its current name and website since 2013, providing not only resistance news but also the organization of campaigns, participation in coalitions, and a weekly newsletter. It is the entity's goal to bring “movements for peace and economic, racial and environmental justice together into an independent, nonviolent and diverse movement that can end the power of concentrated wealth, shift power to the people and put human needs before corporate greed” (Popular Resistance, n.d., para. 5).

Popular Resistance started using a clenched fist for solidarity in its logo mainly because of Tim DeCristopher's speech at a scene outside the courthouse (Zeese, 2011). He said that he felt like a finger that united with the supporters outside of the courthouse, to be formed a fist of power and connectedness (Zeese, 2011). The current logo depicts three fists that are presented as blooming roses [Fig 150]. The logo appears on top of the ‘dot’ when the website name is written in full.



Fig 150 Logo of Popular Resistance.

THE WHITE POWER FIST

The raised fist also came in use by white supremacists as a symbol for white power or white pride around the 1980s (ADL, n.d.-c).



Fig 151 Logo of the United Society of Aryan Skinheads (USAS). (Reconstructed from <https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/usas>)



Fig 152 Flag Hezbollah.

USAS: United Society of Aryan Skinheads (1987)

This can be seen in the symbols used by for instance United Society of Aryan Skinheads (USAS). This racist skinhead group was formed in Oregon in 1987, and since the early 1990s, it mainly operates in California, states a report from the San Diego Divion of the FBI (2008). It includes that USAS is dedicated to the 14 words “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children” and it wants to become the biggest skinhead group of California by recruiting new members. The report states that the primary symbol of USAS is a raised white power fist with a valknot (three interlocking triangles) in the wrist [Fig 151]. Sometimes this is shown together with laurel or oak branches or the acronym below. It often appears as a tattoo or as a patch on a flight jacket.

A SYMBOL OF VIOLENCE

Hezbollah/Hizbullah/Hizballah (1985)

Hezbollah — also Hizballah, Hizbullah or Party of God — is a radical Lebanese group formed in 1982 that works together with (and is often directed by) Iran in opposition to the West and Israel (Weinberg & Pedahzur, 2004). The country's most prominent Islamic fundamentalist group was set up as a response to the Lebanese Civil war and the invasion of Israel in Lebanon (Davidson, 2009). Davidson (2009) states that it used to be the entity's ultimate goal to establish an Islamic state by violently overthrowing the government, but since the end of the war in 1990, radicalism declined and the organization came to function as a political party in the Lebanese system. Nonetheless, the formation of an Islamic state is eventually the goal and militant activity is continued to control the southern part of the country, mainly because of Israelis invasive behavior (Davidson, 2009). Hezbollah generated multiple splinter groups and it has gained extensive support of the Lebanese Shi'ite population as a result of the establishment of social service institutions funded by Iran (Weinberg & Pedahzur, 2004).

The following description of Hezbollah's yellow/green flag [Fig 152] is based on the article of Christians United for Israel (2018). Hezbollah's compatibility with the Quran is reflected in its logo; the group's name, meaning Party of Allah, is written in Kufic script and connected to a drawing of the Quran. The script extends into a clenched fist, holding an AK-47 assault rifle, which represents the political and military cause of the group. The Arabic verse from the Quran above the logo says “Then surely the party of Allah are they that shall be triumphant”, and the verse underneath states “The Islamic Resistance in Lebanon.” The group wants to ex-

tend the Islamic Revolution internationally, which is reflected by the globe.

IRGC: Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (1979)

The Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) was established to protect the Islamic system after the Iranian revolution of 1979, according to an article by BBC (2020a). The article states that IRGC evolved into a dominant military, political, and economic organization in Iran, including close ties with the supreme ruler and other prominent figures. IRGC has developed connections and influence amongst armed organizations in the Middle East, including Hezbollah, by giving the group military advice and training through its Quds Force (Council on Foreign Relations, 2019). IRGC may reside one-third of the Iranian economy and the organization maintains five branches, consisting of a ground force, a paramilitary force, a naval force, an air force, and a cyber command (Council on Foreign Relations, 2019).

The symbolism of IRGC contains many similar elements as the symbolism of Hezbollah, including the fist holding a rifle, the globe, and the representation of the Quran. Additionally, the name of the group is written in Persian on the side and a partial verse of the Quran (8:60) can be found on the top, meaning “and prepare for them what you can by way of power/ strength” (Combating Terrorism Center, n.d.). The symbols are pictures gold on black when portrayed on the emblem [Fig 153], and yellow on blue when portrayed on the flag [Fig 154].

KH: Kata'ib Hizballah / Hezbollah Brigades (2003)

Kata'ib Hizballah (KH), also known by multiple similar names, is a militant group from Iraq that is responsible for terrorist attacks since 2007 (GlobalSecurity.org, 2019c). KH has been prominent in the battle between Iran and the United States in Iraq and it has attacked US-led forces multiple times (Fazeli, 2020). The terrorist group, with an estimated 3,000 to 7,000 members, started operating in Southern Iraq and has spread to the whole country and foreign grounds (Fazeli, 2020). KH has been funded by the Quds Force of the IRGC and Hezbollah has been giving the entity weaponry guidance and support since 2008 (GlobalSecurity.org, 2019c). As was described above, one can see resemblances between the symbolism of KH, Hezbollah, and IRGC, which signifies their links. In a similar manner, the logo [Fig 155] of KH depicts a clenched fist holding an AK-47 assault rifle. It emerges from the globe and more specifically from Iraq borders that are outlined in orange. The name of the group is colored in black and written underneath in Arabic. On top,



Fig 153 Logo of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC).



Fig 154 Flag of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC).



Fig 155 Flag of Kata'ib Hizballah (KH).

a verse from the Quran is placed, translating to “Fight the leaders of disbelief, for surely, their oaths are nothing to them.”

CONCLUSIVE SUMMARY

The clenched fist was used as both a gesture and symbol and it initially came to represent the unity of workers. During the Spanish Civil War, the fist was popularized as a socialist sign of recognition, and during the 1960s and 1970s it was appropriated as a symbol of radical change. The fist was stylized in different ways and it was used by different movements, such as student activists, the black power movement, and the feminist movement. Later it was adopted by other entities fighting for a variety of causes, and it was even adopted by the white power movement to signify white pride. Thus, it can be noted that a symbol is never with certainty connected to a set of connotations. It can be a statement when entities with opposing views endorse the same symbol, as was done by the white power movement as a response to the black power movement. The use of the clenched fist by entities with different objectives also indicates that the meaning of unity, and thus the symbol, is applicable to different contexts. Further, the clenched fist was used to represent armed struggle when it was pictured together with a weapon. This shows that the meaning of a symbol changes when it is pictured together with another symbol.

3.4. THE CIRCLE-A



Fig 156 Logo of the Spanish Regional Federation of the International Workingmen's Association (FRE).

ORIGIN

The origins of the circle-A remain unknown, yet the symbol represents Proudhon's famous words: "Anarchy is order". Milstein (2010) finds that the symbol represents "anarchism as a dual project: the abolition of domination and hierarchical forms of social organization, or power-over social relations, and their replacement with horizontal versions, or power-together and in common—again, a free society of free individuals" (p. 13).

Ramnath (2011) calls it the Circle-A brand and she argues that it is connected to a particular part of the Leftist tradition in the West, dating back to essential ideological debates of the mid-19th century, and conflict within factions of the International Workingmen's Association (IWA). IWA, also known as the First International, was established in London in 1864 by Karl Marx and a number of socialist, anarchist, and communist intellectuals and activists (Antunes, 2014). IWA consisted of different working-class organizations from various countries so that the organization would have international power just like capitalism (Antunes, 2014). The Spanish section of IWA was called the Spanish Regional Federation (FRE or FRE-IWA) and it was set up at an 1870 congress (Roldan-Figueroa, 2009). The foundation of FRE created a national organization of the already existing branches, and it also initiated the international movement within the country with principles mainly based on Bakunin (Esenwein, 1989). Ideological differences between Marxists and Bakuninists took place and the organization dissolved in 1881 after a few years of hard repression, which simultaneously made the Federation of Workers of the Spanish Region (FTRE) emerge (Roldan-Figueroa, 2009).

FRE's logo is stylized in the shape of a circle-A, whereby 'Spanish Regional Federation' is written in Spanish in the letter 'A' and 'International Workingmen's Association' is written in Spanish in the circle or 'O' [Fig 156]. Lagalisse (2019) argues that the circle-A has Masonic origins. This could be seen in the logo because of the similarity to the level, plumb, and compass. The following comparisons are written based on Paton's (1873) explanation. The diagonal lines of the 'A' resemble a compass; this symbolizes reason in Masonry, as it teaches us how to frame our plans and designs. The horizontal line of the 'A' resembles a level in Masonry; this symbolizes no distinction or rank, as it is used to create a perfectly horizontal surface. Last, the vertical line in the middle resembles a plumb-line; which symbolizes truth or rectitude, as it is a working tool to measure perpendicularity.

Buckley (1968/2011) says that the symbol was first used by workers during the Spanish Civil war. While Marshall (1992/2008) states that the symbol was created by the French group Anarchist Youth in 1964, after which it generated quickly around the world. He adds that it became one of the most prevalent graffiti in urban scenery [Fig 157]. According to Baillargeon (2013), this symbol was then reinvented in Milan by the Libertarian Youth of Milan, who were in contact with the French Anarchist Youth. Hence, he asserts that the circle-A was first spread throughout Italy in the form of signatures on flyers and postures, and subsequently it spread around the world. Anarchism attracted students and young people during the 1960s, and the circle-A was settled in the iconography of the international youth culture from the early 1970s onwards (Miller et al., 2019).



Fig 157 Circle-A.

CIRCLE-A IN THE MUSIC SCENE

During the 1970s, anarchism gained a new understanding in the punk rock scene as indifference and agitation increased because of capitalism and extravagant commercialism (Buckley, 1968/2011). The circle-A was introduced into the scene and many punks used the term anarchism as if it was a synonym for chaos (Dunn, 2012). Crass is believed to have introduced the circle-A into the anarcho-punk scene, says Shantz (2010). He adds that the band presented the symbol in a dissuading way together with the peace symbol, because it acknowledged that many perceived anarchism and its symbols as allowing violence and disregard. Lots of the original punks depicted the symbol for its shock value, but it became more than that for succeeding musicians and individuals (Dunn, 2012). The new anarcho-punk culture, which was introduced by Crass, is still seen today as a form of political resistance in daily life, rather than just an alternative lifestyle (Dunn, 2012).

