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Introduction
Introduction

1 Extremist online discourse valorises, exonerates and so at minimum implicitly acts to incite violence against opponents and those deemed (genetically, ethnically, religiously, sexually, politically or nationally) ‘inferior’. Given that such goals are socially unacceptable, and often illegal, extremist speech communities need to camouflage their politics by either shifting the context in which they take place (e.g. private meetings, encrypted communications) or by coding and cloaking their terminology and symbols. Codes, euphemisms and veiled signs are therefore a defining feature of online extremist discourse.¹

2 The use of such codes serves a range of interpersonal, rhetorical and political functions. First, codes help to ensure that communication remains within accepted (typically legal) boundaries. These codes shift over time, partly because what is socially and/or legally proscribed changes. Second, since codes essentially offer a new way to convey political extremism, they signal the continued advocacy of a political ideology for those able to interpret the code. Just as a party logo might change but will continue to represent the party in question, so too a new word, image or meme can communicate an established ideological commitment. Third, codes perform a role in defining the boundaries of the group, who belongs and who doesn’t, and an informal hierarchy based on knowledge and understanding of group discourse.

3 This report details the principal symbols, slang, coded references and terminology used online by radical-right extremists today. The first part of this survey will focus on key images, ranging from the Celtic Cross to ancient

Germanic runes, with an emphasis on frequency of use and changes over time (such as the recent way in which ‘Pepe the Frog’ has operated as shorthand for various radical-right themes). The second part turns to written codes, including numerical codes, acronyms and key phrases, and is supported by a glossary appendix. Special attention is paid to euphemisms (e.g. ‘globalists’ or ‘Zionists’ to refer to an alleged Jewish conspiracy) that are used by extremists who intend to make radical-right ideas more palatable to a wider public. Online communications have become a key arena for this ‘mainstreaming’, particularly through social media platforms such as Facebook.
Images and Symbols
Images and Symbols

Atomwaffen Division

Figure 1: Atomwaffen Division (AWD) logo/flag

4 Atomwaffen Division is a neo-Nazi group organised as a series of terror cells committed to what they see as contributing to the collapse of Western civilisation. Its existence was acknowledged in October 2015 by founder Brandon Russell,² though it may have been formed in 2013 through discussions on the neo-Nazi *Iron March* online forum.³ Other neo-Nazi terror groups also used Iron March as a means of organising and disseminating their ideology, as shown by the Infographic below, created by an Iron March user:

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³ IronMarch.Org was a fascist social network, founded by Russian Alisher Mukhitdinov, aka Alexander Slavros. The site went offline in November 2017. In May 2018 a new forum called Fascist Forge, modelled after and in homage to Iron March, was launched. Its founder ‘Mathias’ announced that this new forum will give fascists “an online platform to make connections, share resources, organize, and ultimately further the Fascist Worldview”. Source: https://medium.com/americanoyssey/iron-march-fascist-forge-forum-domestic-terrorism-1b01947902a7 (accessed 18 September 2019).
Several of the groups included in Figure 2, and their symbols, will be discussed later in this report.

AWD’s popularity increased substantially following the ‘Unite the Right’ rally in Charlottesville, VA (11-12 August 2017). A member of AWD, Marine Lance Corporal Vasillios G. Pistolis (since court martialed and discharged from the Marines⁴), was recorded at the rally, and according to ProPublica, later “bragged about his involvement in the violence over that fatal weekend last August, and posted photographs accompanied by detailed narratives of the assaults he committed”.⁵ The group has international links with other terroristic neo-Nazi groups, including: Sonnenkrieg Division, based in Europe with members concentrated in the UK; and Feuerkreig Division, a newly emerged European neo-Nazi organization (Figure 3, left) with cells reported in


Germany, the Netherlands, Australia, Canada and the US. An affiliated Canadian organisation called The Base provides military and survivalist training in “hate camps” to fellow white supremacists.

7 In addition to their flag/logo (Figure 1), a prominent symbol of the group is the skull half-face mask (Figure 3, right), currently for sale via Amazon.com (link).

Figure 3: Feuerkreig Division; AWD facemask

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6 See: Feuerkrieg Division Attempts to Recruit in the United States, Announces Creation of More ‘Cells’

7 See: Militant Neo-Nazi Group Actively Recruiting Ahead of Alleged Training Camp
The ‘Black Sun’

Figure 4: The Black Sun

8 The ‘Black Sun’ symbol has become synonymous with a variety of radical-right groups who use it to indicate their allegiance to neo-Nazism and/or white supremacism. In the UK, a version of what is also called the ‘Sunwheel’ was first used in 1964, in the logo of the political party the Greater Britain Movement (GBM), led by John Tyndall. (Tyndall would later lead the National Front, from 1972 to 1974 and again from 1975 to 1980, found and lead the New National Front in 1980 and then, in 1982, found the British National Party, leading it until 1999.)

9 The symbol is based on ancient sunwheel artefacts used by Norse and Germanic tribes to reflect pagan beliefs. Norse mythology and related forms of pagan religions appeal to white supremacists in part because they allow them to champion the virtues of early northern-European whites and they speak to a time and place dominated by a white monoculture, before the arrival of (as they would put it, ‘Jewish’) Christianity in Europe. Thus, a member of the GBM described the sunwheel in their party logo as performing “a special role, forming a close link with the Nordic religion that flourished in Saxon Britain before the coming of foreign imported Christianity.”

10 Varying forms of the ‘Black Sun’ have been used recently, such as on the cover of the alleged Christchurch shooter’s ‘The Great Replacement’ manifesto (Figure 5, left), that phrase itself a direct

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8 Michael Passmore ‘Our Symbol’, Spearhead, December 1964, p.7
reference to Renaud Camus’ 2011 Francophone book of the same name. Since 2007, the Black Sun has also featured on the flag of the National Bolshevik Party (Figure 5, right) – a Russian white supremacist party who aim to re-establish the Soviet empire but this time as an exclusively ‘ethnic Russian’ state.

Figure 5: Two contemporary uses of the Black Sun

11 The Black Sun also featured in the case of R v Bogunovic and others (Birmingham Crown Court, 2018), concerning membership of the banned group National Action. The female Defendant, Claudia Patatas, was found to have the Black Sun tattooed on her back. She was convicted of membership of NA along with her partner Adam Thomas.

Figure 6: Claudia Patatas, Black Sun tattoo

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9 This book was reissued in 2012 (Neuilly-sur-Seine, ed. David Reinharc) and 2017 (Lulu Books, a print-on-demand, self-publishing site). The phrase ‘The Great Replacement’ is discussed later in this report.
Celtic Cross

Figure 7, from left: The extremist Celtic Cross; a Traditional Celtic Cross

12 The Celtic Cross – also called the ‘sun cross’ or ‘wheel cross’ – presents a good example of the ways in which mainstream iconography is adopted by radical-right extremists. That is to say, the traditional Celtic Cross – which can, and is, used in an innocuous way - imposes a circle upon a Latin-Christian Cross, with its vertical axis longer than horizontal. Crosses of this design are then often decorated with elaborate ropework or knotwork. They are amongst the best-known icons of early-to-medieval Christianity in Ireland, they are a ubiquitous feature of Irish giftshops, and consequently they are sometimes used to symbolise ‘Irish pride’. The Celtic Cross of white supremacism reduces the vertical axis to the same length as the horizontal, creating an icon that can be rotated through 90 or 180 degrees and remain unchanged. In this way it becomes suggestive of the Nazi Swastika.

13 The use of this particular ‘Celtic Cross’ by white supremacists began with the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s. It was also adopted as a symbol of the fascist German Faith Movement (Deutsche Glaubensbewegung, 1933-45), a small organisation which attempted to synthetize Christian liturgy, Paganism and Hitlerism. It was also used by the Thule Society, a völkisch German organization that sponsored the initial German Workers' Party (Deutsche Arbeiterpartei), which was in turn reorganized into the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP or Nazi Party) by Adolf Hitler. During WWII, several Waffen-SS divisions also adopted the symbol in their insignia, including the 11th SS Volunteer Panzergrenadier Division Nordland and the 5th SS Panzer Division "Wiking", who committed war crimes against Jews in the Lvov ghetto and in Austria during ‘death marches’ at the end of the war. As a result, in Germany the
Celtic Cross/sun cross is proscribed as a symbol of unconstitutional organisations under section §86a of the German Criminal Code.

14 In 1995 it was adopted as the logo for Stormfront, the oldest and still largest of all white supremacist websites. Subsequently, the Cross and slogan of Stormfront’s logo has become a generic signifier for white supremacy.

![The Celtic Cross and White Pride](image)

Figure 8: The Celtic Cross and White Pride

15 On March 15 2016, PBS Newshour ran a story on a family from North Carolina who were campaigning for Donald Trump. A member of the family – Grace Tilly – was shown on the programme with tattoos on her hands – a Celtic Cross on her right and 88 on her left.

![Grace Tilly, campaigning for Donald Trump](image)

Figure 9: Grace Tilly, campaigning for Donald Trump

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10 The link to the programme is now out of date: [https://www.pbs.org/newshour/episode/pbs-newshour-full-episode-march-15-2016/](https://www.pbs.org/newshour/episode/pbs-newshour-full-episode-march-15-2016/)
The combination of these two tattoos should have been a clear indication of Tilly’s extremist politics. However, this was not highlighted or remarked upon by the programme makers.\(^\text{11}\)

**Confederate Flag**

Between 1860-61, eleven southern states seceded from the United States, believing that the institution of slavery was threatened by the election of Abraham Lincoln to the U.S. presidency. The flag (precisely, the battle flag) of the Confederacy is, obviously, a symbol of that particular period in history, and the (historic) societies and cultures of the American South. Yet for some, it stands as a metonym for those who died defending the Confederate States. This helps to explain why it continues to be used by conservative organisations such as Sons of Confederate Veterans.

![Figure 10, from left: The Confederate flag; the logo of Sons of Confederate Veterans; a neo-Nazi](image)

Given that the Confederacy was formed in order to protect slavery – a system of white supremacy – it is the racist meanings of the flag that contemporary white supremacists invoke through its use. These intended (racist, slavery-championing) meanings are most clearly apparent when the Confederate flag is combined with other extremist symbols, notably the Swastika (as above) or the Celtic Cross.

The use of the Confederate flag as a racist signifier is not limited to the United States but also extends to white supremacists beyond US borders.

Kekistan

“Kek […] is the ‘deity’” of the semi-ironic ‘religion’ the white nationalist movement has created for itself online — partly for amusement, as a way to troll liberals and self-righteous conservatives”.¹² Kekistan is a fictional country dedicated to this fictional God, which was popularised as a meme by the anti-feminist reactionary blogger Carl Benjamin (also known as Sargon of Akkad).

Figure 11, top to bottom: the flag of ‘Kekistan’; Nazi War Ensign

The flag of Kekistan is a reworked version of the Nazi War ensign, using the logo for the anonymous message board 4Chan¹³ in the top left corner, replacing the Iron Cross. This is another deliberate attempt to ‘troll’ liberals who recognise the visual origins of the flag.


¹³ 4Chan is one of many ‘chan’ sites – it is a web forum that allow users to post text and images anonymously. The anonymity of chan sites explains their role for marginalised groups, whether innocuous or illegal. As a recent CNet article summary put it: “lots of chan boards are nothing more than places for people with intense interests in a subject to swap thoughts. […] But because chan boards are loosely moderated and provide anonymity, they've also become a breeding ground for hateful ideas” Source: https://www.cnet.com/news/8chan-4chan-endchan-heres-what-you-need-to-know-about-image-boards/ (accessed 18 September 2019)
There is an overlap between ‘Kekistanis’ and those who share the Pepe the Frog meme (see Figure 16, below) – encouraged by the coincidental fact that there was an Egyptian god named Kek. The Egyptian Kek is “portrayed as a bringer of chaos and darkness” and, when in female form, was depicted “as possessing the head of a frog”, thus explaining the link with Pepe.

Although in some ways Kek should be read as an ‘in joke’, and so (conceivably) might be use in a non-racist manner, it has also “become a kind of tribal marker of the Alt-Right […] a way of signalling to fellow conversants online that the writer embraces the principles of chaos and destruction that are central to Alt-Right thinking”.  

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15 Ibid.
The Order of Nine Angles (ONA) is a Satanic group long affiliated with neo-Nazis. It emerged first in the United Kingdom but now has adherents in cells, or what they call ‘nexions’, in other parts of the world. The ultimate aim of the ONA is to use what they term ‘sinister acts’ (including terrorism) to overthrow democracy and establish an Aryan ‘warrior’ culture. Figure 13, above, is the card ‘Mousa of Swords’, from the ‘Sinister Tarot’, produced by Richard Moult (aka Christos Beest). ‘Mousa of Swords’ depicts a smiling woman sitting on a rock; in her left hand she holds a tetrahedron (an item used in the ONA’s Satanic rituals) and in the other the decapitated head of a man. The man’s face bears a close likeness to Claus von Stauffenberg, the German Officer whose 20 July 1944 ‘Valkyrie’ plot to assassinate Hitler failed. The scene therefore depicts a fantasy ritual murder of an opponent of Hitler, and sharing it typically indicates a commitment to a Satanic branch of neo-Nazism.