Icons of Filth is a band within the scene that wants to contribute to change the existing injustices around the world (Icons of Filth, n.d.). Its logo [Fig 158] depicts a circle-A in black, on top of a white star (symbolizing anarchism as well). A small peace sign can be seen below and the name of the band is written on top in a circular motion, whereby the letter 'H' extends into a cross.



Fig 158 Logo of Icons of Filth.

SYMBOL IN USE BY OTHER ENTITIES

Heywood (1992/2017) states that the reawakening of anarchism came together with the rise of the New Left and New Right. However, he adds, anarchism functioned more so as an ideological foundation for



Fig 159 Logo of the Animal Liberation Front (ALF).



Fig 160 Artwork for the Animal Liberation Front (ALF). (Retrieved from <https://www.defendanimals.com>)



Fig 161 Logo of Class War.

other political principles. Marshall (1992/2008) defines anarchism as a philosophy, since it has developed a wide variety of threads and yet all anarchists believe in collective matters. He expounds:

They offer a critique of the existing order, a vision of a free society, and a way of moving from one to another. Above all, they reject all coercive forms of external authority in order to achieve the greatest degree of freedom and equality. (p. 36)

This philosophy can be applied through different principles and within various contexts. Some examples will be given subsequently, whereby entities including the circle-A in their symbolism will be discussed.

ALF: Animal Liberation Front (1976)

Animal Liberation Front (ALF) is a network of human activists that was established in 1976, and it quickly expanded internationally with active cells in more than 20 countries (Best & Nocella II, 2004). This loosely organized extremist movement is dedicated to ending the abuse and exploitation of animals through an unknown hierarchical structure (Lewis, 2004). Anyone who takes direct illegal or legal action against authorities can claim to be a member of this entity (Williams, 2017). Best and Nocella II (2004) say that these freedom fighters operate undercover while consciously breaking the law by demolishing materials, equipment, and property of animal exploiters, while not harming living beings. ALF's logo [Fig 159] features a circle-A with the entity's initials incorporated. On the outside of the circle-A, the text 'Support the Animal Liberation Front' is written in a circular motion. The logo mostly appears in white, on a black background. Multiple artworks can be found online whereby the movement's logo is created from objects referencing to the entity's objective. One example shows a monkeywrench (signifying direct action) inside a circle, portrayed as the circle-A [Fig 160].

Class War (1982)

Class War is a punk anarchist activist group that was set up in the United Kingdom in the early 1980s after Ian Bone founded the Class War newspaper in 1982 (Donaghey, 2020). Class War is inspired by the anarcho-punk band Crass and it has had a big influence on the anarchist movement in the past decades (Donaghey, 2020). Class War (n.d.) writes on its Facebook page that it opposes all political parties as the working-class political action group. It argues that the working class plays a central role in revolution and community struggles (Williams, 2017). Its logo [Fig 161] consists of the group's

full name in red, with the letters 'A' transformed into circle-A's. In the middle, a skull appears in white in a circle. The logo is generally featured on a black background.

WSM: Workers Solidarity Movement (1984)

Workers Solidarity Movement (WSM) is a national anarchist organization that was set up in Ireland in 1984 (Irish Left Archive, n.d.-b). WSM has been involved in different campaigns, as it was particularly engaged with abortion rights and opposition to the water charges during the 1990s (Irish Left Archive, n.d.-b). Workers Solidarity (n.d.) states that it is currently mainly focused on reporting news about the Rojava struggle, Antifa, and climate change. WSM publishes articles in the magazine *Irish Anarchist Review* and the paper *Workers Solidarity* (Irish Left Archive, n.d.-b). The movement's logo [Fig 162] is a black/white illustration by which a circle-A is presented as the sun. It appears above a group of clouds and shines above a city silhouette.



Fig 162 Logo of the Workers Solidarity Movement (WSM).



Fig 163 Logo of Revolutionary Anarchist Action (DAF).



Fig 164 Logo of The Platform (DP).

DP: The Platform (2019)

The Platform (DP) is “an anarcho-communist organisation from and for the German-speaking region. Our aim is to overcome all forms of oppression and to build a society without domination, class or state on the basis of anarchist communism” (die plattform, n.d.-a, para. 1). It is in the name that DP advocates platformism, which means to be organized based on ideological and strategic unity between members (die plattform, 2020/n.d.-b). Since its establishment in 2019, it has established local groups throughout different cities for the cause of social revolution (die plattform,



Fig 165 Logo of Federation of Anarchism Era (ASR).



Fig 166 Logo of the Indigenous Anarchist Federation (IAF-FAI).



Fig 167 Flag of the National-Anarchist Movement (NAM).

n.d.-a). DP's logo consists of a mirrored circle-A in white, depicted on a black with a purple-red background [Fig 164]. This is placed inside a circle, with the name and its philosophy in white. The double circle-A seems to represent anarchism and communism combined, just as the black and purple-red colors that are often used to signify anarcho-communism.

ASR: Federation of Anarchism Era (2020)

Federation of Anarchism Era (ASR) is an international organization that is in the process of being established (2020), with a focus on global coordination and mutual support, and with most of its power in Iran and Afghanistan (asranarshism.com, 2020). ASR invites individuals who oppose governments, but it does not include groups that advocate pacifist, religious, nationalist, or capitalist tendencies in combination with anarchism (asranarshism.com, 2020). Asr Anarshism (2020) writes that ASR believes that world revolution is needed to defeat authoritarian political, social, and economic structures. The entity's logo [Fig 165] features a circle-A in red with an accent on the 'A' and the name of the organization below in both English and Arabic. The accent on the 'A' appears to refer to the Arabic language and the main place of operation.

IAF-FAI: Indigenous Anarchist Federation (-)

The Indigenous Anarchist Federation (IAF-FAI, n.d.) was established to unite the indigenous people of North America, and its platform exists so that “indigenous anarchist ideas, struggles, philosophies, and challenges” can be shared (para. 4). According to IAF-FAI (n.d.), the concept of Indigenous anarchism dates back way in time as it has been exercised by lots of tribes and people in America. The entity adds that this form of anarchism was ruined because of capitalism, colonization, and white supremacy. IAF-FAI (2021) functions as a network so that communities can unify in the struggle for liberation. The logo of IAF-FAI depicts the initials of the entity, which could be understood in both the English and Spanish acronym [Fig 166]. The letters are stylized inside the circle in such a manner that resembles a circle-A. The style of the design seems to symbolize indigenous drawings.

NAM: National-Anarchist Movement (1990s)

In contradiction with the previously mentioned entities, the white-nationalist National-Anarchist Movement (NAM) uses the circle-A as inspiration for its flag. The initials of the movement are namely depicted in black and connected to a black star, which is placed on a white circle, appearing on a black background [Fig 167].

3.5. THE CROSS

The letter 'A' appears at the center of the white circle, which can be interpreted as the circle-A symbol.

National anarchists originated from the British far-right National Front and this new ideology was spread by Troy Southgate during the 1990s after he left the National Front (Sunshine, 2008). It is a small but growing movement, which has gained notoriety in Russia, Germany, Britain, Spain, Australia, and some overseas nations (Sanchez, 2009). It is important to acknowledge that national anarchists do not have their origins and ideas from within the anarchist movement. Sunshine (2008) explains that anarchists are part of the anti-nationalist, left-wing movement aiming for non-hierarchical, decentralized, and self-regulating communities. This is in contradiction with national anarchists, who do advocate for a stateless system, but one that consists of ethnically pure villages.

CONCLUSIVE SUMMARY

The symbol of the circle-A is generally acknowledged as a symbol of anarchism, seeing that it represents "Anarchy is order". The origins of the symbol are rather uncertain, yet it can be observed that a variety of anarchist entities incorporate the circle-A in their symbolism. Some entities incorporate it as a letter in their name and other entities seem to portray it in a stylized manner to create an association with the context of the entity. This appears to happen for instance in the logo of the Federation of Anarchism Era (ASR) and the Indigenous Anarchist Federation (IAF-FAI). The above mentioned examples alter the symbol in ways that it is still recognizable as the circle-A. This signifies in a way what anarchism stands for, namely the ideas of individual freedom.

ORIGIN

The cross is the most represented basic sign in the whole world because of its simple composition. Stott (1986/2006) states that the cross has been the universal symbol for Christianity after earlier symbolic representations, of which the fish was the most prominent one.¹⁰ He explains that the crucifixion of Jesus became memorialized through depictions of the cross since at least the second century, while portrayals of the crucifix (Christ on a cross) got disseminated only after the sixth century. Christianity appropriated the cross from other cultures and depicted the symbol on different outputs — including decoration, heraldry, and identification features — since the middle ages (Frutiger, 1998).

However, this symbol of faith also became a symbol of persecution when it was worn on clothing by Christian Europeans aiming to gain back control from the Muslims over the Holy Land during the Crusades, says Pierce (2020). This event in history is more explicitly explained in the contextualization of this research, whereby examples of several military orders wearing variations of the cross were given (pp. 28-29).

Pierce (2020) says that the cross symbol later got other darker connotations, as it became part of protests by activists opposing social advances. For instance, tribes already burned crosses to send signals in the 14th century in Scotland (Kahn, n.d.). A more contemporary and well-known example of cross-burning is done by the (revived) Ku Klux Klan (KKK) since the early 20th century (Kahn, n.d.). The first KKK was set up as a social club by young Confederate veterans in 1866, but this developed into a secret group that wanted to maintain white supremacy in the south in opposition to Radical Reconstruction (Gruberg, 2009/n.d.). An important reason for the revival of the KKK in 1915 is the release of the movie *Birth of Nation* (1915), in which Klan members put an African American man to death in front of a burning cross (Kahn, n.d.). The Klan spread around the United States in the early 1920s with a membership between two and four million "white, native-born Protestants who were very patriotic and fearful of immigrants, radicals, Jews and Catholics, and labor unions" (Gruberg, 2009/n.d., para. 7). Besides membership expansion, the influence of the Klan also grew and cross burning became an eminent tradition of solidarity after the revival (Kahn, n.d.).

A logo [Fig 168] was adopted at the re-establishment of the KKK, "consisting of four letter 'K' images arranged in a square fac-

10. More about the fish as a symbol of Christianity on pp. 25-26.

ing outwards. In the center was a yin-yang symbol”, states ADL (n.d.-d, para. 2). Subsequently, the letters were re-arranged so that the logo appears as a cross and only one half of the yin-yang symbol was left — making it look like a blood drop — which members understood as a protection of the white race (ADL, n.d.-d). A third wave of the Klan arose just after World War II, because of the civil rights movement and worries regarding communism (Gruberg, 2009/n.d.). Nowadays, the KKK is not simply organized in one group, but it is rather seen as a kind of hate group (ADL, n.d.-d).

Thus, we can see that the cross, a symbol of faith, has been adopted as a symbol of superiority and racism. In the article *Contending for the cross: Black theology and the ghosts of modernity*, Ray (2010) studies:

How the symbolic mediation of the cross in the American context creates the conditions under which “hate groups,” to use contemporary language, can sensibly utilize what the Christian faith has, from its earliest period, deemed the ultimate symbol of divine love, as their symbolic representation in our culture? (p. 54)

We see that the cross has been a symbolic part of the KKK for a long time already, in the shape of the burning ritual and through the employment of the Confederate flag (Ray, 2010). The appropriation of the Confederate flag by the KKK and other white supremacists groups dates back to the American Civil War. This event is already briefly discussed in the contextualization of this research (pp. 34-35), where is explained that the war ended slavery and the existence of the breakaway Southern states. These Confederate States of America were created in 1861 and they used the Confederate battle flag during the four-year Civil war (Corbould, 2020). Blakemore (2021) explains that William Porcher Miles took the x-pattern of the St. Andrew Cross and put a white star on the blue cross for every (13) seceding state for the design of the battle flag — or the Southern cross [Fig 169]. The Saint Andrew’s cross has north European and Christian origins since this cross remembers the suffering of Andrew, who was a first-century Christian who felt ineligible to be crucified on a standing cross just like Jesus (Jones, 2020).

This flag never became the official flag of the Confederacy, but has been adopted since the war by white supremacists and other advocates of the Southern heritage (Blakemore, 2021). The latter is a problem according to Corbould (2020), because this ‘heritage’ symbolizes horrendous things such as slavery, inequality, violence, and a great amount of injustice. She adds that the flag became evidently connected with racist opposition towards civil rights when



Fig 168 Logo of the revived Ku Klux Klan (KKK). (Reconstructed from <https://eu.usatoday.com/story/news/2017/06/21/report-ku-klux-klan-smaller-hit-infighting/103088960/>)



Fig 169 Confederate Battle Flag. Designed by William Porcher Miles.

the States’ Rights Democratic Party, or the Dixiecrats, endorsed the flag as their emblem. Groups displayed the flag as the civil rights movement grew, then the flag was adopted in pop culture during the 1970s and 1980s, and during the 1990s, the flag had gone international (Jones, 2020). The flag has made appearances after the recent increasing recognition of institutional racism and the Black Lives Matter protests throughout the United States (Blakemore, 2021). Notably, the flag has been exposed during white supremacist meetings and demonstrations like the Unite the Right rally of 2017, and in January 2021, it was carried by a Trump supporter while storming the Capitol during the formalization of the new president Biden (Blakemore, 2021).

Ray (2010) argues that part of the Christian practice has made racial and ethnic idolization— hence the misuse of the religion and its symbols — attainable in the American context. He states that a big part of this misinterpretation is a result of the altered definition of Western Christianity. Before the modern era, it was namely a way of distinguishing the different churches (based on the people and their culture), while the ‘West’ became dominant towards those who were not European after a period of discovering the new world. Weed (2017) describes white supremacy as a religion (in the American context) which would not be as dominant as it is without its base in the symbolism and traditions of Christianity. In the context of Northern America, Christianity is mostly seen as the religion of the West with Western people as its true conveyors (Ray, 2010). This phenomenon can be seen and understood through the upcoming paragraphs, in which the history and appropriation of certain symbols are elucidated.

THE CROSS AS A SYMBOL OF FASCISM

Fascism controlled a big part of Europe between 1919 and 1945, and it also had influence and followers in the United States, Latin America, the Middle East, South Africa, and Japan (Soucy, 2020). Heywood (1992/2017) says that there is no single factor that gave rise to fascism during this period, but it emerged because democratic governments had just been established in big parts of Europe, which did not replace old values yet and often still appeared weak. He adds that industrialization had a big effect on society, just as the Russian Revolution, the world crisis of the 1930s, and the remaining international conflicts after World War I. Fascist parties and movements of this period were distinct from each other while having things in common such as “extreme militaristic nationalism, contempt for electoral democracy and political and cultural liberalism, a belief

in natural social hierarchy and the rule of elites, and the desire to create a Volksgemeinschaft (German: ‘people’s community’)” (Soucy, 2020, para. 1).

NSDAP: National Socialist German Workers’ Party (1919-1945)

One of the most impactful examples of white supremacy in history is the system that was set up by the Nazis. They namely advocated white racial purity and the destruction of all non-whites, because they were seen as genetically superior as the Aryan race (Welsing, 1991). The Nazis originated as the German Workers’ Party (DAP), which was established in 1919 with little prominence (Orlow, 2010). Hitler joined the party in that same year and quickly hereafter he proposed different organizational plans (Orlow, 2010). In 1920, the party changed its name to National Socialist German Workers’ Party (NSDAP) and propaganda became a primary focus of the party (Orlow, 2010). The establishment of the totalitarian regime started when the NSDAP rose to power in 1933 with Hitler as Chancellor and Goebbels as propaganda minister (Taylor, 1990/2003). Orlow (2010) states that the regime mainly focused on tactics for expanding its territory and the Holocaust between the outbreak of the war and the collapse of the Third Reich in 1945.

According to Heller (2008a), Hitler understood the political power of visuals, which is why he designed the party’s emblem and flag — a red background with a white disk featuring a black swastika in the middle [Fig 170]. Hitler (1939) says that the flag was first seen in public in 1920, and he described his color choices as such in *Mein Kampf*:

The red expressed the social thought underlying the movement. White the national thought. And the swastika signified the mission allotted to us - the struggle for the victory of Aryan mankind and at the same time the triumph of the ideal of creative work which is in itself and always will be anti-Semitic. (p. 384)

Besides the predominant representations of the swastika and Hitler himself, other symbols were also used to spread the Nazi ideology (Heller, 2008a). Heller (2008a) mentions that the imperial eagle, which goes back to the Roman Empire, was the most prevalent symbol after the swastika and it came to symbolize superiority over the fragile Weimar Republic. The eagle became the Third Reich’s national emblem [Fig 171] in 1933, and it appeared alone or together with the swastika, on regalia, or graphic outputs (Heller, 2008a).

Hitler branded this ideology through the symbol of the swastika, a variation of the cross with a history that originated way back in

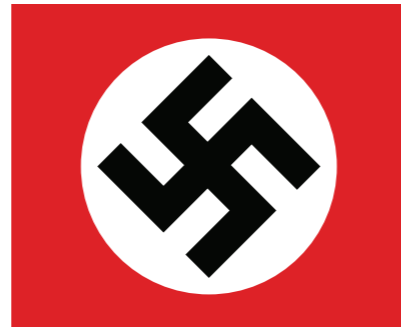


Fig 170 Flag of the National Socialist German Workers’ Party (NSDAP).



Fig 171 National Emblem of the National Socialist German Workers’ Party (NSDAP).

time. The swastika has been discussed extensively throughout several works; two exemplary books dedicated to the symbol are *The swastika and symbols of hate: Extremist iconography today* (2019) by Steven Heller and *The swastika: Constructing the symbol* (1994) by Malcolm Quinn. The history of the swastika will be discussed to some extent in this dissertation, however not with the same amount of detail.

The word swastika is derived from the Sanskrit ‘svastika’, meaning good fortune or well-being, which is also what the symbol represents in many cultures, according to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (2017). The museum adds that the ancient symbol was already seen in Eurasia 7000 years ago and still today it has a sacred meaning in Buddhism, Jainism, and Odinism. Heller (2019) outlines different connotations of the symbol before the NSDAP adopted it; the swastika “served as religious phylactery, occult talisman, scientific symbol, guild emblem, meteorological implement, commercial trademark, architectural ornament, printing fleuron, and military insignia” (p. 6).

The symbol was first seen as an Aryan sign and Aryan evidence in the 19th century, after archeologist Heinrich Schliemann discovered swastika signs at his Troy excavations (Quinn, 1994/2005). Heller (2019) states that he subsequently theorized — with a disregard towards the little-known origins — that the swastika was a sacred symbol indicating the Aryan (Indo-European) linkage between traditions of the East and West of his Germanic ancestors. He points out that this resulted in the transformative meaning of the symbol, seeing that German mystics and occultists appropriated the swastika as the symbol of racial purity and superiority around the late 19th early 20th century. The racist writings of Guido von List and Lanz von Liebenfels played a big role in the modern occultist revival in the center of Europe (Goodrick-Clarke, 1985/2004). Guido von List created a neopagan occultist society, called the Armanen brotherhood, around 1900 and he depicted the swastika to represent the sun as the holy symbol of the Armanen in his book *The secret of the runes* (Heller, 2008a).

Lanz von Liebenfels was inspired by him when he established the medievalist New Templars with an ideology of Aryan superiority in 1907 (Heller, 2008a). Liebenfels had admiration for holy orders, among who the Knights Templars, which was visible in the structure of his own order (Goodrick-Clarke, 1985/2004). The potent cross was used as a symbol for the chivalrous order that was based on Ario-Christian theology by Liebenfels (Goodrick-Clarke, 2002).

An occult völkisch group that was active from 1912 to 1922 was the Germanic Order, which was founded by extreme anti-Semites

who saw Jewish people as part of a global conspiratorial movement (Heller, 2019). Based on a circular of Franconian province, Goodrick-Clarke (1985/2004) says that the main goal of the Order was the observation of the Jews and their actions, which was done by collecting anti-Semitic information at one place to later circulate it. In 1918, the Bavarian chapter of the Germanic Order was renamed Thule Society, which then established DAP in the subsequent year (Heller, 2008a). Thule Society was a cover name for the Order to take the attention of socialists and pro-Republicans away, and in 1925, the society dissolved when the support had declined (Goodrick-Clarke, 1985/2004). Thule Society depicted a curved swastika sun wheel on a long dagger as its emblem [Fig 172], which had appeared on its newsletter since 1916 (Heller, 2019). This organization is according to Heller (2008a) the closest connection to the Nazi party, yet Hitler tried to obscure this connection so that the swastika could be revived as a political symbol. The secret orders were concerned about völkisch ideas regarding Germanic heritage, while the NSDAP was mainly focussed on extreme political and social nationalism (Goodrick-Clarke, 1985/2004).