Another key symbol used by ONA is the seven-pointed star within a circle. The example on the right is available for purchase on eBay.
This sigil (a symbol that group members believe holds magical power) is not a general esoteric or mystical sign but is rather one that specifically communicates a commitment to ONA ideology and aims. The books written by the ONA – notably *The Sinister Tradition* – advocate murder (which they refer to as ‘culling’), ritualised suicide and terrorism by means of explosive devices, amongst other acts, all directed according to their “Satanic morality – that we are better, more valuable, than *mundanes*”.

### Pepe the Frog/Groyper

A ubiquitous meme, Pepe the Frog first appeared in 2005 in Matt Furie’s comic *Boy’s Club*. First shared online on his MySpace blog, Pepe was one of four characters, in addition to Brett, Andy, and Landwolf, who were drawn in a series of adolescent Stoner/Dropout ‘comical vignettes’.

In 2008, a page from the comic was posted on the /b/ board of 4Chan, the final panel of which contained the punchline of the strip, Pepe saying ‘feels good man’:

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17 The 600 Club, online at: [http://www.the600club.com/topic92255-1.html](http://www.the600club.com/topic92255-1.html) (accessed 21 August 2019)

18 Print edition now on sale: [https://www.amazon.co.uk/Boys-Club-Matt-Furie/dp/1606999192](https://www.amazon.co.uk/Boys-Club-Matt-Furie/dp/1606999192)

19 The humour of *Boy’s Club* is shallow and an acquired taste. In a withering assessment, a recent reviewer of the print edition wrote: “It’s possible Furie intends the repetition of inane catchphrases as some kind of commentary on the sorts of people who still quote Austin Powers regularly and with enthusiasm, but that’s
This image of Pepe was photoshopped to create an exploitable image macro, which was then developed and repurposed by users. The popularity of the image means that it has been, and still is, used in innocuous ways, without understanding Pepe’s relevance for the extreme-right.

In 2009, a reversed version of Furie’s original image was shared to 4Chan, with Pepe now saying ‘Feels Bad Man’ with his mouth flipped upside down. Later that same year, another ‘Sad Frog’ meme was shared (again to 4Chan) bearing the title ‘not good man’ before, on 02 June 2011, the ‘smug frog’ meme was shared on 4Chan.

By this stage, Pepe had started to go viral, with a variety of internet users and mainstream celebrities sharing the meme, whether in one of the above ‘original’ four forms or in a modified version. Posters to 4Chan reacted by reworking Pepe according to a variety of “bizarre, offensive […] themes, in a crude attempt to turn him away from the masses and

not much of an insight. The tendency of Boy’s Club to mine the same comedy ground over and over (stoned people are hungry, marijuana alters your perceptions, scatology is hilarious) suggests that any kind of larger point is a mirage.” Source: https://www.pastemagazine.com/articles/2016/05/matt-furies-boys-club-isnt-worth-joining.html (accessed 18 September 2019)
back into the underground.”\textsuperscript{20} Racist versions of the meme were one way in which they attempted to do this.

However, for nearly 10 years, Pepe was not primarily a racist symbol. Non-racist usage of the meme also still exists. It was only during the Republican primaries and presidential election campaign of Donald Trump that Pepe memes became systematically co-opted by the ‘alt-’ and radical right in America. An article published by \textit{The Daily Dot} as recently as December 2015 saw Pepe’s creator Matt Furie praising 4Chan: “Having Pepe is one of the most life-changing experiences I will ever have […] there is no need for anxiety, especially when you feel confident and supported by the 4chan community”. This article was only updated on 13 September 2016 to acknowledge “a surprising turn of events, Pepe has been co-opted by the alt-right”.\textsuperscript{21}

From Trump’s election campaign onwards, Pepe has been used to represent a variety of extremist political ideologies, from white supremacism to neo-Nazism. In the summer of 2017, lawyers for the artist Matt Furie opened legal action against those allegedly infringing his intellectual property, serving “cease and desist orders to several alt-right personalities and websites including Richard Spencer, Mike Cernovich, and the r/the_Donald subreddit” as well as “DMCA notices to Amazon, Twitter and his other online social media spaces”.\textsuperscript{22} Though now widely dismissed (particularly on 4Chan) as a ‘dead meme’, iterations continue to surface, most recently as the character ‘Groyper’.

\textsuperscript{21} Imad Khan, December 4 2015, 4chan’s Pepe the Frog is bigger than ever—and his creator feels good, man https://www.dailydot.com/unclick/4chan-pepe-the-frog-renaissance/ (accessed 22 August 2019)
‘Groyper’ is a crudely drawn amphibious creature, widely judged to be a toad. The origins of the meme are uncertain, though there are many indications that a Canadian artist was responsible – his twitter account (https://twitter.com/Mcfagens) is currently suspended, but previously many accounts ‘@-ed’ him in posts that included their own renderings of the meme (see Figure 18 below). As with Pepe, some variations do appear to be innocuous (Groyper as a Star Wars clone trooper, Groyper as a dog, etc), but others reference far- and radical-right preoccupations with Islam, race and antisemitic depiction of Jews, and the ways that they use offence to ‘troll’ those they call ‘normies’.

A Twitter search for Groyper-affiliated accounts turns up dozens of results, who appear to use account names (typically using the frog emoji 🐸), images of Groyper and #groyper as ways of signalling their radical-right politics to others. There is some evidence to indicate that self-identifying ‘Groyper-affiliated’ accounts “coordinate targeted harassment against any dissenters of the hard right”, particularly progressive Black
public figures. They have been recorded “requesting harassment support [from other ‘Groypers’] to use racist trolling, doxing, and other lesser harassment […] within an echo chamber of hatred”.  

35 In Figure 19, below, a Groyper-affiliated account criticises a white female colleague for only having one child (their comment “No wonder we’re being replaced” indexes the racist ‘great replacement’ theory); another offers an antisemitic conspiracy theory which claims that The Economist is a “globalist Rothschild” publication:

![Figure 19: ‘Groyper-affiliated’ twitter accounts](image)

**Runes**

36 Runes are letters from pre-Roman alphabets. Although there are many different runic alphabets, the most widely used, particularly amongst right-wing extremists, is called Elder/Older Futhark (below):

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24 Ibid.
This system of writing was used by Germanic tribes between around the 2nd and the 8th centuries, though they were never used for writing lengthy texts (these were effectively oral cultures). Runes have been identified on a variety of unearthed artefacts, including jewellery, weapons and runestones. Runes are still used for a range of non-racist purposes (such as on national sport strips) and to mark heritage, particularly for Scandinavian national identities. A branch of Linguistics studies runes, and debates remain regarding translations of significant runestones.

Runes have been increasingly co-opted by a variety of neo-Nazi and white supremacist organisations. Several of the Elder/Older Futhark runes were used as Nazi insignia, or were adopted into the wider system of Nazi symbology, frequently taking on new meanings.

| The ‘s-rune’, known as sig or sigal. | The rune with the clearest Nazi associations, a double ‘sig’ was adapted as the emblem of the SS in 1933. The meaning was changed from ‘sun’ to ‘Victory’, most likely because the pronunciation of ‘sig’ is very close to ‘sieg’, German for victory. Online, Claudia Patatas (convicted of National Action membership in 2018) called herself ‘Sigrun’ – the name of a |
| Symbolic meaning: the sun. | |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Valkyrie from Norse legend which also alludes to the words ‘sieg’ and ‘rune.’</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The ‘o-rune’, known as Odal or Othala.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbolic meaning: heritage, inheritance, home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nazis recast the established meanings of the rune (heritage, inheritance, home) into what that meant for them: race, racial purity and Germany as an ‘Aryan’ nation. It was adopted as a symbol of ‘Blood and Soil’ by the SS Race and Settlement Main Office. It was also used in the insignia of the Croatian 7th SS Volunteer Mountain Division, ethnic German volunteers who fought partisans in the Balkans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The ‘t-rune’, known as Tiwaz or Týr.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbolic meaning: honour, justice, law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nazis also shifted the meaning of this rune to mean leadership, particularly leadership in battle. It was adopted in a badge of the Reichsführerschulen of the Nazi movement – the training centres used to train junior leaders of the SA and, later, those of the Nazi Party more generally. The badge was awarded exclusively to successful graduates of the schools and was worn on the left upper arm of the party uniform.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The ‘z-rune’ known as Algiz.

Symbolic meaning: life, divinity (and/or death when turned upside-down).

This rune was used by the Lebensborn – the SS association charged with the goal of increasing the birth rate of ‘Aryan’ children, abducting/adopting children (e.g. from Poland and Czechoslovakia) and raising them as German ‘Aryans’, so allegedly improving the ‘racial purity’ of the Reich. It also featured on the uniforms of some SA units.

39 Since WWII, the odal rune has been widely adopted by Wotan Odinists, a pagan movement affiliated with the radical right that is described by Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke as representing “the battlefront of racist paganism in support of a white Aryan revolutionary path”.26

40 The t-rune ‘Tyr’ was used in combination with the Wolsangel in the former logo of the clothing brand Thor Steinar, favoured by neo-Nazis and now banned in Germany:27

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Radical right extremists also use runes to stand in for transliterated Roman letters, creating an alternative phonetic alphabet to spell out words like ‘Rahowa’ (see entry on this below) or ‘white power’ in a way that most people cannot read:

Use of Runes in Recent Extremist Political Organisations:

**National Alliance** (United States)

42 A neo-Nazi political organization founded by William Pierce in 1974. Pierce was author of the white supremacist novels *The Turner Diaries* (1978) and *Hunter* (1989), which have gone on to inspire a range of terroristic organisations including The Order (and its leading member David Lane). Their flags/logos always contain the Algiz rune.
Scottish Dawn

Scottish Dawn are a neo-Nazi terror organisation, proscribed in the United Kingdom under the Terrorism Act 2000. After National Action (NA) were proscribed, on 16 December 2016, some members simply rebadged their activities under the new name of ‘Scottish Dawn’ as a way of circumventing the ban. Following the arrests of suspected members of NA on 26 September 2017, the Home Secretary also proscribed membership of Scottish Dawn, as an offshoot of NA. Membership or active support of the organisation is a criminal offence, with a sentence of up to 10 years in prison for anyone convicted of being involved.

Figure 24: Members of Scottish Dawn and their Algiz logo

National Socialist Movement (USA)

The National Socialist Movement (NSM) is amongst the largest neo-Nazi groups in the United States today. From around the end of 2016

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28 See https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-41414164 (accessed 18 September 2019)
the NSM started to use a new flag in which the Nazi swastika has been replaced by the Odal rune:

Figure 25, from left: Older and newer variants of the NSM flag

_Tempel ov Blood_ (sic)

45 A so-called ‘left-hand Satanist’ neo-Nazi organisation – meaning that sadomasochistic actions are endorsed against purportedly ‘inferior’ beings – based in the USA. Members are inspired by, and affiliated to, Anton Long’s ‘Traditional Satanic’ organization, the Order of Nine Angles (ONA). In their words: “our way is the way of action, of deeds, of violence, terror, revolution, combat, war. The way of the defiant individual”.  

46 They have written that their logo is a combination of three Tyr runes, each of them reversed, so also reversing their traditional meanings:

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By turning the Tyr runes upside down, they claim that the rune now signifies “lawlessness, destruction and anti-Justice” (*Liber333*, p.228).

**Volksfront**

An American neo-Nazi organization founded in 1994 and active until 2010, Volksfront campaigned for a white ‘homeland’ in the Pacific Northwest, first advocated for by the neo-Nazi Harold Covington, centred around its headquarters in Oregon. Although no longer politically active, its flag/logo is still in circulation.

**Traditionalist Worker Party**
49 The Traditionalist Worker Party is a neo-Nazi group which advocates for racially ‘pure’ nations. Formed in 2015 by the radical-right extremist Matthew Heimbach, their ideology is a combination of ethnopluralism (the Identitarian contention that races of people ‘rightly’ belong in particular areas of the world and so nations should be made monoracial to reflect this ‘natural’ order), and the antisemitic conspiracy theory that Jews use capitalism and left-wing groups to ensure their racial supremacy.

50 One of The Traditionalist Worker Party’s leaders, Matthew Parrott, helped popularise the use of triple parentheses, or so-called (((echoes))), to identify Jews or perceived ‘Jewishness’. This antisemitic ‘dog whistle’ originated in The Daily Shoah podcast from 2014, hosted on a white nationalist blog called The Right Stuff. On the podcast, whenever a Jewish name was mentioned, an audio echo sound effect was used.\(^{30}\) Their intention was to show how the power and influence of Jews “echo throughout history”.\(^{31}\)

Wolfsangel

51 The Wolfsangel is a symbol representing a stylised section of a wolf trap. Though some commentators suggest that it is runic, in fact the Wolfsangel sign does not belong to any particular runic tradition and may have originated in a heraldic use. It is still present in the coats of arms of

\(^{30}\) Anthony Smith and Cooper Fleishman, ‘(((Echoes))) Exposed’, June 1, 2016

\(^{31}\) Ibid.
various German towns and cities (e.g. Mannheim) from the 18th century and so its use may signal these heraldic/touristic meanings.

Along with many other symbols related to a largely invented Teutonic (and ‘Aryan’) tradition, Nazi Germany appropriated the Wolfsangel for its martial aesthetics. It was used in the divisional insignia of several Waffen-SS units, including 2nd SS "Das Reich" Panzer Division, 4th SS Polizei Panzergrenadier Division and the 34th SS Volunteer Grenadier Division Landstorm Nederland, in addition to the Sturmabteilung (SA) and Hitler Youth. The symbol is now banned in Germany when used in connection to this Nazi past.

Figure 29, from left: the Wolfsangel; its use in the insignia of 2ND SS Panzer Division and 4th SS Polizei Panzergrenadier Division

52 A variety of political parties and groups have adopted the Wolfsangel as a way of signalling their commitment to neo-Nazi politics, without resorting to the obvious Swastika. In the United States, the neo-Nazi group Aryan Nations incorporated the Wolfsangel into their logo. The symbol has also been used on flags and clothing during marches of extremist groups in the UK; for example, Britain’s so-called ‘Infidels’ (who split from the English Defence League):
53 In Ukraine, the symbol was used in the party logo of the radical-right Social-National Party of Ukraine (which rebranded in 1995 as Svoboda), the neo-Nazi Social-National Assembly, and the radical-right militia Azov Battalion (now Azov Regiment). In 2018, the US Congress banned arms sales to the Azov Battalion due to its nationalist extremism.32

54 The symbol remains popular with radical-right extremists and features in a variety of formats.33

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33 For example, on rings: https://totenkopfring.com/project-2/ (accessed 23 August 2019)
Language: Codes, Acronyms and Key Phrases
Language: Codes, Acronyms and Key Phrases

55 The following decoder is presented with this attendant disclaimer: it is entirely possible for these words and numbers to be used in their more conventional, ‘dictionary defined’ sense, or coincidentally function as the shibboleth of a more innocuous subculture (such as with the number “420.”) For example, someone may have ‘88’ in their email address and this number simply signifies their date of birth rather than any additional extremist meaning. Equally, someone might refer to ‘Zionism’ and this denotes the national movement for the return of the Jewish people to their homeland. However, when extremists use words such as those below – particularly in combination with other terms in this glossary – it is far more likely that they are using them in a way that signals their commitment to activism in radical-right groups. Each of the words below has a history, in some cases a long history, of being used as a codeword or euphemism.

56 Numerical Codes

3%

The 3-percenters are a militia-style American organisation. Founded in 2008, they take their name from “a rough estimate” that, during the American War of Independence, “only 3% of the [American] colonists were actively fighting in the field against British forces at any given time”.\footnote{From https://www.thethreepercenters.org/about-us 9accessed 18 September 2019} They claim to organise in defence of liberty and against the tyranny of the US federal government, particularly in relation to gun ownership. Members of the organisation, armed with assault rifles, guarded white-nationalist marchers at the ‘Unite the Right’ rally in Charlottesville, VA (11-12 August 2017). A person adding ‘3%’ to a message is likely declaring an allegiance to the group.
This references the percentage of the world's population which white supremacists believe to be white. It is sometimes represented graphically, included inside a red diamond:

![Figure 32: A “9%” visual signifier](image)

14
References the ‘fourteen words’, a popular white supremacist slogan: ‘We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children’. This slogan was coined by David Lane, a member of the white-supremacist terrorist group known as The Order (Lane died in prison in 2007) and derives from the eighth chapter of Hitler’s political autobiography *Mein Kampf*. The Order were prosecuted for a range of criminal acts in the 1980s. Most notably, on 18 June 1984, Alan Berg, a Jewish radio talk show host, was murdered by three members of The Order. David Lane was the getaway driver.

18
Refers to the first and eighth letters of the alphabet, giving ‘AH’ or Adolf Hitler.

28
The second and eighth letters of the alphabet, ‘BH’, which stands for ‘Blood and Honour’. Blood and Honour is a neo-Nazi music promotion
network, political movement and occasional magazine.\textsuperscript{35} It is a translation of the Nazi slogan ‘Blut und Ehre’ that was used on knives given to 14-year-olds joining the Hitler Youth. On 21 June 2019 the Canadian Government placed Blood & Honour on its list of designated terrorist groups.\textsuperscript{36}

88
The eighth letter of the alphabet, giving ‘HH’ standing for Heil Hitler. Reference to 88 was popularised by David Lane’s ‘88 Precepts’, and also alludes to a famous 88-word statement of intent from Mein Kampf:

What we must fight for is to safeguard the existence and reproduction of our race and our people, the sustenance of our children and the purity of our blood, the freedom and independence of the fatherland, so that our people may mature for the fulfilment of the mission allotted it by the creator of the universe. Every thought and every idea, every doctrine and all knowledge, must serve this purpose. And everything must be examined from this point of view and used or rejected according to its utility. (Mein Kampf Volume 1, Chapter 8)

This passage clearly had a significant influence on Lane when drafting his ‘14 words’ (above). The usage of 88 therefore indicates a commitment to neo-Nazism, drawing on Hitler’s words and ‘honouring’ his example.

14/88, 1488
The two above entries (14 and 88) used in combination indicates a commitment to both the white supremacy of the ‘14 words’ and the ideology of National Socialism (and/or a reverence for Hitler). This numeric reference is almost uniquely free of alternative meanings (outside of a context where one might refer to the year.)

\textsuperscript{35} The latest issue was published in 2017. See https://www.bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/bhww/magazines/current/ (accessed 18 September 2019)
311
The eleventh letter of the alphabet is the letter ‘K’; thus 3 times 11 equals ‘KKK’, or Ku Klux Klan.

100%
An expression of an individual’s pure Aryan or white roots.

20/4, 204, 20.4 or 4/20
The anniversary of Adolf Hitler’s birthday (20 April 1889). Occasionally used as a tattoo by neo-Nazis to affirm their belief in the ideals of National Socialism and/or reverence for Hitler.

Slang Terms and Euphemisms

DOTR/DOR
57 This acronym stands for ‘Day of the Rope’ or, more recently, ‘Day of Reckoning’. This is a radical-right fantasy that, at some time in the future, ‘justice’ will be served to those who entered into mixed-race marriages and similar acts of ethnic ‘treason’. Typically, this ‘justice’ involves a public hanging of everyone the radical right perceives as enemies. The terroristic organisation Atomwaffen Division use such terminology in propaganda depicting violence against their opponents:
The term was taken from a passage in William Pierce’s (1978) dystopian novel, *The Turner Diaries*. The novel describes a fascist revolution in the US where those in mixed-ethnic relationships are hung from lampposts. ‘DOTR’ has long been used as shorthand for the desire for white-supremacist revolution, and has been disseminated by openly neo-Nazi groups ranging from *The Daily Stormer* to the more extreme Atomwaffen Division in the US and, in the UK, by National Action and its splinter movements such as the now-proscribed NS131 and Scottish Dawn.

**Globalist**

This term can be used as a noun (‘He is a globalist’) or an adjective (‘A globalist vision of society’). In either formulation it means Jew/Jewish and alludes to an antisemitic trope that Jews are committed to a system of global tyranny. This antisemitic conspiracy theory has a long history, mapped in detail in conspiracy texts such as Nesta Webster’s *World Revolution* (1921), Willard Cleon Skousen’s *The Naked Capitalist* (1962), A. K. Chesterton’s *The New Unhappy Lords* (1967) and Gary Allen’s *None Dare Call it Conspiracy* (1971). These books advanced more or less explicit variations of the core conspiracy that Jewish capitalists and Jewish communists are allies and co-conspirators in a plan to achieve global (Jewish) domination. Currently these ideas are typically focused on key individuals, George Soros being the major example. This conspiracy theory is also sometimes signalled visually. For example, the far-right news site Breitbart has, in the past, surrounded Jewish Trump economic adviser Gary Cohn’s name with globe emojis, for “globalist.”

**‘The Great Replacement’**

A conspiracy theory. The term itself was first used in the (2011) book *Le Grand Remplacement* by the French writer Renaud Camus, though it shares many features with other conspiracy theories claiming to reveal plans to usurp or pollute the ‘white race’ – notably David Lane’s ‘white genocide’ conspiracy theory (circa 1988).
Camus’ theory is that a ‘replacist’ global elite (who he has elsewhere called a ‘Davos-cray’, after the town in Switzerland that hosts the annual World Economic Forum) has plotted to systematically replace white people in France with ‘non-white’ people by allowing mass immigration and encouraging low birth rates. In 2018 he self-published an English language paperback entitled You will not Replace Us specifically intended to present his arguments to English speaking readers.37

As with all conspiracy theories, the ‘great replacement’ explains complex social and political developments with extreme simplicity. As Camus has acknowledged: “The great replacement is very simple, […] You have one people, and in the space of a generation you have a different people.”38 According to him, the scale of this transformation only makes sense if it was deliberately planned.

The American historian Mark Lilla has described Camus as “a kind of connective tissue between the far right and the respectable right”,39 expressing the politics of ethnic separatism and national purity in the language of the literary intelligentsia. Despite claiming that he is not motivated by racism (he tends to frame the issue as one of ‘cultural difference’), for Camus, the most significant threat to France is posed by Muslim migrant communities from former French colonies in North Africa. He claims these migrants have ‘colonised’ France to a greater degree than France ever colonised anywhere else.40 Proposed solutions to this ‘replacement’ are clearly racist and would require violent forced repatriation for ‘migrant’ communities. They are also sexist in advocating that white women should be encouraged, or in some versions even forced, to have many more babies.

37 The book, which summarises his works Le Grand Remplacement (The Great Replacement), Le Petit Remplacement (The Little Replacement), Du sens (On Meaning) and La Seconde Carrière d’Adolf Hitler (Adolf Hitler’s Second Career), is currently on sale via Amazon: https://www.amazon.co.uk/You-Will-Not-Replace-Us/dp/B07KCFYDZL/ (accessed 18 September 2019)
40 David Sexton, Non! 3 November 2016 https://life.spectator.co.uk/articles/non/ (accessed 28 August 2019)
Camus’ view of contemporary France and the West is strongly related to Identitarianism, a form of fascism that emerged from the Research and Study Group for European Civilization (better known by its French acronym, GRECE), which later promoted itself as the ‘Nouvelle Droite’, or New Right. In “View from the Right” (1977), Alain de Benoist, the ND’s leading ideologue, stated that he believed “the gradual homogenization of the world, advocated and realized by the two-thousand-year-old discourse of egalitarian ideology, to be an evil.” The basic position of the ND is that “alien’ cultures should not establish themselves in the West or evolve there. The representatives of these cultures should return to where they come from”. In the words of Renaud Camus: “France’s best hope is encouraging remigration [see below] — the repatriation of immigrants”.

Camus’ ‘Great Replacement’ has a number of precursors. For instance, his theory is extremely close to ideas put forward in a 1973 novel by Jean Raspail called The Camp of the Saints. This book describes mass immigration from India destroying Western civilisation and, remarkably, it reached the French bestseller list again in 2011. Camus describes the plan of his claimed ‘replacist elite’ as a “genocide by substitution”. This relates the ‘Great Replacement’ to the earlier, explicitly fascist, ‘white genocide’ conspiracy theory advanced by the likes of David Lane. Finally, the racist theory of ‘Eurabia’ was promoted in the early 2000s by Bat Ye’or (aka. Gisèle Littman), which argued that Western countries were slowly being brought under Arabic Muslim rule. The Norwegian terrorist Anders Breivik referred to ‘Eurabia’ and the Islamification of Europe multiple times in his manifesto 2083: A European Declaration of Independence.

Summarising these similarities and overlaps, ADL researcher Mark Pitcavage says the following:

Modern white supremacist ideology, whether you’re talking about the alt-right, or neo-Nazis, or racist skinheads, or the Ku Klux Klan, is centered around the concept that the white race is threatened with

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42 David Sexton, Non! 3 November 2016 https://life.spectator.co.uk/articles/non/ (accessed 28 August 2019)
imminent extinction […] That the survival of the white race itself is in doubt because it is being doomed by a rising tide of color, controlled and manipulated by the Jews.\textsuperscript{44}

67 The ‘great replacement’ theory has had a significant effect upon extremist groups across Europe, the US and Australasia, and has been explicitly cited by extreme-right terrorists as an explanation and justification for their actions. The term, and the conspiracy theory that it summarises, have been refracted through reactionary Youtube channels such as those of Lauren Southern,\textsuperscript{45} American Resistance\textsuperscript{46}, the political party For Britain\textsuperscript{47}, and they have been repeated on numerous message boards. For these racists, the threat can shift from North-African Muslims to more local perceived ‘threats’ to national purity and white dominance. For example, on the morning of 03 August 2019, Patrick Crusius, a 21-year-old white man, wrote an anti-immigrant ‘manifesto’ that appeared online just minutes before he killed 22 people in El Paso, Texas. His ‘manifesto’ mentioned the ‘great replacement’ in justification for his violence towards Mexican and other Hispanic communities in the US, drawing upon the earlier ‘manifesto’ written by Branton Tarrant. Tarrant is currently charged with 51 murders, 40 attempted murders and engaging in a terrorist act, committed during the shooting attacks on two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand (15 March 2019). Tarrant’s manifesto opened by declaring “It’s the birthrates” three times, referenced “white genocide”, and argued: “invaders must be removed from European soil, regardless from where they came or when they came. Roma, African, Indian, Turkish, Semitic or other. If they are not of our people, but live in our lands, they must be removed.”

68 On 11 August 2017, the infamous Unite the Right procession marched through the University of Virginia campus, protesting the removal of a nearby statue of Confederate General Robert E. Lee. White-supremacist protesters, accompanied by neo-Nazis and Confederate iconography, chanted Camus’ catchphrase: “You will not replace us”.