Fig 172 Newsletter of Thule Society, 1919.



Fig 173 Logo of the Arrow Cross Party (NYKP).

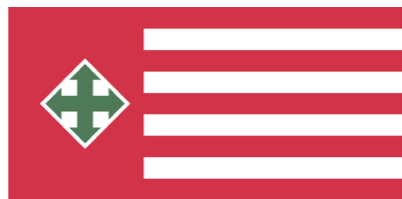


Fig 174 Flag of the Arrow Cross Party (NYKP).

NYKP: Arrow Cross Party (1939-1945)

The Arrow Cross Party (NYKP) was a Hungarian fascist organization that was established in 1939, and in that same year it became the second biggest party during the national elections (Britannica, 1998). The party dissolved in 1944 while continuing underground and in the same year it overthrew the government with military help of Germany (Fischel, 2010). NYKP held power for about four months in Budapest and six months in the North-West of the country while executing and deporting Jews until the Soviet army defeated them (McLaughlin, 2004). NYKP is shortly described in Heller's (2019) book, where he also mentions that its insignia of a cross with arrowheads [Fig 173] is incorporated in the logo of the more contemporary Nationalist Movement of the United States. The cross with arrowheads also appeared in black or green on the party's flag [Fig 174], which consisted of red and white horizontal stripes (Jordan, 2006). This striped flag (without the cross emblem) is known as the Arpad flag and it dates back to a medieval dynasty. The Arrow Cross logo was banned by the subsequent Communist regime and when communism collapsed, the swastika and communist red star were also banned in Hungary (Jordan, 2006).

Hlinka's Slovak People's Party / Hlinka Party (1913-1945)

The Slovak People's Party, later the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party (Hlinka Party), became independent in 1913 as a sectarian national-



Fig 175 Old flag of the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party. (Reconstructed from <https://www.webumenia.sk/en/dielo/SVK:TMP.151>)



Fig 176 Subsequent flag of the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party. (Reconstructed from <https://www.webumenia.sk/en/dielo/SVK:TMP.116>)

istic party (Lorman, 2019) when some Slovak members, among who Andrey Hlinka, split from the People's Party (Felak, 1994). "The road to an authoritarian regime and a totalitarian Slovak state" was marked when the Slovak political parties — except for the Communists and Social Democrats — yielded themselves to the Hlinka Party in 1938 (Krajcovicová, 2011, p. 156). The Hlinka Guard was set up in 1938 as the party's paramilitary arm to increase power, and it was modeled after the Nazi's paramilitary Storm Detachment (SA) (Bystricky, 2011). In 1939, the antidemocratic Hlinka Party declared Slovakia independent, while it truly was a Nazi puppet state (Pederson, 1983/2006b). According to Kamenec (2011), the primary and eventually only goal of the party was to sustain independent, but this was only feasible in collaboration with the Nazis. Rychlík (2011) explains that lots of people stood behind the restoration of Czechoslovakia, because of Nazi dependency and the totalitarian rule. This anger resulted in the Slovak National Uprising against the Nazi occupation and the regime, and finally the Hlinka Party was banned (Precan, 2011).

The Hlinka Party and Hlinka Guard used a double-cross in their symbolism, which is similar to the national symbol of Slovakia. The first version of their flag [Fig 175] shows a double-cross with extending arms to the edge of a circle. The flag that was adopted in a later stage also depicted a double-cross, but its arms did not extend until the edge of the circle [Fig 176]. The colors featured on the flag are the same as the colors of the national flag of Slovakia. This national flag will be discussed in a succeeding paragraph.

SNS: The Slovak National Party (1871)

The original Slovak National Party (SNS) is a political party with a Christian orientation and it asserts to be the oldest of the country (Pederson, 1983/2006b). SNS advocates a specifically strong amalgam of Catholicism and national identity, that was on the edge of clerical fascism during World War II (Minkenberg, 2018). In former times, the original party merged into the Hlinka Party and it revived activity in the 1990s (Pederson, 1983/2006b). SNS advertises itself as the successor of the Hlinka Party (Pederson, 1983/2006b). Bustiková (2018) presents SNS as the probable most successful and lasting extreme right party of Eastern Europe as it has controlled the margin of the political spectrum in Slovakia since its existence — more specifically since the resurgence of the 1990s. She adds that SNS has been represented in seven out of nine parliaments (until 2018) and has acted in 50 percent of the governments since the country's independence in 1993.

SNS's flag has a resemblance with Slovakia's country flag, since they both depict horizontal stripes in the colors white-blue-

red and both depict the red shield with a white double-barred cross on blue hills [Fig 177, 178]. SNS's flag places this shield in the top left corner and the initials of the party are presented in white on the blue color plane. The party's logo depicts the same cross on a red field, with blue triple hills, but then in the shape of a circle [Fig 179]. This circle is surrounded by the party's name in Slovakian and the date of establishment. On top, an eagle with stretched-out wings is presented and colored in black and white. This appears in front of a golden branch. Slovenská národná strana (n.d.) explains that the eagle with stretched out wings represents protection of Slovakia's coat of arms and the country in general.¹¹ The party adds that this traditional symbol represents the national, Christian, and social nature of SNS.

The double-barred cross, pictured on Slovakia's national flag, was already used in the Byzantine Empire in the ninth century (Smith, 2014). When Slovakia wanted to differentiate itself from Hungary, it chose to change the green hills on the coat of arms to blue, which was seen as a pan-Slavic color since Russia put those colors on its flag in 1699 (Smith, 2014). On Slovakia.com (n.d.) is explained that “the double cross represents Christian tradition and memory of St. Cyril and St. Methodius, the two missionaries who came to Great Moravia in 863 to strengthen Christianity” (National Flag of Slovakia section). On the website is included that the three hills stand for the mountains Tatra, Matra, and Fatra.

RESURGENCE OF THE CROSS BY NEO-FASCISTS

The inter-war period demonstrated that fascism seems to generate in periods of political economic and social crisis (Heywood, 1992/2017). Heywood (1992/2017) states that the early period after 1945 showed that stable politics and economic growth seemed to give little prominence to politics of hate and resentment, which is often connected to the extreme right. Jenkins (2016) adds that there was also negligence of racist beliefs in the West during the mid-1950s, as a result of desegregation and decolonization. The emergence of the far right can be noted in the United States and Britain as a correspondence to the civil rights movement and non-white immigration during the 1960s (Goodrick-Clarke, 1985/2004). Whereas the inter-war far right was built on the tradition of European imperialism, the contemporary far-right operates in a framework of post-colonization (Heywood, 1992/2017). The radical right re-emerged in the west in the mid-1980s when the movement of migrants and refugees increased, which was reinforced even more with the collapse of the Soviet Union (Goodrick-Clarke,



Fig 177 National flag of Slovakia.



Fig 178 Flag of the Slovak National Party (SNS).



Fig 179 Logo of the Slovak National Party (SNS).



Fig 180 Logo of Stormfront. (Reconstructed from <https://www.stormfront.org/forum/>)

1985/2004). Heywood (1992/2017) adds that globalization and the end of the cold war also played a role in this resurgence and he clarifies that the end of communist rule gave rise to suppressed nationalism and racism. Around the early 2000s, Europe and North America became the favored destination for migrants and the demands for multiculturalism gave rise again to rightist radicalism (Goodrick-Clarke, 1985/2004). Reported hate crimes aimed at minorities grew notably after Donald Trump was elected president in 2016 (Jenkins, 2016).

Subsequently, contemporary entities with neo-fascist beliefs will be discussed provided that they depict a variation of the cross in their symbology. One can see that modern hate symbols are often rooted in Christianity or inspired by Nazi iconography. Lots of variations will be seen as the swastika is at the top of the list of prohibited items (Heller, 2019). Some entities also bear resemblance to specific visuals of preceding extremist mentioned examples, such as the adoption of colors and the copying of uniforms.

Stormfront (1995)

Stormfront (n.d.) is a website and discussion forum for white nationalists that calls itself “a community of racial realists and idealists.” Bowman-Grieve (2009) defines Stormfront in a more extreme way, namely as a virtual community “in support of the ideals of White nationalism, White separatism, neo-Nazism, the radical right, or whatever label others or themselves choose to use” (p. 996). The website was set up in 1995 by Don Black and is mainly used to discuss an extensive variety of topics applying to the community, and additionally legal and nonviolent activities are encouraged between members (Bowman-Grieve, 2009). Its logo is a Celtic cross in white, surrounded by a black circle, with the words ‘white pride world wide’ written in a circular motion [Fig 180]. ADL (n.d.-e) states that the Celtic cross is one of the most prominent white supremacist symbols which originally dates back to ancient Europe, where the pre-Christian symbol was called the sun cross or wheel cross. The organization adds that Norwegian Nazis used a variant of the symbol during the 1930s and 1940s. The Celtic cross or the sun wheel have also been widely used in the resurgence of neo-fascists in the early 1980s, most likely Stormfront picked it up from there. The Celtic cross is a traditional Christian symbol that is used for religious expressions, meaning that the symbol does not always represent hate (ADL, n.d.-e).

11. Translated from Slovakian with the help of Google Translate.

United States

From the 1960s onwards, violence between gangs of race started taking place after desegregation within prisons (Holthouse, 2005).

AB: Aryan Brotherhood (1964)

Aryan Brotherhood (AB) is a prison gang that was established in California in 1964 by Irish bikers and it is the largest, deadliest, and oldest white supremacist prison gang in the United States with an approximated 20,000 members (SPLC, n.d.-a). SPLC (n.d.-a) says that the gang was active in almost all California state prisons in 1975, and within a few years, transferred inmates gained influence in the federal penitentiary system as well. The organization adds that the crime syndicate became more focussed on criminal activity both inside and outside of prison in the 1990s than being focussed on race. 60 AB members were arrested after evidence was found that crimes were being managed from inside of prison to the outside, such as “violent crimes, illegal firearms trafficking and possession and drug trafficking” (Department of Justice, 2020b, para. 1).

AB members can be recognized by different symbols and codes (often in the form of a tattoo), above all the shamrock, which is often depicted together with a swastika [Fig 181] (ADL, n.d.-a). Other prevalent tattooed elements are the number 666, initials AB, and double lightning bolts as a reference to the Nazi’s military branch Waffen-SS (SS) (SPLC, n.d.-a).

ABT: Aryan Brotherhood of Texas (early 1980s)

Aryan Brotherhood of Texas (ABT) is a white supremacist gang that was modeled after AB and set up in the early 1980s in Texas (Parks, 2018). ABT is the biggest white supremacist gang in Texas and may be even in the United States, besides being one of the most violent gangs (ADL, n.d.-b). It is a criminal organization that operates both in the prison system and on the streets throughout Texas and the rest of the country (Parks, 2018). The common tattoo [Fig 182] of ABT is somewhat variable and looks like a shield with a sword and swastika inside and the group’s acronym on the outside (ADL, n.d.-b). Alternatively, some tattoos are coded with for instance the number 12 to replace the letters AB (ADL, n.d.-b).

AC: Aryan Circle (1985)

Aryan Circle (AC), also known as Diamond, is a white supremacist prison gang that was established in Texas in 1985, where it is also mainly active (ADL, 2009). The Department of Justice (2020a) reports that AC was formed by previous members of ABT after some friction



Fig 181 Symbol of Aryan Brotherhood (AB). (Retrieved from <https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/aryan-brotherhood/>)



Fig 182 Symbol of Aryan Brotherhood Texas (ABT). (Retrieved from <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/aryan-brotherhood-texas>)



Fig 183 Symbol of Aryan Circle (AC). (Reconstructed from <https://www.adl.org/media/2096/download>)

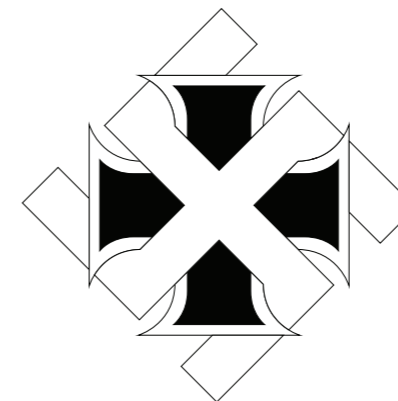


Fig 184 Symbol of Soldiers of Aryan Culture (SAC).

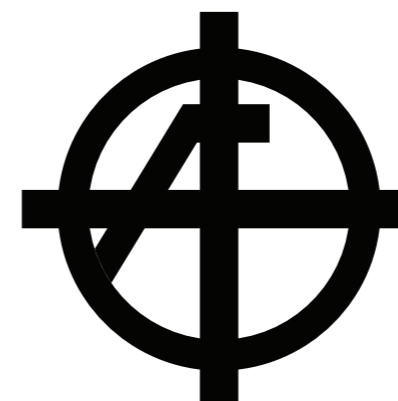


Fig 185 Logo of American Front (AF).

and it expanded in the Texas prison system during the 1990s, mainly because of violent conflict with other gangs. Currently, it is one of the biggest white supremacy groups in the United States and it organizes crime in and outside of prison (ADL, 2009). AC members use a wide variety of identifiers in the form of codes, phrases, and tattoos. AC’s basic tattoo has many variations, but it often depicts a twisted swastika (rotated in a diamond shape) with SS bolts and the acronym in the center [Fig 183] (ADL, 2009).

SAC: Soldiers of Aryan Culture (1997)

Soldiers of Aryan Culture (SAC) is a white supremacist prison gang based in Utah and modeled after AB (SPLC, 2005). Criminal entities were set up by the group after members were released from prison (SPLC, 2005). Fattah (2007) states that multiple members of SAC were charged by the court in 2005 with the aim of dismantling the group, this included head leaders Steve Swena, Tracy Swena, and Mark Isaac Snarr. He adds that members of the group were afterward deliberately divided among different prisons in the country. Founder Tracy Swena confessed prior to his 20-year sentence to the creation of SAC in 1997 and to overseeing gang operations (SPLC, 2005). SAC usually depicts the group’s acronym or a swastika interlacing with an iron cross as its symbol [Fig 184] — often in the form of a tattoo (ADL, n.d.-h). The iron cross was worn by the German army and even Hitler wore this medal on him (Heller, 2019).

AF: American Front (1987)

American Front (AF) is a neo-Nazi group that was created by Robert Heick in 1987 and inspired by the British National Front (Jackson, 2014). Not only the name, but also its root ideology Third Positionism was adopted and endorsed during the 1980s (Jackson, 2014). This extreme-right ideology is peculiar in that it refuses both capitalism and communism for a preferred ‘third way’, explains ADL (2013a). The organization adds that this ideology was dropped when David Lynch became the group’s leader in 2002, and accordingly AF became a more common racist skinhead organization. AF was known for its criminal activity and it worked together with other neo-Nazi and skinhead groups to gain members and spread its anti-semitic and white supremacist beliefs (ADL, 2013a). Furthermore, some members started a white power band named Stormtroop 16 in 2005, with the number 16 as a reference to the letters AF (ADL, 2013a). Heller (2019) briefly discusses AF in his book, where he calls the entity’s logo awkwardly designed because of the gun sight in which the acronym AF is blended. The symbol could also be interpreted as a combination of a Celtic cross with the acronym [Fig 185].

LoS: League of the South (1994)

League of the South (LoS, n.d.) describes itself as a Southern nationalist, religious, and social organization that wants a political independent Confederacy in combination with a Southern culture, based on a more conservative Christian tradition. LoS was established in Alabama in 1994 by a number of southern academics and it quickly expanded from 40 members to 4,000 in 4 years, and today the estimation indicates 10,000 members (Encyclopedia.com, 2021b). LoS developed radicalism towards minorities and in 2002, the neo-Confederate group was designated as a hate group (SPLC, n.d.-c). LoC lost appeal after using violence during the 2017 rally in Charlottesville and later large groups were opposing the racist rhetoric of LoC (SPLC, n.d.-c). In 2013, Michael Cushman designed a flag to replace the Confederate Battle Flag for a flag with a black cross on a white banner [Fig 186], which was also inspired on the St. Andrew Cross (SPLC, n.d.-c).

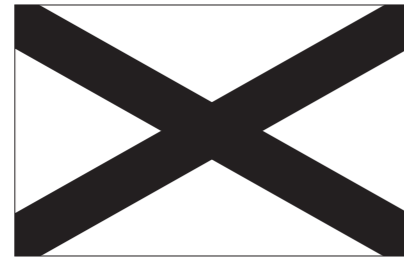


Fig 186 Flag of League of the South (LoS). Designed by Michael Cushman.

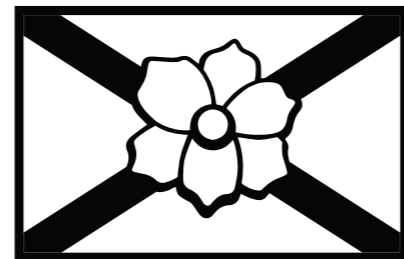


Fig 187 Flag of Identity Dixie (ID). Designed by Chet Donnelly.



Fig 188 Logo of the Nationalist Movement. (Reconstructed from <https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/arrow-cross>)

ID: Identity Dixie (2017)

Identity Dixie (ID) is a neo-Confederate organization that is mainly organized via secret Facebook groups on which members use digital alter egos to protect their real identities (Hatewatch Staff, 2019). Identity Dixie (n.d.) values the English Christian traditions and members see themselves as the “true Sons of the South” who are connected because of their common history and culture. The group started as a Facebook page and daughter organization of The Right Stuff (TRS), but in 2017, ID registered itself with a new domain, and it removed all TRS members from its Facebook group in 2019 (Hatewatch Staff, 2019). In the same year, ID presented its black/white logo [Fig 187]; which is composed of a magnolia flower, a common southern tree, designed by Chet Donnelly and placed on top of the LoS flag that was designed by Michael Cushman (Hatewatch Staff, 2019).

Nationalist Movement (-)

The Nationalist Movement is a white supremacist group that was founded and based in Mississippi and it moved to Wisconsin after the murder of the founder and leader Richard Barrett in 2010 (ADL, 2013b). Richard Barrett started pursuing First Amendment lawsuits which were often related to Nationalist Movement rallies (ADL, 2013b). O'Brien (2009) gives an example by which the movement took a case to court under the guise of the right to freedom of speech, when it wanted to protest against the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday and got asked to pay a higher fee than ordinary. As has been said in a preceding paragraph, the group uses a cross with ar-



Fig 189 Logo of Russian National Unity (RNU).

rowheads (called a crossbar in the United States) as its symbol in the colors red, blue, and white [Fig 188] (Heller, 2019).

Russia

Nationalism spread around the departed communist world and a bunch of ultra-right patriotic “liberation movements” appeared in Russia during the late 1990s (Heller, 2019). Soucy (2020) sums up reasons of the emerging fascist groups in post-war Russia; the fallen empire, the bad economic circumstances, worries regarding the ethnic fate of Russians, the need for a powerful leader, the disrupted law and order, and the lack of grounded democratic institutions the country.

RNU: Russian National Unity (1990-2000)

The Russian National Unity (RNU) was formed in 1990 when Aleksandr Barkashov left Pamyat (Holzer et al., 2019). The entity developed as one of the most active fascist-like parties in Russia soon after the fall of the Soviet Union (Encyclopedia.com, 2021a). It was RNU's main aim to establish a ‘Greater Russia’ of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus along with the advocacy of ultranationalist and anti-semitic beliefs (Encyclopedia.com, 2021a). Its program has a big resemblance with the program of the NSDAP, particularly regarding racial purity and agricultural matters (Shenfield, 2001). Shenfield (2001) points out that RNU was a ‘military machine’ besides a political party, as it had its network of military-patriotic clubs — in preparation of the harshness of army duty — that worked together with the official military authorities. Because of a coup from within, Barkashov was expelled as the leader, RNU endured a split in 2000, and accordingly it can be said that the party no longer prevails (Shenfield, 2001). Russian National Unity (n.d.) states on its website that the emblem of RNU [Fig 189] is a graphical combination of the eight-pointed star of Bethlehem and the ancient Russian symbol ‘Kolovrat’, placed in a circle, made in white, on a burgundy (red) background.¹² The entity adds that the Kolovrat (swastika) was chosen as the base on purpose, despite its dark connotations.¹²

PNP/NNP: People's National Party (1994)

The openly racist People's National Party (PNP) was set up in the mid-1990s with Aleksandr Ivanov-Sukharevskii as its leader (Holzer et al., 2019). PNP is a minor fascist party that advocates Rusism, which is coined by Ivanov-Sukharevskii and “comprises such com-

12. Translated from Russian with the help of Google Translate.

ponents as ‘popular nationalism,’ ‘national-ecologism,’ ‘voice of the blood’ racial mysticism, Orthodoxy, and the Russian imperial idea” (Shenfield, 2001, p. 225). According to Shenfield (2001), PNP uses two emblems; the first one is a potent cross inside a circle (which is found on the archived website of the party) [Fig 190] and the second emblem is an eight-pointed star that is depicted on PNP’s newspaper, which is a common symbol of Russian Orthodoxy.