\textsuperscript{44} Washington Post Staff, Deconstructing the symbols and slogans spotted in Charlottesville, 17 August 2017

\textsuperscript{45} See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OTDmsmN43NA (accessed 29 August 2019)

\textsuperscript{46} See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fVE12id-X4Y (accessed 29 August 2019)

\textsuperscript{47} See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=79qWHvgRvGk (accessed 29 August 2019)
Demonstrating the way that Camus’ conspiracy theory intersects with other more specific conspiracies, they also chanted “Jews will not replace us”, meaning that, for some parts of the radical right, the theory of a ‘replacist’ global elite is explicitly antisemitic.

69 The white separatist Identitarian movement in Europe, North America, Australia, and New Zealand – including Generation Identity and Identity Evropa/the American Identity Movement (AIM) – is a major promoter of this theory. Generation Identity is a pan-European nativist group promoting an ethnically and culturally homogenous (white) Europe and advocating ‘remigration’ (that is, the mass deportation of non-white citizens). The British branch of Generation Identity states on its website that “The Great Replacement in Europe requires us to work towards reversing migration flows”.48

![Figure 34, from left: logos for Identity Evropa; the European Compact for Remigration; Generation Identity](image)

**Historical ‘Revisionism’**

70 A variety of online sources suggest that ‘Historical revisionism’ is an accepted practice in historiography wherein historians reinterpret established views/explanations of historic events and processes. However, this is the thin end of a rhetorical strategy that aims to recast ‘revisionism’ in a positive sense. Historians, quite properly, subject any interpretation of the past to revision in the light of new evidence but ‘revisionism’ is something different. To adopt a lay phrase, ‘revisionism’ puts the cart before the horse; a ‘revisionist’ will object to an established view/explanation of a historic event or process because it doesn’t fit with their ideological commitments, rather than in the light of new evidence. ‘Historical revisionism’ is, therefore, more than just bad history (though

it is that); historical revisionism is *historical writing in the service of a political ideology or project.*

71 The Holocaust remains a central topic of historical revisionism. Holocaust denial can take several forms:

- outright denial that Jews were systematically exterminated (often suggesting instead that Jews were either detained or deported, thus ‘explaining’ their absence in modern day Central and Eastern Europe);
- questioning whether there is any evidence for mass extermination in death camps (variation: there were deaths in camps, but this was only due to disease);
- questioning whether there is any evidence for the use of gas in death camps;
- misrepresenting the centrality of Auschwitz-Birkenau and/or other death camps (e.g. claiming it is impossible to kill and cremate 6 million in Auschwitz/camps in such a short period of time, so the Holocaust can’t have taken place. In fact, no Holocaust scholarship claims this; at least half of all Jews killed were murdered outside of the camps);
- claiming that the accepted numbers killed have been exaggerated.

72 Doubting the documented history of the Holocaust is not merely an academic matter, and nor is it an issue of ‘freedom of speech’; it serves specific antisemitic purposes. The Institute of Historical Review was founded in 1978 for the sole purpose of Holocaust ‘revisionism’ (that is: denial). The radical-right founders, David McCalden and Willis Carto, published the *Journal of Historical Review* until 2002. This is now archived on its website, which also publishes commentary from sources which accord with its antisemitic politics. In 2009, for instance, Mark Weber, the Institute director, published an article which demonstrates the underlying political aims of Holocaust ‘revisionists’: “success in exposing the Holocaust as a hoax will deliver a shattering blow to Israel and Jewish-

Continuing, Weber asserts that he no longer thinks that Holocaust ‘revisionism’ is a productive way to oppose “Jewish-Zionist power”, since “[r]evisionists are up against a well-organized, decades-long campaign that is promoted in the mass media, reinforced in classrooms, and supported by politicians”. He then argues that ‘Holocaust revisionists’ should – like him – now be clear that their central aim is not academic, but racist: opposing the “phenomenal increase in Jewish influence and power” in the US and Western Europe.

In this way, he reveals that Holocaust ‘revisionism’ is a political project founded on the following antisemitic beliefs: that Jews wield overwhelming power in the US and Western Europe to the detriment of non-Jews; that Jews conspire to use the mass media, education and politicians to maintain their power; and that acceptance of the Holocaust as historical fact is a symptom of Jewish domination.

**Incels, or ‘Involuntary Celibate’**

A person, usually male, who identifies as being frustrated in their attempts to have sexual intercourse. ‘Incels’ are extreme misogynists who believe they are owed sex (usually by women). Hence, they are not celibate by choice, but rather by virtue of women ignoring/denying their ‘right’ to sexual contact. ‘Incels’ often advocate physical and sexual violence against women, and their aims increasingly intersect with those of radical-right movements. In 2018, the Southern Poverty Law Center added male supremacy to the ideologies tracked on the hate map.

Although many assume ‘incel’ online communities to be just loners and misfits, in fact the misogyny that drives their worldview “is intrinsic to the maintenance and growth of radical-right extremist culture. Because of the similarities between varieties of conservative gendered worldviews, misogyny is particularly useful for radicalization and helps normalize

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extreme ideology into mainstream socio-political life and culture.‘Incels’ culture is not only premised on a derogatory and dehumanising representation of women, it also presumes that women ‘denying’ men the sexual attention they feel they deserve will justifiably result in violence.

**PUA (Pick-Up Artist)**

A ‘Pick-up artist’ is someone who extols and advertises flirting ‘techniques’ (also referred to as an adjective ‘game’ [‘He’s got game’] and a verb ‘gaming’) used to manipulate women into having sex with them. Many of these techniques involve overt sexual harassment; ‘pick up artists’ identify desirable women as ‘targets’ who need, for instance, to be ‘isolated’ from their peers in social settings. Men who apply these techniques successfully are categorised as ‘alpha’ males; those who aspire to (but cannot attain) this success are ‘beta’ males; the remaining ‘Omega’ males have no hope of having sexual intercourse.

**Omega Rage (or OR)**

Omega rage refers to a state of mind, experienced by so-called ‘omegas’ (see PUA entry above), brought on by intense sexual frustration. This OR leads to misogynistic, suicidal or homicidal behaviour and therefore serves to both explain and justify such violence. Supporters of this theory of ‘Omega Rage’ claim that attacks, including but not limited to specific acts of mass murder, could have been avoided if women had not denied sex to the perpetrator. Writing on his now-suspended blog Chateau Heartiste, the white nationalist ‘PUA’ James C. Weidmann went as far as to state having “Game” – that is, manipulating women into having sex with incels – “can save lives.” In short, if men do not have sex it is to be expected that they will commit murder; women are therefore expected to provide sex not because they want to or feel attracted to these men, but because of the possible consequences of saying ‘no’.

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53 Ashley Mattheis, Aug 14, 2019, Understanding Digital Hate Culture
54 Originally at https://heartiste.wordpress.com/2009/08/05/game-can-save-lives/
**Beta Uprising (or BU)**

The Beta Uprising is predicted to happen when groups of betas and omegas become filled with Omega Rage (OR) and collectively commit acts of violence. This would allegedly intimidate women, *en masse*, into having sex with men of a lower ‘Sexual Market Value’. So far, several men (most infamously George Sodini, Elliot Rodger, Scott Bierle and Christopher Harper-Mercer) have committed mass murder out of claimed sexual frustration combined with extreme misogyny. Each of these crimes was initially met with questions posted to online boards such as 4Chan, about whether (as below) this means the Beta Uprising is “finally going down”.

![Figure 35: Screenshot from 4Chan discussing Beta Uprising; note the meme of Pepe the Frog with a gun](image)

This violent revolt, anticipated as an inevitable result of women not submitting to male sexual dominance, is a central narrative for the ‘incel’ community.

**Overlaps between Misogynistic and Extreme-Right Movements**

In a recent article for Salon, Heather Digby Parton aptly noted that “there seems to be a strong correlation between the people who believe they are being robbed of their rightful status by people of color and those
who believe they are being robbed of their status by women.” To substantiate this claim she referred to a 2018 report published by the Anti-Defamation League, which showed the alt- and extreme-right “enjoys a synergetic bond with the more specifically misogynistic extremist movements like incels and MRAs [men’s rights activists]” For example, in July 2018, the neo-Nazi Daily Stormer founder Andrew Anglin asserted: “Look, I hate women. I think they deserve to be beaten, raped and locked in cages.” Similarly, the white supremacist group Vanguard America are also violently anti-feminist, suggesting that feminists should be hanged:

81 The resentment and anger of ‘incels’ can “easily veer from disrespect into the full-on promotion of violence, including rape. This is clearly evident on ‘incel’ and MRA boards, where anger towards and hatred of women is the primary focus — and participants celebrate and encourage misogynist violence.” ‘Incels’ and ‘men’s rights activists’ view the equal rights and opportunities advocated by feminism as “a war against heterosexual men. This is the war of our generation. […] The

56 Anti-Defamation League (2018) When Women are the Enemy: THE INTERSECTION OF MISOGYNY AND WHITE SUPREMACY, p.6
young woman who doesn’t even think she’s a feminist is nonetheless waging war on you […] Every time you thrust into a feminist who doesn’t think she’s a feminist and forgo a relationship with her, you inflict a wound.”\footnote{RooshV ‘The War Against Men’ \url{https://www.rooshv.com/the-war-against-men} (accessed 18 September 2019)} As with ‘Omega Rage’, one consequence of using this organising metaphor – a War against heterosexual men – is that male violence is exonerated.

\textit{Incel Mass Murderers}

82 A number of high-profile cases of mass murder have been motivated by such violent misogyny. Key, in this respect, is the case of Elliot Rodger, whose name has become shorthand for the violent imaginary of incel culture.

83 On 23 May 2014, near the campus of University of California, Santa Barbara, Elliot Rodger, a 22-year old junior college student, murdered six people and wounded thirteen more. Before he embarked on this killing spree, he distributed a 141-page autobiographical document, still freely available online.\footnote{See \url{https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/1173808-elliot-rodger-manifesto.html} for a partially redacted copy (accessed 16 August 2019)} In this document, he described himself as “an intelligent gentleman”, “Magnificent, glorious, supreme, eminent… Divine! I am the closest thing there is to a living god”. His self-description as a “gentleman” has been widely adopted in the ‘incel’ community. He referred to his plans for mass murder as a “Day of Retribution” (mentioned 70 times in his document), intended to be his “final solution”.

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\footnote{RooshV ‘The War Against Men’ \url{https://www.rooshv.com/the-war-against-men} (accessed 18 September 2019)}

\footnote{See \url{https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/1173808-elliot-rodger-manifesto.html} for a partially redacted copy (accessed 16 August 2019)}
Though he claimed to hate all humanity, it was women who were specifically vilified and dehumanised in ways similar to radical-right ideology:

Women are like a plague. They don’t deserve to have any rights […] The first strike against women will be to quarantine all of them in concentration camps. At these camps, the vast majority of the female population will be deliberately starved to death. That would be an efficient and fitting way to kill them all off.

On April 23, 2018, 25-year-old Alek Minassian murdered ten people and injured 16 others when he repeatedly drove his van onto the pavement of the Toronto business district. Before embarking on mass murder, he posted a message on Facebook that specifically referred to the “Supreme Gentleman Elliot Rodger”:
Some incel-linked forums, such as the ‘Forever Alone’ subreddit (which claims to not be part of the ‘incel’ community), automatically delete posts that mention Rodger’s name. Likewise, in this case too, Minassian’s Facebook post was taken down within a matter of hours.

Minassian was apprehended unharmed and subsequently charged with 10 counts of first-degree murder and 16 counts of attempted murder. Minassian’s judge-alone trial was scheduled to start in February 2020, but was postponed due to issues obtaining Minassian’s psychiatric assessment. It was re-scheduled to start on April 6, but has been delayed again, over concerns of the spread of COVID-19. When the trial starts, we should expect an upsurge in social media posts referencing him.

Other notable ‘incel’ mass murderers include Christopher Harper-Mercer, who wrote a ‘manifesto’ complaining about being a virgin before killing nine people at his Oregon community college on 01 October 2015. The email on Harper-Mercer’s dating profile was ironcross45@gmail.com suggesting, at the very least, a fixation with Nazi Germany and WWII.

A few years before, George Sodini shot 12 women in a Pittsburgh aerobics class, killing three. Sodini left behind a website detailing his hatred for and desire to kill women, which he rationalised as a response to his sexual frustration and loneliness.

On 2 November 2018, Scott Paul Beierle entered a yoga studio in Tallahassee and opened fire with a pistol. He shot six women, two fatally, before killing himself. In YouTube videos posted in 2014 he identified himself with the ‘incel’ movement and discussed his sexual rejection by
women. He had a history of harassing and sexually abusing women and had been charged twice (in 2012 and 2016) for sexual battery.

90 The term ‘incel’ has also been used to retroactively label Marc Lépine, who murdered 14 women at the École Polytechnique in Montreal, leaving behind a suicide note in which he blamed feminists for destroying his life.