SS: Slavic Union / Slavic Power (1999-2014)

The extremist Slavic Union (SS) had a neo-Nazi tendency and was set up in 1999 by Dmitrii Demushkin as a splinter of RNU (Holzer et al., 2019). SS (and DPNI) “espoused an ideology of radical ethnic nationalism . . . , rejected Russian imperialism and Orthodox Church fundamentalism, and assumed a negative stance towards immigrants and non-Slavic ethnic minorities” (Holzer et al., 2019, p. 46). The organization was banned in 2010 and accordingly it tried to get around it by renaming itself Slavic Power, but the organization was also banned under this name in 2014 (Holzer et al., 2019). The red/white emblem of the group looks like a swastika resembling the Russian acronym of the organization, as the shape looks like two SS’s [Fig 191].

DPNI: Movement Against Illegal Immigration (2002-2011)

Movement Against Illegal Immigration (DPNI) was set up by Aleksandr Belov and Vladimir Basmanov in July 2002 (Holzer et al., 2019). DPNI tried to appeal to right-wing nationalists and neo-Nazi skinheads by encouraging ethnic riots and violence, yet it was never violent in its own name (Holzer et al., 2019). It was an extreme-right, anti-immigrant movement with assorted membership and ideologies within the ultranationalist scene in Russia (Zuev, 2010). In 2008, Belov and basmanov rearranged DPNI from a network structure towards a party structure, resulting in a decline of membership, and in 2011, DPNI was banned all over Russia. The movement’s logo resembles a sun cross, rotated at a 45-degree angle, colored in black and red [Fig 192].

Europe

Jobbik / Movement for a Better Hungary (2003)

Movement for a Better Hungary, also Jobbik, was set up in 2002 by a faction of radical right-wing students, and in 2003 it became a political party, states Kovács (2013). He explains that Jobbik is not only an acronym for the original group name, as ‘jobb’ means ‘better’ and ‘right-wing’ in the Hungarian language. Jobbik (n.d.) describes itself



Fig 190 Logo of People's National Party (PNP). (As seen on <https://web.archive.org/web/20090602134339/http://www.nnp.ru/>)



Fig 191 Logo of Slavic Union / Slavic Power. (Reconstructed from <https://web.archive.org/web/20141217030136/http://demushkin.com/>)



Fig 192 Logo of the Movement Against Illegal Immigration (DPNI).



Fig 193 Old logo of Jobbik.



Fig 194 New logo of Jobbik.



Fig 195 Logo of the English Defence League (EDL). (Reconstructed from <https://www.euractiv.com/section/%20languages-culture/opinion/it-s-time-to-take-action-against-islamophobia-in-europe/>)

as “patriotic, Christian, conservative, centre-right, socially sensitive people’s party.” The party broke through in 2009 and in that year it gained three seats in the European parliament and 17 seats in the parliamentary elections of 2010 (Kovács, 2013). Jobbik’s ideology stems from a Hungarian nationalist and racist tradition in opposition to liberalism while gradually moving towards the center (Shekhovtsov, 2017).

Shekhovtsov (2017) says that that the far-right tries to mix Christianity with ancient Hungarian faith. Sneider (n.d.), a previous leader of the party, said in an interview that the party has the double-cross as its logo, which he connected to Christianity; “beside faith, Christian ideology and principles form the foundation of European values” (para. 12). The old logo of Jobbik [Fig 193] features a double-cross in front of two (half) circles. The logo recently became more simplified [Fig 194], which might be linked with the party’s moderate shift towards the center. The double-cross can also be found on the country’s coat of arms and the used colors are the same as featured on Hungary’s flag; white for Hungary’s rivers, green for the mountains, and red for the blood shed in all struggles (Smith, 2018a).

EDL: English Defence League (2009)

English Defence League (EDL) is a racist group that is nationalistic, anti-Muslim, and anti-immigration (HOPE not hate, 2017). EDL emerged in 2009 and since its existence, the group demonstrated throughout cities against the emerging ‘radical Islam’ inside the United Kingdom (Richards, 2013). EDL rapidly grew into a national movement with thousands of people attending the demonstrations, yet this attendance declined quickly hereafter (Morrow & Meadowcroft, 2018). HOPE not hate (2017) suspected in its article that the movement’s membership decline will continue because of the lack of ideas and leadership within the organization, making EDL small and ineffective. The movement’s nationalism is visible in the choice of symbols, as members carry the St George cross while parading around in street uniforms that remind of the fascist Blackshirts (Alessio & Meredith, 2013). Richards (2013) says that this cross refers to Patron Saint George of England, and the cross refers to the knights who are assumed to have spread the emblem during the Crusades in the Holy Land. He exemplifies that EDL’s emblem with the Crusader-style St George cross is depicted on a shield, often on a black/white background [Fig 195]. Besides the emblem, the group carries around flags containing the St George cross.

L'SNS: People's Party our Slovakia (2010)

People's Party Our Slovakia or Ľudová strana Naše Slovensko (L'SNS, n.d.) was founded in 2010, is based on three fundamental points – national, Christian, and social – and presents itself as the only alternative to the corrupt system. Political scientists at CNN say that L'SNS “is a textbook example of an extremist, far-right party. The group is openly, and vocally, anti-migrant, anti-Roma, anti-LGBTQ, anti-Israel, anti-European Union and anti-NATO” (Kottasová, 2020, para. 3). The party's leader Marian Kotleba lead a neo-fascist parade in 2005 in a uniform, depicting the wartime double cross that was really similar to the Hlinka Guard, states Walker (2019). He adds that Kotleba's initial anti-democratic party was banned by the court in 2006, after which L'SNS was set up with a less extreme party program, and in 2013 he became governor of Bankská Bystrica. This helped to get L'SNS into the national parliament of 2016 and 2020, and the party got two seats in the European Parliament in 2019 (Sirotnikova, 2021). In 2019, the party almost got banned and several members and some candidates, among who Kotleba, have been accused and sentenced for extremist or violent crimes (Sirotnikova, 2021).

The party's old and new logo both depict a version of a double-cross in white, in front of a green background. The name of the entity is written in a circular motion in Slovakian. L'SNS (2018) announced its new logo at the national ceremonial assembly in 2018 to steer away from extreme or Nazi accusations.¹³ The party explains that the isosceles double-cross, which looks like the cross of the wartime Slovak state, was changed for the Cyril and Methodius double-cross that was used by the second Slovak Republic [Fig 196, 197].¹³ The symbols depicted during the 2005 march and the party's logo indicate the extremist orientation of the party.

EA: European Action (2010-2017)

European Action (EA) was a movement that wanted an independent continent with a readoption of the European tradition (Europäische Aktion [EA], n.d.). It can be assumed that EA (n.d.) is nationalistic, since it states to be against non-European immigrants and it writes that “the once proud European culture is being gradually destroyed” (para. 4). The Austrian newspaper NÖN (2021), describes EA as a right-wing extremist network that was founded by the Swiss Holocaust denier Bernhard Schauf. Antifaschistische Infoblatt (2018) adds that the group was established in 2010, and it declared itself allegedly dissolved in a video stream in 2017. The logo of EA [Fig 198] is a potent cross inside a circle, colored in yellow. When presented on a flag, the yellow logo is featured on a blue background [Fig 199].



Fig 196 Old Logo of People's Party our Slovakia (L'SNS).



Fig 197 New logo of People's Party our Slovakia (L'SNS).

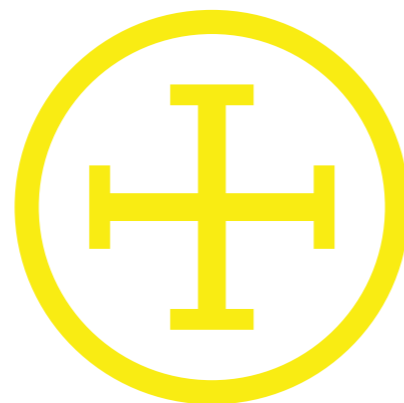


Fig 198 Logo of European Action (EA).



Fig 199 Flag of European Action (EA).



Fig 200 Flag of Towards Freedom!



Fig 201 Flag of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party (SSNP).

The colors are the same as the colors of the European Union, which might indicate EA's goal of establishing an independent continent.

Towards Freedom! (2019)

The Finnish national socialist movement called Towards Freedom! was set up in 2016, based on the tradition of rallies during Independence Day with the same name (Kohti Vapautta!, n.d.). Each year on December 6, the movement marches through Helsinki and this developed further into an active movement throughout the whole year (Kohti Vapautta! n.d.). Yle (2019) reports that the police believes Towards Freedom! is a successor of the Nordic Resistance Movement, which is a neo-Nazi group that was temporarily banned by court in 2019. The group's logo looks similar to a swastika and it also resembles the logo of Slavic Union, but then in different colors and in a tilted position [Fig 200].

VARIATIONS OF THE SWASTIKA

As is said above, entities with neo-fascist beliefs frequently use symbolism similar to that of the Nazi party. Some entities whose symbolism seem derived from the swastika are included, even though they are not in shape of a cross anymore. In many countries the swastika is now forbidden, resulting in entities that express their Nazi admiration in different visual ways. This also shows the power the symbol has gained.

SSNP: Syrian Social Nationalist Party (1931)

The Syrian Social Nationalist Party (SSNP) is one of the first political parties within the country and it became one of the most powerful in the whole Arab East (Abukhalil, 1983/2006). SSNP was founded as a clandestine organization by Greek Orthodox intellectual Antun Saadeh in 1931, says Pipes (1988). He specifies the primal principles of the SSNP; a non-religious radical reformation of society, presuming a fascist approach, and the unity of a Greater Syrian state. SSNP's paramilitary forces played an important role in both Lebanese civil wars and it has also played a part in terrorist attacks (Pipes, 1988). Abukhalil (1983/2006) states that the initially right-wing party failed to overthrow the government and a leftist turn was taken after leaders of SSNP were released from jail in 1969.