91 As the ADL report referred to above stated, “Law enforcement officials must be educated about the real dangers misogynist extremist groups pose to public safety, because online activities can have a serious real-world impact.”60

**Materialist**

92 Materialism (and its opposite term, idealism) have two distinct, legitimate meanings, in addition to their usage within radical right discourse. First, metaphysical materialism asserts that only physical things ultimately exist, while sociological or historical materialism refers to a philosophical viewpoint that contends that all ideas (and so human thought) reflect material realities. (For example, Marx’s contention that the ruling ideas of any epoch were a reflection of class inequality.) The opposing position – termed ‘Idealism’ – holds, instead, that material reality is a reflection of ideas, and so social and political relations can be refashioned according to the dictates of individuals. The term ‘materialist’ is still used in these ways and with these original meanings. For antisemites and others on the radical right, materialist is often a shorthand for Jew/Jewish. The association arose, in part, from Marx’s Jewish heritage and in part from the antisemitic belief that Germanic and Jewish ‘spirits’ were opposing - so, if Germans were (philosophically) idealistic, then Jews must be (philosophically) materialist. For example: “The Jewish and German spirits contradict each other like fire and water: the latter is deep, positive and idealistic, the former superficial, negative, destructively critical and materialistic”.61 Such antisemitism would later be adopted by

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60 Anti-Defamation League (2018) When Women are the Enemy: THE INTERSECTION OF MISOGYNY AND WHITE SUPREMACY, p.16

the Nazi Party, where its meanings also played upon the antisemitic trope that equate Jews and money. (This also relates to the code word ‘money power’, meaning the influence that Jews are believed to hold over international financial systems.) This use of “materialism” allows segments of the radical right to implicate a Jewish conspiracy behind an otherwise implausible perceived alliance between communists and big business.

**Racial Differences**

For the extreme-right, ‘Racial differences’ typically functions as a euphemism to signify a belief in racial hierarchies in general and a belief in the supremacy of the ‘white race’ in particular. Such beliefs have their origins in so-called ‘race science’ and eugenics – that is, the theory that society can be improved through deliberate control of sexual reproduction, thus aiding the ‘natural selection’ of genetically superior people. In this context, reference to ‘racial differences’ tends to presume the following beliefs: (1) that different ‘races’ exist, empirically and eternally; (2) that these races hold different physical and mental capacities/limitations; meaning that, (3) these races can be placed in a hierarchy, with ‘the white race(s)’ at the top and ‘darker races’ at the bottom.

Discourses of ‘racial difference’ in contemporary extremist discourse tend to be associated with IQ tests, the work of purported ‘race scientists’ and, historically, eugenicists. Curiously, such work has recently made a small comeback, with several articles on the rightwing website Quillette supporting the junk-science of phrenology (correlating skull size and shape with IQ).²

**RAHOWA**

A concept that originated in the white-supremacist Christian Identity movement. RAHOWA stands for the expression ‘Racial Holy War’. It signifies the belief of white supremacists that their conflict against

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minorities and Jews, intended to result in Aryan domination, is righteous and divinely sanctioned. This, in turn, acts as part justification and part encouragement – that ‘we will triumph because God is with us’. RAHOWA was also the name of a neo-Nazi skinhead band formed by the white supremacist George Burdi. Burdi led the Canadian branch of the World Church of the Creator, a white separatist, white supremacist, antisemitic, neo-Nazi hate group.

**Soros/anti-Sorosism**

96 George Soros is a Hungarian-American investor and philanthropist who has donated more than $32 billion to various social causes via his philanthropic agency, the Open Society Foundation. Born in 1930, he is a Jewish Holocaust survivor who made his fortune in America as a currency speculator. He is a significant philanthropist and is regularly reported in news – and so he, and his actions, are frequently discussed on social media. Yet, on the radical and extreme-right, Soros has been adopted as an antisemitic synecdoche – a part-for-whole argument, where a single case is presented as emblematic of a wider pattern (or, in this case, ‘Jewish conspiracy’). Soros is taken as the exemplar of a powerful Jewish ‘globalist’, that is someone who is: 1) simultaneously a capitalist and socialist; 2) enriched through finance capitalism (in Nazi terminology, ‘degenerate’ capitalism); 3) gives financial support to liberal causes and; 4) is a supporter of ‘open societies’ (which many on the right interpret to mean ‘open borders’, leading to ‘race-mixing’).

97 Anti-Sorosism therefore presents itself as a defensive reaction against this ‘cosmopolitan’ internationalism. Its adherents are supporters of a homogenous, national, Christian social order, as suggested by the violent, anti-Muslim ‘Proud Boy’ supporter pictured below, signalling his tattooed commitment to ‘anti-Sorosism’.
There are a number of historical instances where Soros was singled out for particular criticism. In the late 1990s, the neo-fascist American conspiracy theorist and perennial US presidential candidate, Lyndon LaRouche, published a number of articles in his *Executive Intelligence Review* accusing Soros of a range of crimes, including an attempt to start World War III. In 1997, Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir accused Soros of deliberately contributing to the collapse of financial markets in Malaysia because, as a Jew, he allegedly did not want Muslims to succeed. On 09 November 2010, the television host Glenn Beck aired an hour-long television programme on Soros, titled *The Puppet Master*, in which he alleged that Soros planned to create a “shadow government” under the guise of providing humanitarian aid, prior to taking control of the mass media and electoral systems in the US.63

The Soros conspiracy is frequently represented visually (see below). The cartoonist Ben Garrison, responsible for two of what the ADL has called “blatantly anti-Semitic” cartoons, was invited (and later dis-invited) to a social media summit at the White House on 11 July 2019.64

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63 Michael Wolraich, Beck's bizarre, dangerous hit at Soros, CNN, 14 November 2010

This conspiracy theory has been a source of political violence in the US. For instance, when the ‘migrant caravan’ story was a significant news story in the US, on 22 October 2018, a pipe bomb was sent to Soros’ home, in addition to the homes of other ‘liberals’ (including Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama). On 25 October 2018, Chris Farrell of Judicial Watch, a guest on the Fox News show ‘Lou Dobbs Tonight’, said that the refugee march was happening under the influence of the “Soros-occupied State Department.” Two days later, an antisemitic conspiracy theorist killed 11 people at the Tree of Life Congregation synagogue in Squirrel Hill, Pennsylvania for bringing “invaders in that kill our people”. He wrote regular social media posts referring to a conspiracy theory that Soros was bankrolling the ‘migrant caravan’ of 5,000 Honduran refugees via organisations like the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society.

**YF/yf**
101 A system of dating used by neo-Nazi Satanist groups such as Order of Nine Angles, Tempel ov Blud, Tempel ov Black Vampires, and others. Such groups publicly argue that ‘yf’ stands for ‘Year of Feyan’ – from the Anglo-Saxon word for rejoicing. However, some neo-Nazi organisations have long used ‘yf’ as a system of dating and, in their case, ‘yf’ stands for ‘Year of the Fuhrer’. Both neo-Nazis and ‘left hand’ Satanist groups take ‘year 1’ to be the year 1889 (meaning that 2019 is 130yf) and for the same

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65 Justin Anderson Blaming ‘Both Sides’ for Hate Plays Into Hands of Right-Wing Media, 31 October 2018 FAIR  

66 Ibid.
reason: Adolf Hitler was born 20th April 1889. Therefore, whether ‘yf’ is taken to stand for ‘Year of Feyan’ or ‘Year of the Fuhrer’, its use venerates Hitler.

Zionist/ism
102 These are notoriously fuzzy terms. Zionism historically refers to the political ideology and movement for Jewish nationhood. However, for most political extremists, Zionism is a shorthand term for ‘International Jewry’ which, in turn, is a conspiracy theory holding that Jews dominate international capitalism, politics, the mass media, the law and education in order to further the material interests of Jews.

103 From the mid-to-late 1970s, radical right political organisations across the world (particularly those standing in elections, so attempting to present a degree of respectability) gradually shifted from referring to Jews, International Jewry and Jewish to the euphemistic ‘Zionists’. Zionists can be Jewish or non-Jewish, meaning that the term ‘Zionist’ could be used as a way of pre-empting an accusation that such parties were specifically targeting Jews. In 2003, still using this rhetorical tactic, the fascist British National Party blamed Britain’s involvement in the 2003 invasion of Iraq on the influence of ‘Zionists’ in the Blair government.

104 The context in which the term Zionist/Zionism is used typically provides a way of interpreting whether it is being used according to its dictionary definition or as code for Jews and the conspiracy theory of Jewish domination. In order for us to properly interpret how Zionist/Zionism is being used, we need to consider: 1) the ideas/issues/arguments that are absent when the term Zionist is used and 2) the ideas/issues/arguments that are present when the term Zionist is used. Taking each in turn:

105 Absence: Zionism relates to Jewish nationalism and the Jewish homeland; so does this particular use of the term Zionist/Zionism relate to the State of Israel, or the historic campaigns for or against its formation? If the specific point being made does not mention, or reasonably relate to, Israel (currently or historically), then the
speaker/writer may be using Zionist/ism in a coded way to refer to Jews more generally.

106 Presence: given that antisemites use Zionist/ism as a code for International Jewry and alleged Jewish conspiracies (and want other antisemites to understand that they are using Zionist/ism in this way), does the point being made associate ‘Zionist/ism’ with the traditional markers of antisemitism and/or antisemitic conspiracy theories?

107 Note: traditional markers of antisemitism represent Jews as physically different/ugly (particularly with large hooked noses, curly dark hair and glasses); wandering, homeless, internationalist, cosmopolitan; power-hungry, clandestine wire-pullers; ruthless bankers or capitalists; social parasites. Traditional antisemitic conspiracy theories claim Jews control capitalism and left-wing politics; Jews control international finance; ‘Jewish money’ controls politics; Jews reduce immigration controls and endorse multiculturalism in order to encourage race-mixing; Jews control the media and so the consciousness of the gentile public.

108 To illustrate this with a final example, from the crucial period in the 1970s when the terms of argumentation started to shift:

   International Finance, the parasite that feeds on nations and on free-enterprise industrial capitalism by the process of debt creation, and which is predominantly Zionist in composition and Zionist in its global aims (p.12).67

109 This quote doesn’t mention Jews but nevertheless combines many of the traditional markers of political antisemitism: identifying international finance as ‘Zionist’; ‘Zionist’ capitalism as parasitic, feeding on both nations and on (good, productive) industrial production; stating that ‘Zionism’ has “global aims”. The reference to parasites is also very close to a famous extract from Mein Kampf (Chapter 11): “The Jew's life as a parasite in the body of other nations”. From this, we can conclude that the writer is drawing upon antisemitic conspiracy theories, and that when they refer to ‘Zionists’ they mean ‘Jews’.

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Glossary of Far-Right Terminology
This glossary is intended to give clarification on terms frequently associated with right-wing extremism - either because they have become part of the jargon of scholarly literature on the subject, because they have become part of the jargon of right-wing movements themselves, or because - while not specialized jargon - they are real-world objects that such discourses make reference to. In other words, this glossary is intended to lower the barriers to entry among concerned laypersons to understanding this subject, and as such we have chosen these for their public salience. These entries themselves have been assembled by subject matter experts in consultation with each other and more specialized reference material.

**Aesthetics**

Aesthetics refers to the world of art and appearances - of the kinds of experiences that things inspire in people who perceive them. Walter Benjamin famously theorized fascism as "aestheticized politics," meaning that it subordinated questions of social organization to what was felt to be beautiful, heroic, or inspiring - that, say, we should send young men to die in some war because that is the cost necessary to secure some good, but because young men dying for their country is beautiful and poetic. Be that a true description of fascism or not, aesthetics has certainly formed on the core articulated concerns, and one of the modes of propaganda and valorization, of many far-right movements. (Of course, far-right movements are far from the only groups that address these concerns, since art is indeed a basic part of life!)

The Italian Fascists were drawn to movements like Futurism which promised an avant-garde aesthetic that would break through the feudal backwardness of Italy to a new age of economic power and military might, but the Nazis by and large rejected aesthetic innovation and instead turned towards kitsch and traditionalism. As in most things, it has been the latter that has dominated later neofascist movements - although it must be noted also that an entirely different aesthetic trend can be found in an appreciation of the macabre and shocking which neo-Nazism in alternative subcultures like punk and metal music. (In those cases, it is likely that Nazism itself
is adopted as an aesthetic of rebellion, although this does not mean that their Nazism, however affected, is freed from having meaningful consequences in the ultra-aesthetic world.)

**Alt-right Misogyny**

While some anti-immigrant parties attempt to use feminism as a wedge issue - painting it as part of the Western heritage that supposedly cannot be assimilated by others - rejection of feminism as such is almost universal among the alt-right. Among certain kinds of radical right ideologies, especially the most violent and socially isolated, the misogynistic elements are most explicit, and regard women with hostility for having turned away from the "proper" sort of men (normally whatever kind is making this complaint.) In others more connected with traditional social conservatism, however, a more benevolent sexist approach is taken, which mirrors traditional conservatism in its exaltation of "separate spheres" in which household life is the sphere of women (yet ruled by men - from afar, as it were) while public life is dominated by men. These differ from more traditional conservatism only in their extremity (proposing the revival of coverture and removal of the franchise, or whatever.)

**Alternative für Deutschland**

A German radical right party (literally, “Alternative for Germany”). Founded in 2013 as a center-right Eurosceptic party, AfD has moved right and become more popular by staking out the anti-immigrant position in the refugee crisis.

**Anti-Government Nationalism**

Although nationalism is frequently deployed as a means of supporting a given government, anti-government nationalism is not a contradiction, as - except in the case of civic nationalism - most "primordial" nationalists see the government only as a tool for a nation which is described in other ways. In this frame, the anti-national government is understood either as a "betrayer" or as "foreign" or both. It is these which set apart a distinctly anti-government nationalist discourse as a rhetorical style, as opposed to criticism of the government to live up to national interests broadly or however understood (which, in an era of banal nationalism, is almost everyone's criticism from time to time).

**Antiziganism**

Prejudice against the Roma people, who have typically existed at the margins of civic and economic life in Europe. Roma are in popular prejudice frequently understood
(and depicted in popular media) as thieves and swindlers, and in radical nationalist imaginaries, they are conceived as a diseased foreign body which must be expelled from the nation.

**Antifascism**

In the broadest sense, any *counter-movement* to fascist or other radical right movements. In the narrower sense, “antifa” is typically based around organizing to physically confront radical right activists seeking to demonstrate in public, forcing them to demonstrate meekly or under police protection. Whether such tactics are effective is an empirical question. While antifa activists tend to view some forms of violence as legitimate and have engaged in fisticuffs with radical right activists and police, there have been no murders in the US associated with either organized or *lone-wolf terrorism* on their behalf, unlike the radical right activists they confront. (Antifascists did take credit for the 2013 murder of several members of Greece’s neo-Nazi Golden Dawn organization.)

**Anti Semitism**

Prejudice against Jews, especially as part of a conspiratorial worldview which regards their collective actions as a driving, malevolent force in world affairs. In this worldview, “the Jews” simultaneously control and seek to undermine or destroy *Western civilization* through finance and the media. Jews - understood as an elite, coherent force - can thus function as a scapegoat for elite or systemic dysfunction in general. The more extreme radical right groups tend to have antisemitism as the heart of their worldviews, while more liberal radical right groups often say that they oppose Muslim immigration on grounds that Muslims would be antisemitic.

**Benito Mussolini**

Italian fascist leader, started out on the left wing of the Italian Socialist Party (PSI) but started rapidly moving to the right with the dawn of WWI - which the PSI opposed, but which Mussolini welcomed on nationalist grounds, becoming one of the major advocates for intervention on the side of the Allies. His small groups of nationalist supporters - "fasci," then a more general term for persons in political action groups - beat up socialists and swiftly found local notables, especially Northern landowners, who would happily subsidize their attempts to do so, especially in the "Red Biennium" (1919-1920) after the war when strikes and other industrial actions threatened a communist revolution. (Thus within a few short years, Mussolini found himself moving from the far left to the far right of the political
spectrum, a political opportunism that would reflect his behavior for the next twenty -most of his moves towards the radicalization of his regimes emanated from sources elsewhere, which he always sought to court, manage, and mediate between.) This career went from an initial state of mobilizing these paramilitaries towards local ends, to appointment to the head of the still constitutional government in 1922 by the king after the "March on Rome," to claiming "full responsibility" for the independent actions of his more radical supporters (the murder of a socialist politician) and consequent declaration of dictatorship, and the progressive radicalization of that dictatorship as it confronted the Great Depression, rise of Nazi Germany, and opportunities to expand into colonial enterprises that might raise Italian prestige, and finally the defeat and collapse of his state and his serving as a Quisling figure to a small beleaguered "Republic of Salo." His opportunism allowed him to embrace any politically useful doctrine, and to the extent that there was a more generally and fully elaborated theory of fascism, it was one that would allow him precisely this flexibility - the glorification of deeds over words, the investment of authority in a single individual, in the belief (so contrary to liberal and Marxist tomes of political theory) in "decision" over "dogma," and in whatever worked "for Italy." Thus he was willing to abandon socialism, embrace racism, endorse and then throw out monarchism, and almost anything else. His granddaughter Allessandra Mussolini is a neofascist politician today.

**Bharatiya Janata Party**

Indian political party that descends from the fascist-adjacent interwar Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and subscribes to Hindutva, an ideology that identifies India as a nation of Hindus specifically. For most of it and its predecessors’ existence, the BJP has been a permanent opposition party to the ruling Congress party; it ruled 1998-2004 with a focus on economic free markets and has ruled in the last several years under Narendra Modi with an increasing emphasis on social conservatism and Hindutva ideology.

**Biological or ‘Scientific’ Racism**

An attempt to (1) assert non-socially-constructed existence to racial groups and to (2) explain socially relevant differences between them on the basis of these objective biological differences. Among radical right groups that endorse this worldview, the most relevant distinctions are (1) an intelligence hierarchy in which Jews and East Asians are the most intelligent, followed by non-Jewish whites, followed by all other groups, (2) a cooperativeness hierarchy in which whites are seen as innately honest
and cooperative, and all other groups less so, (3) a violence hierarchy in which whites and East Asians are seen as refraining from violence, and all other groups more so, (4) a nepotistic hierarchy in which whites are the least racist in the sense of preferring their kin, which allows them to be exploited by inherent group-mindedness of other groups (and which must be counterbalanced by the acceptance of radical right ideology in self-defense,) and (5) a creativity hierarchy in which non-Jewish whites are the most talented at intuitive insights and creative expression. (Obviously, non-white radical right groups, such as those in India or Korea, present different ideas of how to characterize groups.) Together these add up to a worldview in which whites are beset by intelligent, groupish, dishonest Jewish elites on one side and stupid, violent subhumans on the other (providing affective affinities with producerist ideas). Sometimes this worldview is cast as “Human Biodiversity” to sound more value-neutral.

**British National Party**

One rightist group by this name existed 1960-67, before folding into the National Front. The other is a currently active neo-Nazi party, founded in 1982 and achieving brief comparative popularity under leader Nick Griffin. Prior to being torn apart by internal scandals, this party appeared to be on its way to morphing into a leading anti-immigrant party by softening its image and aping other populist radical right parties’ emphasis on migration and Euroscepticism. In its effective collapse, UKIP - which is unburdened by the BNP’s Nazi origins - seems to have clearly taken over this niche.

**British Union Of Fascists**

Fascist group in Britain led by former Labour representative Oswald Mosely, which modelled itself after the Italian Fascists. Largely irrelevant before the Great Depression, the BUF achieved the height of its popularity in the early 30s, when popular antifascist activism and a relatively successful response to the Depression helped to stall its growth. It followed other fascist groups around the world in turning from Italy to Germany in its main sources of inspiration, and Mosely's group found itself an arm of the German state insofar as it could manage to evade the British one, which kept it on a close watch, and its popularity declined even further. The signature black shirts and legacy of Mussolini-style fascism have not been a significant influence on postwar fascism in Britain, which has rather taken its aesthetic cues from football culture and its intellectual ones (such as they are) from neo-Nazism more generally.
Civic nationalism

A form of nationalism in which the boundaries of the nation are understood to be defined by loyalty to a particular state (rather than by ancestry, or by nonpolitical practices such as language.) Historically, civic nationalism has been promoted and associated with states that were highly culturally diverse at least at the time of their emergence, such as the United States, France, and India. Civic nationalism is compatible with, but does not require, militarism and other forms of national “groupishness.” Some radical right groups, especially in the American militia movement, define themselves in civic nationalist terms, while most adopt a cultural nationalist or racial nationalist framing.

Climate change

Secular increase in temperature over the last hundred years of the Earth's history, largely driven by human insertion of carbon and methane into the atmosphere through the increased use of fossil fuels, cattle farming, deforestation, and other core economic activities. The approaches of the far right to climate change are multifarious. For those who are closest to power, alliance with plutocratic interests (and especially landowners) entails climate change denial - it is here that alliances with existing elites will tend towards a productivist goal of economic growth, which also dovetails with a rejection of international economic agreements which might restrict national output, forming an economic basis for a coalition organized around nationalism and defection from international cooperation. For far-right groups further from power, however, especially those who see themselves as "Third Postitionist," adherence to a form of eco-fascism entails recognizing climate change as a major threat which a less materialist or industrial society would be able to challenge. Thus, degrowth (including elimination of large sectors of undesired populations) forms part of the vision of the most eco-fascists, and climate change forms part of these apocalyptic visions. Further, quite apart from how nationalist groups variously think of climate change, climate change almost certainly produce increasing numbers of refugees - thus providing opportunities for mobilization against these migrants.

Contact Hypothesis

Theory in social psychology predicting that increased interaction with outgroup members decreases hostility to them; this is the rough opposite of group threat theory, which hypothesizes that greater exposure to a foreign-coded group will increase hostility to them, through greater perception of them as a threat. Empirical results on these seem to be mixed.
Corporatism

A form of economic organization which was promoted primarily by radical right groups in the interwar period. While the concrete policies connected with corporatism were vague, they drew on intellectual sources as various as anarcho-syndicalism and Catholic social teaching, and tended to correspond to state suppression of organized labor, to the formation of state-granted monopolies to industrial groups, and sometimes to representative bodies convened on the basis of industrial membership. Although important to fascist movements in many countries prior to the Second World War, it featured less heavily in Nazi ideology, and has not been especially influential on postwar radical right or fascist movements, which either tend to embrace or reject capitalism in a more wholehearted way. (See Third Positionism for the latter.)

Neo-Confederate Movement

A set of groups and ideas centered around the "lost cause" of the Confederate States of America that attempted to splinter off in the American Civil War, most popular in the former Confederacy. Ideologies centering around Neo-Confederacy have as their most typical features white supremacy, a form of white supremacist Christianity (as opposed to e.g. the paganism that some fringe white nationalist groups embrace), and regional attachment to the idea of the South as a national group which is more specific than whites understood in a purely racial sense.

Conservatism

Most broadly, a term for the establishment right, whom fascists are both eager to distinguish themselves from rhetorically (representing a break from the old order) and develop productive relationships with (in order to achieve power.) Conservatives themselves typically define their ideology in terms of caution to change with respect to political action, which distinguishes them ideologically from the most radical rightists.

Counter-movement

A social movement which defines itself in opposition to another one.

Cultural Hegemony

Gramscian idea that the ruling class rules not by force alone, but by successful promulgation of its ideas as "common sense." Thus, when a set of ideas has cultural
hegemony, people take its assumptions for granted and have "free" debates within the space afforded by them. (For instance, in something like the original Marxist version, different parties may discuss how much social support the unemployed should be granted, but not whether unemployment should exist as a means of disciplining workers or not - not so much because anyone has explicitly argued against it but because across the media, academia, churches, and public discourse, this is regarded as either self-evident or as the natural order of things.) Gramsci's ideas have been influential among certain sectors of the left, but also among sectors of the right that promote a "gramscism de droite," sometimes also understood as a "metapolitics" (that is, political discussion over what ideas politics is required to address at all.) Alain de Benoist of GRECE and the Nouvelle Droite are the groups most associated with this kind of thought on the radical right.

**Cultural Marxism**

In a narrow sense, this can refer to a group of Western academic Marxists centered around the New School for Social Research in the postwar decades. As used by contemporary radical right groups, “cultural Marxism” expands this to include (1) many groups of socially liberal academics, most of whom (such as postmodernism and post-structuralism) were actively hostile to Marxism, (2) an account of this as driven by a desire to undermine or demoralize “Western civilization,” and sometimes (3) an account of this as driven in turn by either the interests or proclivities of Jews in particular.

**Cultural Nationalism**

A form of nationalism in which membership in the nation is understood to be defined by participation in a broad set of practices, especially language (rather than biological ancestry or loyalty to a particular state.)

**Cultural Racism**

A stance that argues (while generally denying the “racist” label) that selected minority ethnic groups hold cultural values that prevent them from developing loyalty and affection for their ‘host’ country. It is therefore (in this view) not a question of racial superiority or inferiority but of cultural difference whereby it is only ‘natural’ that people of a common ethnicity share a kinship towards each other. This, in the case of some ethnic minorities (particularly Muslims), prevents their assimilation/integration into the broader society.
Cumulative Extremism/Radicalisation

This term is used to describe a reciprocal relationship between two or more extremist groups that feed off each other’s messages and ideologies. The concern is that opposing groups enter into a dynamic whereby the actions of each can provoke the violent radicalisation of the other; a process which in turn can have polarising effects on wider communities. The term “cumulative radicalization” can also refer in the historical literature to a process by which the Nazi regime in particular became more extreme over time by virtue of the most extreme elements being rewarded as especially loyal.

Danish People’s Party

Danish populist right party founded in 1994 and serving oftentimes as a junior partner in center-right coalitions.

Direct Democracy

A form of government in which citizens vote directly on issues rather than electing representatives. Although interwar fascists (and, before the second world war, almost all conservatives) viewed democracy as a dangerous form of mob rule, advocacy of direct democracy is not uncommon among Western European radical right parties today (though other ideological strands also tend to advocate for direct democracy in some form or another.)

English Defence League

A street movement focused on intimidation of Muslims, similar to an English version of PEGIDA.

Ethnocentrism

Ethnocentrism is the belief in the superiority of the social or cultural group that a person belongs to, and/or to a belief that one’s loyalty must lie with one’s “own” ethnic group. “Ethnocentrism” can also sometimes refer to the habit of thinking in ways that are normative for one’s own birth culture, or that privilege its categories; this latter sense of ethnocentrism is functionally universal, while the former is not.
Ethnopluralism

Idea among certain ethnic nationalists, especially those influenced by the *Nouvelle Droite*, that ethnic nationalism should be a guiding principle of state organization more generally, and thus that every particular ethnic group (however those are divided up) should have a homogenous state of “its” own. (The “pluralism,” then, refers to the idea of the world having many different ethnic states, not to any pluralism within these states themselves.)

Eugenics

The conscious selection of who has how many children with whom to increase the prevalence of desired traits in the next population. In the broadest sense, this includes practices such as Jewish couples’ screening for Tay-Sachs disease to avoid passing that condition down to their prospective children. However, these voluntary and limited practices often tend not to be labelled “eugenics,” as that term has been stained with the history of coercive sterilization, forced euthanasia, and bans on interracial marriage which some states embarked on in the early 20th century. Radical right groups for whom biological racism is an important ideological component are the only groups today who advocate a return to this kind of eugenics.