The party's former philosophical correspondence with German Nazism and Italian Fascism together with its chosen symbol had formerly increased doubt regarding SSNP aspirations (Nord-

13. Translated from Slovakian with the help of Google Translate.

bruch, 2009). Pipes (1988) points out that a fascist attitude was seen in SSNP due to different features, including a salute similar to the Nazi salute, the party's anthem, and the curved swastika (the red hurricane) as the party's symbol [Fig 201]. The red hurricane rotates to the right and is placed inside a white circle. The black, white, and red colors of SSNP's flag also resemble the colors used by the Nazis.

B & H: Blood & Honour (1987)

Ian Stuart Donaldson, lead singer of the white power band Skrewdriver, established Blood & Honour (B & H) in England in 1987, according to Jackson (2014). He says that this name derived from the slogan that was used by the Hitler Youth organization, which undoubtedly indicates its affinity with neo-Nazism. SPLC (n.d.-b) designated the international coalition of racist skinhead groups as a hate group. A split within the original group happened and as a result, two rival Blood & Honour groups were established in the United States, namely Blood & Honour America Division and Blood & Honour USA (SPLC, n.d.-b). B & H's official logo is a triskelion, three interlocking sevens or a three-legged swastika, substituting the ampersand sign in between the words 'Blood' and 'Honour' [Fig 202].

AWB: Afrikaner Resistance Movement (1973)

The ultra-right Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) was founded by Eugene Terre'Blanche and six others in 1973, and it operated semi-underground for the first five years (SAHO, 2020). Clark and Worger (2004/2013) describe AWB as a "Nazi-inspired militant right-wing movement upholding white supremacy" (p. xx). Terre'Blanche served the police for five years before starting the organization and in 2010 he was murdered by one of his workers at his farm (SAHO, 2020). Both the logo and flag of AWB resemble Nazi symbolism; AWB's flag namely depicts a triskelion (or three sevens) instead of a swastika, and AWB's logo similarly uses an eagle on top of the triskelion as opposed to the swastika [Fig 203, 204]. The adopted colors are also identical to the colors adopted by the Nazi party. Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging (n.d.) says that the three sevens are a biblical number that represents fulfillment and final victory in and through Jesus Christ, while the circle represents constant movement and thus eternal life by and through Christ. The entity adds that red symbolized the blood shed by Christ, Christians and Boer people, white symbolizes the purity of their ideal and black is the heraldic symbol for bravery. The entity explains the eagle as a symbol for the protective care of the lord.



Fig 202 Logo of Blood & Honour (B & H). (Retrieved from <https://www.bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/bhww/b-h-worldwide-contacts/>)



Fig 203 Flag of Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB).



Fig 204 Logo of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB).



Fig 205 Logo of Golden Dawn.



Fig 206 Flag of Golden Dawn.



Fig 207 Logo of Asatru Folk Assembly (AFA).



Fig 208 Flag of Asatru Folk Assembly (AFA).

Golden Dawn (mid 1980s-2020)

Golden Dawn was a neo-Nazi movement that was set up in the mid 1980s by Nikos Michaloliakos, who BBC (2020b) describes as a Holocaust denier and Nazism admirer. Samaras (2020) says that political instability in the country was rising and simultaneously big parties lost approval from the public regarding this issue. He adds that the seemingly sluggish far-right gave Golden Dawn the chance to be politically aggressive as it advocated "national purity, anticommunism, and promised mass migrant deportations" (para. 10). Mainstream parties were getting more popular again when the country refused populism and discarded fringe politics, which started Golden Dawn's destruction in 2017, and in 2019, it lost all its parliamentary seats (Samaras, 2020). BBC (2020b) reports that the party was designated as a criminal group by the Greek court (in 2020) after a trial that lasted more than five years. The news channel adds that the party's leadership was found guilty of managing the syndicate, and in total, verdicts were given to 68 defendants.

It was considered relevant to include this entity, because of the party's symbol appearing like an untwisted swastika. The party's logo depicts this untwisted swastika in red, with a wreath in black around it [Fig 205]. The flag resembles the flag from the Nazi party even more, as the untwisted swastika is emblazoned in black on top of a red background [Fig 206].

AFA: Asatru Folk Assembly (1994)

Asatru Folk Assembly (AFA) is a group based on neo-paganism or neo-Völkisch beliefs and it is part of the growing Asatru religious movement (Marohn, 2020). Stephen McNallen revived the group in 1994 after the Asatru Free Assembly was dissolved in 1986 (Marohn, 2020). Asatru Folk Assembly (AFA, n.d.) described Asatru, as a part of the Aryan religion, as "an expression of the native, pre-Christian spirituality of Europe. More specifically, it is the religion by which the Ethnic European Folk have traditionally related to the Divine and to the world around them" (para. 1). Thus, AFA (n.d.) states that it celebrates the European Folk, whereas SPLC (n.d.-d) defined AFA as the biggest neo-Völkisch hate organization of the United States.

AFA's logo [Fig 207] shows triple interlocked horns, inspired by the carved Snoldelev stone from Denmark, dating back to the Viking Age of 800 CE (McNallen, n.d.). The background is colored blue when the symbol appears on a flag [Fig 208]. McNallen (n.d.) exemplifies the design:

The three horns represent the three containers of mead quaffed by Odin - Bodn, Son, and Odroerir - rotating as a dynamic

3.6. GRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

source of ecstasy, of awakening, of divine inspiration - the essence of the Odroerir itself! Where the three come together, we have a triskelion revealing the three-fold essence of the cosmos and an early version of the valknut. (para. 7)

McNallen (n.d.) bases the color usage on the table of Edred Thorsson, which appears in *The big book of runes and rune magic*:

Blue is the all-encompassing, all-penetrating, and omnipresent mystical force of the numen, a sign of restless motion, the color of Odin's cloak.

White is the total expression of light as the sum of all colors - totality, purity, perfection, nobility, the disk of the sun.

Gold is the light of the sun and the spiritual light shining from Asgard, the force of ond in the universe, and a symbol of honor, reputation, and power in all realms.

CONCLUSIVE SUMMARY

The signification of the cross as a symbol of faith has gained other meanings when it was adopted as a symbol of superiority and racism. This started when the Crusaders carried the cross during the battle for the holy land, it was advanced by the cross-burning rituals of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and the appearance on the battle flag of the Confederate States. In the 20th century, the swastika became linked with the most poignant advocates of white supremacy, namely the National Socialists. The Nazi Party built a brand around the swastika, and it incorporated other variations of the cross to represent its belief. Other advocates of fascist politics incorporated variations of the cross in their symbolism as well and many neo-fascists, who often based their choice of symbols on the symbolism applied by the Nazi Party. The examples of this case study showed that the cross is a simple geometric shape that can be depicted in many variations. This also means that the cross is not generally a symbol of hate, but it can be understood as such when seen in specific contexts. Moreover, this case study showed that the association of the Nazis and the swastika has become so strong in certain contexts, that altered versions of the symbol signify neo-fascist beliefs in a similar way.



Fig 209 Cover of the catalog, detail.



Fig 210 Cover of the catalog.

Case studies were conducted by which entities and their symbols were discussed. The case studies were created by grouping the entities based on their symbolism. The analysis was structured in a chronological way, by which the symbol and its developments were discussed from the first time it signified a political cause until more contemporary representations. Background information of the entities was given together with the connotations, meanings and uses of their associated symbols.

Next, the entities were analyzed in a graphical manner. This was done through the creation of a catalog, in which previously discussed symbols are presented. This part of the research aims to show all symbols with their meanings and visual aspects in a simple and organized way, which is why is chosen for the format of a catalog. The format of the book is 14 cm x 21 cm and the lay-out is divided into six columns. Avenir was used as the typeface throughout the whole book, because of its geometric and simple style. Adrian Frutiger designed Avenir in 1987 as a sans-serif typeface that uses the circle as a basis. Hierarchies are created throughout the book by using Avenir Heavy (caps) for titles, Avenir Book (caps) for subtitles, and Avenir Light for body texts.

The cover of the book is simple in the way that it only includes the title and practical details regarding the project [Fig 209, 210]. The main title of the text is set in Avenir Heavy and it is outlined in order to create an association with the outlined graphical components in the book. No colors and shapes are used to support the argument throughout this research that colors and shapes can carry connotations.

121 symbols are organized throughout the book in different ways; namely by alphabet, graphical components, ideology, timeline, and geography. This was inspired on the visual organizations that were conducted during the first part of the research. Accordingly, the different organizations throughout the catalog will be discussed.



ALPHABET

The main part of the book is organized alphabetically, whereby each entity is presented on a separate page [Fig 211]. Prior to these pages, an index is created whereby the included entities are listed by name and grouped on their corresponding letter of the alphabet. Subsequently, the illustrative pages follow by which the symbol/symbols of the entity appear on top and the name and description of the entity below. These pieces of text are almost identical to the descriptions of the entities used in the case studies. Underneath, the different components of the symbol/symbols are outlined and accompanied by their significations. Some components are presented alone, while others are presented together. This is done when components signify something together, like the union of workers and peasants which is represented by the hammer and sickle. At the bottom of the page the colors of the symbols are retracted and coded in both RGB and CMYK. The primary represented color is shown on the left, while the least represented color is shown on the right. It is observed that some entities use very little different elements in their symbol (e.g. Democratic Republic of Vietnam), while others use multiple elements to signify their objectives (e.g. Hezbollah). The components are created manually, which means that certain modest differences between the components and the original image might be present.

Fig 211 Photos of the alphabetical organization chapter.

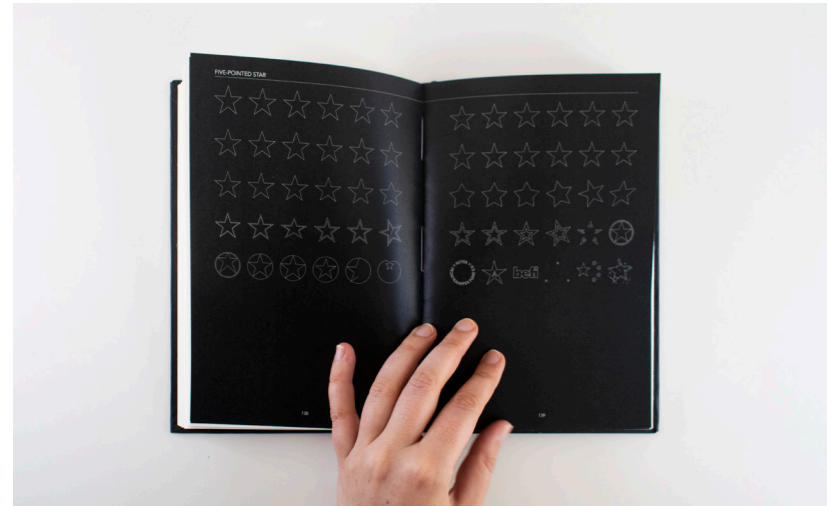


Fig 212 Photos of the graphical components chapter.