European New Right (ENR) or Nouvelle Droite

A group of postwar French intellectuals centered around Alain de Benoist’s GRECE and influential on subsequent radical right movements; defining features of the ENR include a commitment to cultural racism, rejection of the Catholic politics that had been important to most French rightists up to that point, rejection of liberal human rights discourse, an emphasis on cultural homogeneity as necessary for cooperation (see also ethnopluralism), and the idea of *Gramsciisme de droite*.

Far-Right Extremism (FRE)

A form of political extremism that describes a cluster of ideological features: extreme or ultra-nationalism; racism; xenophobia; ethnocentrism; anti-Semitism; anti-communism; demand for strong law and order/strong state; opposition to the principles of human equality; anti-democracy/anti-liberalism. FRE can embrace violence in order to promote its ideological agenda.

Far-Right Extremism takes many different forms.
At the most extreme, far right-wing views take the form of fascism/neo-Nazism.

More moderate forms can present as ‘national-populism’ or ‘radical right-wing’ populism. Populist ideas are presented as ‘common sense’ and downplay links to extremism. This form of FRE will typically distance itself from fascism/Nazism and violence, and ‘buy into’ aspects of the democratic system. In some cases the core ideology of fascism remains ‘hidden’ or ‘semi-hidden’ behind the claim to moderation.

‘New Far Right’ - a more recent form of FRE where anti-Muslim sentiment sits at the very core. The New Far Right strongly rejects links to fascism/anti-Semitism. It can be pro-Zionist, pro-LGBT, denies that it is racist and yet it is still characterised by core FRE views, such as ultra-patriotism/ultra-nationalism/nativism.

Fascism

There is no commonly agreed definition of fascism, because the self-identified fascists of the interwar period were - at least compared to relatively loquacious liberals and communists - reluctant to state their doctrines in a highly coherent form. Roger Griffin has defined fascism as “palingenetic populist ultra-nationalism,” palingenesis meaning a promise to restore national dignity corrupted by liberal weakness and degeneracy; Michael Mann has defined it by its commitments to state power, nationalism, paramilitary violence, transcendence of class conflicts, and cleansing of non-national or otherwise unacceptable elements.

Fidesz

Hungarian radical right party founded as a liberal opposition party in 1988; governing since 2014. From its liberal roots Fidesz moved steadily right, and by 2019 it was expelled from the center-right EPP Europarty grouping for failing to adhere to rule of law or protection of minority rights. Viktor Orban, the party’s leader, has praised “illiberal democracy” and blamed George Soros, target of frequent antisemitic conspiracy theories, for opposition to his party.

Five Star Movement (M5S)

Italian populist party formed in 2009 by comedian Beppe Grillo. M5S has had a relatively incoherent ideological approach, with a clear rhetorical anti-establishment positioning but less clear approaches to other issues, although its anti-immigration
and anti-EU stances make it at least somewhat similar to populist radical right parties attempting to inhabit that space.

**Free speech**

There are several approaches to freedom of speech, mostly related to the questions of what kinds of expression may be regulated by what kinds of actors. For most, incitement - the call to violent action not through state channels - may be freely regulated or suppressed by the state without its being a suppression of "free speech" as such, and most hate speech is explicitly criticized on these grounds (though one may fairly question where and when incitement begins and ends.) Distinctions also arise with respect to the kind of actor carrying out and deciding upon the suppression of speech. Most obviously, government actors may choose to punish people with legal sanctions for speech the government dislikes for some reason, and most traditional free speech advocacy concerns this. Over the course of the last decade, there has been a tremendous rise in the ability of ordinary people to communicate through social media, and there has likewise been a concentration of ownership over the major venues in which to do so, leading to the (legally basically unquestioned, in most circumstances) ability for those to own the platforms to control what kinds of speech are expressed. While there are usually explicit rules (at least in democratic countries) about what kinds of speech governments can express, there have not been as clear guidelines about what content hosts can, other than the general legal principle of their freedom to dispose of their property (which everyone else is using) as they will. A final genre of actor that may suppress speech acts in practice is public opinion. One person’s expression of (e.g.) racism may draw condemning comments from others, and those in turn subject to this public criticism will often complain that they are facing a form of censorship, and are victims of society’s suppression of their free expression of their ideas. But while it is coherent to advocate for limits on the government’s ability to regulate the content of speech through legal sanctions, or of platform owners’ ability to do so through banning of users or monitoring of comments, it is difficult to articulate a principle that would condemn verbal condemnation itself consistently.

**Freedom Party of Austria**

Austrian party founded in 1956; successor to the liberal and/or nationalist “third camp” of Austrian politics (that is, in opposition to both socialism and political Catholicism) that in the interwar period was more or less entirely won over to Nazism. Has both a more liberal and a more nationalist wing, although the more nationalist wing has grown stronger over time. Member of the MENL grouping in parliament.
Fundamentalism
Term most properly referring to a literal interpretation of scripture, sometimes more broadly used to refer to those who either advocate a religious stance which is too socially conservative (from the perspective of the person saying it) of those calling it that, or someone who advocates a very strict interpretation of the ideology. (This can sometimes, though rarely, be applied both metaphorically and to oneself - imagine someone who describes themselves as a “free speech fundamentalist,” for instance.)

Golden Dawn
Greek Neo-Nazi political party which bloomed as a non-leftist opponent of German-led austerity measures.

Group Threat Theory
Hypothesis in social psychology that greater exposure to a foreign-coded group will increase hostility to them, through greater perception of them as a threat. This is the rough opposite of the contact hypothesis which predicts that increased interaction with outgroup members decreases hostility to them; empirical results on these seem to be mixed.

Hindutva
Literally “Hinduness” and probably most usefully translated “Hindu nationalism,” Hindutva is a political ideology that seeks to replace the civic nationalism that has defined India since independence with a cultural nationalism based around Hinduism - thereby implicitly disinherit India’s millions of Muslim, Sikh, Christian, and other religious minorities. Hindutva informs the ideology of the Bharatiya Janata Party.

Holocaust Denial
Claims by a number of radical right activists and historians that the Holocaust either never occurred or has been vastly exaggerated in scope. (In fact, the Holocaust is one of the best-documented events in world history, having been carried out by state organizations that took meticulous records, and being the object of obvious historical interest.) Holocaust denialists, who are Antisemitic almost by definition, typically ascribe the dominance of the mainstream view both to the general tendency for victors to exaggerate the crimes of states they have defeated, but also to Jewish plots to imbue Western civilization with guilt and sap it of confidence.
Ideology

This term refers to a set of beliefs or ‘world-view’. An ideologue is both a proponent as well as an adherent of an ideology.

Islamophobia

This is a term that is frequently used to describe different forms of anti-Muslim sentiment. Islamophobia might be usefully defined as an ideological outlook or ‘world-view’ that involves an unfounded fear and dislike of Muslims, which can result in practices of exclusion and discrimination.

Islamism

Islamism is usually understood as an ideology which, in the broadest sense, promotes the application of Islamic values to modern government. In other words, Islamism is a system of thought that projects Islam as a political ideology. Islamism therefore includes center-right democratic parties analogous to Christian Democratic ones (as Turkey’s AKP largely presented itself prior to its more recent nationalist turn), the reigning “juridical” theories in Iran since 1979, and the radical right apocalyptic Salafism of the Islamic State. In other words, although Islamic scriptures generally have more to say about specific legal questions than do the scriptures of most other world religions, there is no more a single family of “Islamic politics” than there is, say, a single family of “Christian politics.”

Justice and Development Party (AKP)

Turkish political party founded in 2001, whose leader, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, has been President since 2014. Like many parties in Europe and elsewhere, AKP has evolved from a party based in moderate religious and economic conservatism to one that has increasingly turned to more radical nationalist appeals; like many such parties on the periphery of the EU (such as Poland’s PiS and Hungary’s Fidesz) AKP’s rule has been associated with democratic backsliding.

Jihadism/Counter-Jihadism

Jihadism is the violent means through which Islamists aspire to create an Islamist state. Counter-Jihad is a term typically used to refer to an international movement or political current that is fundamentally opposed to (radical) Islam.
Jobbik

Hungarian radical right party formed in 2003. Although Fidesz started out as a liberal party and moved further right over time, while Jobbik started out as an ethnic nationalist one and moderated itself, Jobbik is still to the right of Fidesz.

Judeophobia

Sometimes used to refer to premodern antisemitism focused on religious rather than racial prejudices and stereotypes. While contemporary antisemitic stereotypes (originating in mid-19th century central Europe) tend to construct the villainous figure of “the Jew” as excessively modern and detached from the body, wielding great power from behind the scenes through wicked intelligence, previous stereotypes in Christendom tended to portray them as backwards and recalcitrant to change (refusing to accept either the gifts of Christ’s salvation or of modern secularism) and as excessively physical and literal, incapable of understanding the insights of philosophy, and charging them with the murder of Christ.

Ku Klux Klan

A series of white supremacist groups in the United States which have variously functioned (often simultaneously) as paramilitaries, secret societies, public pressure groups, and terrorist networks. The “First Klan” was formed (as many far-right groups have been) by demobilized veterans of the Confederacy after the loss in the civil war, and engaged in violent paramilitary actions to prevent Reconstruction. (The Klan as such was only one of many such groups, such as “redshirts” and “bulldozers,” that formed for that purpose in the period.) In the interwar period in the United States, the “Second Klan” achieved peak membership across the country as an anti-immigrant movement before collapsing from internal scandals. In the postwar period the “Third Klan” led a virtual one-party state in the former Confederacy for several decades before dispersing into a number of terrorist groups.

Law and Justice (PiS)

Polish political party formed in 2001 and in government from 2015. PiS has a Christian democratic background, caucuses with the center-right ACRE formation in the EU parliament, and has had to make the compromises typical of incumbent parties, making it a relatively moderate example of a populist right-wing party. However, its appeals to primordial Polish nationalism, anti-immigrant stance, and tussles with judicial independence have pushed it towards being a more central example of that party type.
Lega Nord

"League of the North," started as a North Italian independence movement in 1991, thus identified with the "northern European" and wealthier north against the traditional forms of Italian nationalism, which - despite arguably facilitating the exploitation of the south by the north - were always committed at an ideological level to uniting the two areas culturally and politically. Over the last decade is has tried to become a more “generically” Italian anti-immigrant party, less corrupt and further right than Forza Italia, and is currently in government.

Legion of the Archangel Michael (or Iron Guard)

A Romanian interwar fascist group that married ultra-nationalism, Orthodox Christianity, and an intense Antisemitism that itself merged “modern” racial and traditionally religious prejudices against Jews. Perceiving the paramilitary group as a threat, the conservative royal dictatorship of King Carol II simultaneously attempted to suppress the Legion while “fascistizing” the existing state. This proved unsuccessful and Carol was overthrown by a combination of the Legion and military leadership, who ruled together briefly until a coup launched by them was defeated.

Liberal Democratic Party of Russia

The “Liberal Democratic Party of Russia,” which is neither liberal, nor democratic, nor – considering the peculiar political dynamics of officially tolerated opposition parties in Putin’s Russia – a party in the sense that Western democracies are likely to think of it. Rather, the LDPR is associated with ultranationalist revanchism and ethnic chauvinism, and acts as a pressure group, pressure valve, and a barometer of support for these sentiments to the ruling United Russia party (which also tolerates other compliant opposition parties, such as the Communist Party and several regional parties, for similar purposes.) The LDPR has been led by Vladimir Zhirinovsky since its inception shortly after the fall of the Soviet Union.

Likud

Israeli political party founded in 1973 and devoted to the ideology of revisionist Zionism, a revanchist movement which defined itself in terms of securing Israel as a state that was both fundamentally Jewish and in control of borders seen as historically authentic; insofar as it has pursued this ideology (increasingly so over the last decade) Likud has entailed an unfriendly stance both towards Israel’s non-Jewish citizens and non-Jews living in disputed territories. Likud led the charge in establishing the Nation-State Bill, which would define Israel as an exclusively Jewish
state. Although historically most radical-right parties in Europe and elsewhere have - on an antisemitic basis - been hostile to the existence of Israel, Likud has made overtures to the more mainstream ones, including those that engage in antisemitic rhetoric, on the basis of fraternity between nationalist parties, and in turn the more successful mainstream radical right parties have been increasingly friendly towards the existence of Israel (if not necessarily their own country’s Jewish members.) In part this shift likely also reflects the turn towards Muslims as the “primary enemy” of the European radical right.

**Lone-Wolf Terrorism**

Self-activating political or religious violence undertaken by individuals – typically perceived by its adherents to be an act of asymmetrical, propagandistic warfare – which derives from a variable amount of external influence and context, rather than external command and control. This definition is slanted consciously toward perpetrator motivation rather than ex post facto perception. It also excludes impromptu acts of violence, even if they are politically or religiously motivated.