GRAPHICAL COMPONENTS

Different graphical components were already outlined and separated from the symbols in the alphabetical organization. In this section, different spreads [Fig 212] are filled with similar components, including the leading symbols of this research. This is done so that the components can be viewed in a purely graphical way. It can be noted that the star often appears as a singular element and the main variation lies in the density of the shape — meaning that the inner points are close or far from the center of the shape. The clenched fist is a symbol that is drawn with wider variety, seeing that it is a more complex graphical shape and that it is sometimes combined with another symbol, such as a weapon. More importantly, the cross shows many variations which is partly due to the fact that the swastika is forbidden in multiple countries.



IDEOLOGY

Afterwards, the symbols are organized based on their beliefs [Fig 213]. In this section, the symbols are depicted without any description, so that comparisons can be made that are purely based on the visual aspects. Here we can observe that different entities use corresponding shapes and colors to represent their beliefs. This supports that a symbol is a message without words.

Fig 213 Photos of the ideology chapter.



Fig 215 Photos of the geography chapter.

GEOGRAPHY

Lastly, the entities are organized based on their geographic location [Fig 215], since it might show where certain ideologies or beliefs had a bigger influence or support. These findings will be discussed in the next chapter as well. Through creating this organization can be observed which areas were mainly studied during this research.

3.7. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This dissertation researched the power of symbols in visual propaganda through analyzing political logos and flags. First, a contextualization of the objective was given by explaining the word propaganda and supplying the definition with examples through time. These examples demonstrated that propaganda has been practiced since the start of human history. Examples were given whereby the role of symbols was presented in different contexts and mediums. Noble and Bestley (2016/2018) suggest that “visual communication is closely related to the construction and presentation of persuasive arguments, because designed messages are intended to provoke a response or reaction in a reader or viewer” (p. 96). This is supported by the given examples, including the British that used posters during World War I to directly assert ‘YOU’ to come and join the army.

A collection containing different political symbols with familiar visual aspects was created and subsequently organized in different visual ways. This research was conducted within the field of communication design, which is why was chosen to organize the collection based on their symbols. This way of organizing the data gave focus to five eminent familiar symbols, being the red star, hammer and sickle (and the cogwheel), the clenched fist, the circle-A, and the cross. The following case studies were chronologically structured around these symbols.

The chosen symbols and their developments were discussed from the first time they came to signify a political objective until more recent representations. We can see through these theoretical analyzations that entities with similar beliefs adopted the same symbols to signify their goals.

In the first case study the red star was discussed. Khvostov (1996) explained that the Bolsheviks mainly used the Red Army as an instrument to spread communism throughout Russia. The Red Army depicted the red star and hammer and sickle (initially the hammer and plow) on its badge and later it was incorporated by the Soviet Regime in the flag and state emblem. It was discussed that the Russian Revolution inspired the establishment of communist parties, but also other revolutionary movements throughout the world. The red star was adopted by resurgent groups in various contexts, meaning that the symbol came to represent the prospect of revolution on a worldwide level. However, most of these entities advocated socialism or communism. The dominance of communism in certain countries can also be recognized when the star is prominently present on country flags. The star was often presented as the main element on logos and flags to signify the entity’s primary aim. Other graphic elements like shapes and colors were employed with an association to the entity’s context. An example is the flag of the Popular Movement for

the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which was most probably inspired by the Viet Cong and featured the color black to represent African people. Elements within the logos and flags were often colored red, which has been a symbol of revolution since the French Revolution.

The hammer and sickle were discussed in the second case study. We saw that the symbols combined came to signify the union of workers and peasants, which explains why this symbol was most frequently adopted by political parties advocating for workers rights. Also here, red was often used to signify communism. Sometimes the hammer and sickle were depicted in combination with symbols like the cogwheel. The cogwheel was used by communist entities, but also by worker unions with other principles. It even came to represent hate at times, when it was adopted by the German Labor Front (DAF) and the far right working-class. This means that the representation of certain symbols like the cogwheel can differ in meaning depending on the context.

The clenched fist was the focus of the third case study. The clenched fist initially represented socialism through both the sign and symbol. The symbol and sign were popularized after they were appropriated by the communist Red Front (RFB) and subsequently by the anti-fascist Popular Front during the Spanish Civil War. During the 1960s and 1970s, the symbol was picked up as a sign of protest regarding issues like student strikes, black solidarity, and feminism. Overall, the symbol signified different forms of solidarity. However, it also came to represent white pride when white supremacists confiscated it. The appropriation of this symbol by a wide variety of entities shows that the symbol and the connotation of solidarity can be applied in varying contexts. At times, the clenched fist was combined with other symbols, which resulted in a different connotation. In particular, some entities used the fist together with a weapon to represent armed struggle. An additional example is Food Not Bombs (FNB), who depicted a fist holding a carrot to fight for people in need and fight against wasting food.

The circle-A was discussed in the subsequent case study. Even though the origins of the symbol remain unknown, it became widely associated with Proudhon's words "Anarchy is order". It became present in the music scene, where it was originally used for its shock value. However, this connotation changed when anarcho-punk bands used it as a mode of political defiance. The symbol was used by entities advocating different variations of anarchism. It can be seen that the circle-A was adopted and often altered to fit the entity's context. For instance, Platform pictured a mirrored circle-A, which might represent that the organization is based on anarcho-communist beliefs. Similarly, the circle-A seemed to be drawn in the style

of indigenous drawings in the logo of the Indigenous Anarchist Federation (IAF-FAI). This creates an association with the context and aim of the entity. These slight alterations of the circle-A as a symbol indicate the type of freedom that anarchism stands for.

The last case study was built around the cross. First was reported that the symbol of faith came to signify more sinister things after it was used by the Crusaders, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), and the Confederacy. In the 20th century, it became a symbol of white racial purity when the swastika was theorized to represent the Aryan race. The most prominent example of the cross as a symbol of hate has become the swastika, particularly after it was adopted by the Nazi Party. Other political parties with extreme nationalistic views used a variation of the cross as their symbol during this period. The Nazi Party left such a strong mark, that many of the extremist or nationalistic contemporary entities incorporated symbolism that was similar to that of the Nazis. Symbols depicting variations of the swastika were discussed as well, as the prohibition of the swastika in many countries resulted in inventive symbols that looked similar to the swastika. Often the colors used by the Nazi Party — red, black, white — were incorporated into the symbols. We can conclude that the cross as a political symbol often comes to represent extremist views. The prohibition of the swastika in many countries also argues that the connotation of a symbol can become very persuasive.

Afterwards, the symbols were presented in a catalog where they were analyzed based on their visual elements. The alphabetical part of the catalog demonstrated by separation of the components that meanings are connected to specific shapes. It also supports what has been said before, namely that certain colors are often connected with ideology. By categorizing and presenting the graphical components was seen that different shapes result in different levels of complexity and variation. The simple geometric shape of the cross was often presented in an altered but recognizable way, whereas the five-pointed star was often presented in a similar manner. Organizing the symbols on a timeline showed that many of the extremist, nationalist entities were established after the 1990s, which is when the Soviet Union collapsed. The geographical organizations also showed that many of those entities were situated in North America. This supports the arguments of Weed (2017), who states that white supremacy is a religion rooted in Christianity and Ray (2010), who argues that Christianity is seen in Northern America as the religion of the West. Further, we can acknowledge that many entities were formed around the 1960s and 1970s throughout all case studies. This was a period of global revolution and opposition, which can be seen in the density of the timeline.

CONCLUSION

This research aimed to address the power of symbols in visual propaganda through analyzing the meaning behind political logos and flags. A qualitative research was conducted by which an extensive collection of familiar political symbols was created. The entities and their symbols were initially organized in a detailed table after which they were arranged in different visual ways. These organizations determined that discussing the data from a visual point of view would coincide best with the field of study, being communication design. Five eminent political symbols were chosen to be researched in combination with their associated entities. Case studies were constructed around the following symbols: the red star, the hammer and sickle (and the cogwheel), the clenched fist, the circle-A, and the cross. In these theoretical case studies, the symbols and their developments were analyzed in a chronological way together with their connotations, meanings, and uses. Additionally, a graphical analysis of symbols was carried out, so that the symbols could be comprehended through their visual elements.

The main purpose of the research was supported through contextualizing the field of study. The definition of propaganda was followed by propaganda examples through time. This part focussed on different mediums and the demonstration of symbols as a tool for disseminating information.

The results of the case studies show that a symbol can create recognizability when it is appropriated by other entities that share the same belief. This demonstrates that the objective of an entity can be signified through the usage of a symbol. In other words, a symbol is a message without words.

The connotations of a symbol can also change when it is appropriated by entities advocating different beliefs. This can be concluded, because the case studies were structured around the developments of the symbols rather than on the developments of the entities. This means that a symbol and its connotations can differ depending on its context.

The symbols were dissected so that the role of graphical components and colors could be analyzed. It was acknowledged that colors are associated with different ideologies and the components can help in communicating a message.

LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This research conducted five case studies regarding eminent political symbols. This allowed the research to analyze the symbols both theoretically and graphically in depth. However, the scope of this research, as part of a master program, did not allow for it to include

all existing political symbols fitting the requirements. To better understand the findings of this research, the created analysis could be enhanced and expanded with the same guidelines. This being said, a distinct amount of data was collected and discussed for it to be valuable within the field of study.

Other political symbols were excluded from the research, because of the specified collection. Further studies could be conducted with a focus on a different set of symbols, for example symbols with social connotations or symbols that are lesser known. Another way of studying the topic would involve the creation of a database of political and social symbols, hence it would come to function as an overview.

This research combined the field of propaganda with the field of communication design, whereby it was addressed that political symbols could be a form of branding. The contextual framework focussed on the concept of propaganda and historical examples, rather than on the connection with branding. This exploratory form of research allowed the researcher to get familiar with the topic of study and understand its significance. The absence of including the overall concept of branding in this dissertation is something that could create a greater opportunity and a deeper level of comprehension in future research. The compiled data in this dissertation can serve as support for subsequent studies within the field.

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