**Manifesto Project**

A project to bring collate political party manifestos and statements of ideology and policy since 1945, so that scholars may systematically compare them. Data and project information can be found at [https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/](https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/)

**Manosphere**

A network or social scene of antifeminist discussion (short for “Men’s Rights Blogosphere,”) which like most of the old blogosphere has now largely been supplanted by similar discussion on other major platforms. Although united around several beliefs - that men and women are very different, that men’s interests have been unjustly harmed by feminist claims that they are not, and that given sexual freedom women choose to have sex with only a small number of the most brutishly masculine men - the manosphere is divided on the proper lifestyle response, and therefore includes both pickup artists who offer (typically for a seminar fee) to teach sexually frustrated young men to become the most masculine and attractive kind, traditionalists who advocate for a return to mandatory conservative sexual norms, and “incels” (the involuntarily celibate) who despair of receiving the love of anyone and direct their anger at women and sexually successful men. (Contrary to the narratives of all three, while sexual freedom has resulted in delayed and reduced childbearing, young people of both sexes overwhelmingly still elect to be in exclusive relationships.)
Myth

In common usage, can refer to any false belief (“12 myths about trans fats - #7 will shock you!”) As sometimes used in anthropology and religious studies, a myth is a narrative, which may even be true, which gives coherence and meaning to life. Many radical right and fascist or proto-fascist intellectuals have charged modern society with failing to give people adequate meaning through myth, and see in war and ultra-nationalism the opportunity to restore this lost sense of meaning and belonging.

Narrative

This term is used to refer to ideological-based interpretations of religion, history and politics. FRE narratives typically connect ‘grievances’ at a local level. They combine fact, fiction, emotion and religion and are intended to manipulate discontent and generate support for the FRE organisation.

Nationalism

In the broadest sense, the belief that states should correspond to the “nation,” a belief today that most people take for granted. Whether the nation corresponds to a cultural group, a biological group, or loyalty to a state itself defines the difference between cultural, racial, and civic nationalism, and the extent to which loyalty the nation trumps other possible ethical concerns defines ultra-nationalism from more modest kinds.

Nativism

Nativism is a term used to refer to ethnocentric beliefs relating to immigration and the nation. Nativism is a defensive response on the part of the indigenous population(s) to newcomers who are seen as threatening the culture and basic values of the indigenous population.

Neo-Nazism

A form of fascist ideology based on the ideas of Adolf Hitler and/or other inter-war Nazis. Unlike the more populist radical right or new far right, neo-Nazis advocate a more violent form of politics outside the normal democratic process.
National Democratic Party of Germany

Radical right party formed in Germany in 1964, and until recently the main advocate of neo-Nazi ideas in Germany. Due to postwar Germany’s strict prohibition on Nazi symbolism, the NPD has been hamstrung in its ability to legally express its ideas, and the Alternative for Germany party has emerged as a more successful attempt to articulate right-wing nationalism in the country.

Palingenesis

A rebirth, especially the kind of “rebirth to glory” that fascists and other radical nationalists imagine for their country.

Parafascism (and Fascistization)

Terms used by historical scholars to refer to regimes and movements that did not, by their definitions, correspond to a full ideal type of fascism, but which did extensively borrow motifs and practices from movements and regimes that did. Thus, many interwar dictatorships simultaneously sought to suppress their native fascist movements as a possible threat to themselves, while also forming state parties, militias, and youth groups that were similar to fascist ones, passing legislation targeting national minorities, and so on in a process of “fascistization” that led to regimes that might be called “para-fascist.”

Party Family

Groups of political parties that have a similar ideology and style; for instance, Green Parties, Social Democratic parties, Christian Democratic parties, and Liberal parties. Many scholars isolate a “populist radical right” party family that includes many of the parties named in this glossary, though obviously the boundaries between these can be porous, and one can approach this kind of classification as a “lumper” or a “splitter.”

Pathological Normalcy

Term introduced by scholar Cas Mudde to refer to the idea that populist radical right parties are reflecting widely held values (especially ones related to loyalty to “one’s own” people, a feeling of betrayal by political elites, and so on) taken to their logical conclusion, rather than what one might call a “normal pathology,” that is, a special derangement of a small number of supporters.
PEGIDA

German anti-Islamic street movement associated with marches meant to intimidate immigrants; PEGIDA has seen “franchises” established in several other countries and can be very loosely seen as the non-electoral arm of AfD.

Political Spectrum

Division of political attitudes into a left (roughly, those that prioritize social equality relatively more) and right (roughly, those who prioritize it less,) a distinction that arose in the French Revolution (in which opponents of the monarchy sat on the left of the parliamentary house.) While no single dimension can capture as complex a field as that of political ideology, most parties in most places and times since the rise of mass politics have consciously placed themselves on a left-right spectrum dictating their degrees of willingness to cooperate with each other, and quantitative studies of political attitudes of both the general citizenry and of legislators find that a single axis of variation, roughly corresponding to intuitive left-right distinctions, captures most of the variance. If in the contemporary moment the radical left can be generally distinguished by its rejection of liberalism from the left (that is, that they believe the system of liberal capitalist democracy effectively functions in practice as a mechanism for the enforcement of entrenched, primarily market-based elites) the radical right can be distinguished by their rejection of it from the right (that is, they reject it as dangerously levelling.) Thus the diverse positions of the radical right in its approaches to markets (being generally protective of property rights, but often skeptical of free markets as such, which can disturb existing social arrangements in their unpredictability, or fail to prioritize national insiders over foreign outsiders,) gender (hoping to reinforce or re instate old social dominance of men over women) and race or nation (hoping to maintain either ethnically pure societies or ones in which the ethnic group for the movement in question retains social dominance over others.)

Proto-Fascism

A term used by historical scholars to refer to movements and intellectuals, generally prior to the interwar period, who did not fully conform to the historians’ definitions of fascism, but presaged or evolved into those who would. This is most often applied to right-wing activists in France and Germany who developed the groundwork for antisemitic conspiracy theories, paramilitary violence, and the need for transcending modern anomie through myth.
Populism
A pattern of rhetoric that is organized around a rejection of elites (or subset of elites) as having failed a broader category of “the people.” Populism in this sense is a persistent feature of democratic contestation, compatible with very different kinds of ideologies, and neither necessarily “radical” nor necessarily “right.” Radical right expressions of populism are defined by their invocation of a nationally-defined people against elites which are cosmopolitan and disloyal to the nation.

Producerism
A narrative or ideology which simultaneously seeks to attack (some) elites (hence, a populist one) as well as weak people on the margins of society as constituting “parasites” on “hard-working people,” thus viewing a “middle” group as victimized by those both below and above them. In this frame, small businesses, professionals, and workers who do not rely on welfare are being victimized by government bureaucrats, financiers, the unemployed or marginally employed, and various criminal elements who rely on the work the former does without producing anything themselves.

Racism
Another highly contested term. In one sense, “racism” can be used to refer to individual prejudicial beliefs, whether these are somewhat free-floating and atheoretic (“blacks are loud,” “Jews are stingy”) or operate as part of an elaborate worldview guiding the person’s ideology (“blacks are outbreeding whites and will soon overwhelm and destroy white civilization,” “Jews are controlling the world behind the scenes.”) “Racism” can also refer to collective practices that reproduce a relatively advantaged position for members of certain groups, regardless of whether these practices rely on consciously held racist (in the first sense) beliefs and motivations.

Social Movement
A group of people with an ideology and sense of collective identity based around achieving some kind of political project or social aim.
Terrorism

Another term that has no commonly agreed definition. However, the current UK definition of terrorism is given in the Terrorism Act 2000 (TACT 2000). In summary this defines terrorism as an action that endangers or causes serious violence to a person/people; causes serious damage to property; or seriously interferes or disrupts an electronic system. The use or threat must be designed to influence the government or to intimidate the public and is made for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause.

The ‘14 Words’

‘We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White Children’ or, alternatively, ‘because the beauty of the white Aryan woman must never perish from the earth.’ – a popular neo-Nazi slogan. This has allowed the number “14” without elaboration to sometimes function as a dogwhistle.

Third Positionism or Third Way

A stance among some radical right ideologies that advocates forms of economic organization that are neither “capitalist” nor “socialist.” Exactly what forms these take range from the corporatist experiments of the interwar period (in practice, highly similar to other forms of capitalism) to proposals for something highly similar to state socialism (but explicitly prioritizing the good of a particular ethnic group) to proposals for a sort of peasant economy with most property controlled by male heads of households. (The phrase “Third Way” is also unrelated used as a self-appellation by a number of centrist liberals.)

Radical Right and Trade

The radical right has a complicated history with capitalism; but the areas where it’s been most willing to depart from free-market economics have been finance and trade, both of which sometimes seem to put power in the hands of untrustworthy foreigners, and (more specifically) threaten the small-business political base that they cultivate. Additionally, for those predisposed to view social life as a struggle between nations, trade can be seen as an arena that is another zero-sum interplay between them. This can lead to a situation in which right-wing parties can simultaneously campaign against “international capitalism” (free trade agreements and the free movement of peoples) and “socialism” (redistribution within the nation, or especially towards subordinate ethnic groups seen as not of the nation.)
Trolling

A term borrowed from popular internet slang, to “troll” (as in the device used in a fishing lure) is to be intentionally provocative in hopes of stirring up an emotional response. Trolling is a real enough phenomenon (and the phenomenon, if not the name, certainly predates the internet,) but there are two basically disingenuous ways in which the term is employed, both relying on an assumption that trolling (a form of rhetoric) cannot exist with making “serious” proposals (the content of that rhetorical form) The first is to advance ideas which one would genuinely like to spread, but in a deliberately provocative form, and when asked to defend them claim that one was “merely” trolling; another, when one’s opponent has advanced ideas one does not wish to discuss, is to dismiss them as “trolling.” Both of these disingenuous moves have a basis in reality (sometimes people really do make jokes purely for a temporary reaction and without any desire to take them seriously, and oftentimes it is not worth giving the offended reaction that it seeks,) but the combined effect is for both proponents and opponents of certain emotionally laden ideas to shy away from addressing substantive criticisms of them.

UKIP

British populist right-wing political party founded in 1991 as the Anti-Federalist League. UKIP has been blessed by the high salience of “Brexit” - both in the drawn-out and incompetent negotiations around it, and by the fact that the two largest UK parties have split constituencies around the question. This has allowed UKIP to present itself as the only party willing to carry through exit from the EU unequivocally, and to focus more primarily on EU membership than immigration (although the two are related in an obvious way, especially where local prejudice is frequently against not only asylum seekers from outside Europe but citizens of EU member countries such as Poles.)

Ultra-Patriotism/Ultra-nationalism

This describes an extreme form of patriotism or nationalism that excludes selected ethnic minorities from a national identity/nation. It is an aggressive form of patriotism which in more overt political form can be termed ultra-nationalism, which is a core feature of fascist ideology.

Vehicle Ramming

Vehicular homicide or manslaughter (or attempted versions of such) have become a popular method of terrorism among certain radical right groups (both white
nationalists and adherents of the Islamic state.) This method has obvious appeal in (1) its use of a weapon that is essentially impossible to ban, (2) the possibility of spontaneous, rather than premeditated, murder of large groups of people, and (3) the possibility of specifically murdering or intimidating assembled groups of persons, especially people that may want to be punished as protestors, "degenerate" crowds, and so on. The urge to murder the crowd of protestors can be seen in widespread state-level support among conservative legislators in the US for immunity for vehicle rammers in the wake of Black Lives Matters protests which sought to block traffic, though this declined in the wake of the 2017 Charlottesville vehicle ramming attack.

**Vox**

Spanish political party founded in 2013; a member of the MENLparty grouping in the European parliament. Initially primarily committed to free market economics and a rejection of local independence movements, Vox rapidly moved to the right on cultural issues, invoking the Reconquista and Spanish Civil War in martial metaphors for its desire to “defeat” the spectres of Islam and leftism.

**Welfare Chauvinism**

Policy approaches which emphasize defending the state’s ability to materially provide for members of the nation (whether this is defined in the terms of civic nationalism, ethnic nationalism, or something else) by rejecting claims to other “foreign” groups to access it. Rhetoric in favour of welfare chauvinism can frequently take a producerist cast which simultaneously promises to protect a “hardworking” native ethnic group both from international (Jewish, Western, or whatever) exploiters and from a “lazy” subordinate ethnic group.

**Western civilization**

A plastic term that has been defined a number of different ways, often in terms of what it is not. “Western civilization” has been variously defined in terms of (1) the cultural legacy of Greece and Rome, (2) of Christianity, (3) of Latin Christianity, (4) of the Enlightenment, (5) the NATO alliance against Communism. While almost all radical right groups (at least in Western Europe, Australia, the Americas, and white settler populations in Africa) place a defence of Western civilization as a prominent plank of their ideology, because these groups have diverse views on the Enlightenment, Christianity, and NATO, they are apt to define “the West” in different ways. Some radical right groups, such as several in Russia, explicitly see themselves as championing a form of civilization that is neither Western nor non-Western.
White genocide or population replacement

A characterization by white nationalists of demographic changes that might lead to a reduction of the percentage of the white population, including nonwhite immigration, intermarriage between whites and nonwhites, and white birthrates being below those of other groups. Unlike all other known forms of genocide, which typically involve forced movement, restrictions on reproductive freedom, and violence, white “genocide” results from the freedom (most prominently of whites themselves) to move, marry, and reproduce as they wish. This phenomenon is typically attributed to the action of Jewish interests, even though Jews in most Western countries are also declining as a percentage of the population through intermarriage, lower birth rates, and non-Jewish migration.

White nationalism

An ideology which seeks to establish a state, or set of states, by and of whites alone (however “whites” are defined according to the particular white nationalist in question) Some white nationalists, especially in Europe, seek to transform existing nation-states into explicitly racial ones, while others, especially in the United States, seek to found a small breakaway state on racial principles, possibly after a general social collapse has destroyed the existing state’s monopoly on violence.

Xenophobia

This refers to a deep-rooted and often irrational dislike/hatred of foreigners (the ‘Other’). Xenophobia can result in hostile and violent reactions, typically aimed at ethnic minority populations.