

Forza Nuova

Name: Forza Nuova

Type of Organization:

- Political party

Ideologies and Affiliations:

- Extreme right
- neofascist
- neo-Nazi
- ultra-nationalist

Place of Origin:

Italy

Year of Origin:

1997

Founder(s):

Roberto Fiore and Massimo Morsello

Places of Operation:

Italy

Overview

Also Known As:

- New Force

Executive Summary:

Forza Nuova (New Force) is an Italian far-right political party. The party's ideology is ultra-nationalist,¹ conservative,² and neofascist.³ Forza Nuova members have committed high-profile acts of violence, though Forza Nuova itself purports to be non-violent. The party has offices and followers in every region of Italy.⁴

Forza Nuova was first formed as a grassroots branch of the neofascist Italian political party Fiamma Tricolore (Tricolor Flame). The group later broke off and became its own party,⁵ under the leadership of well-known radical-right politicians Roberto Fiore and Massimo Morsello.⁶

Forza Nuova has gained notoriety for its inflammatory advertisements and slogans. Recent slogans displayed on Forza Nuova billboards include anti-gay sentiments, such as "Italy needs children, not gays" and "No more f[-]gs!"⁷ Forza Nuova has posted many anti-immigration signs and posters around Italy, some of which are highly inflammatory, including one in which a woman is bleeding on the ground after having been sexually assaulted. The sign reads, "Rape and violence against women and the elderly—the government fails at immigration."⁸

Forza Nuova has never won a seat in the Italian or European parliaments. Between 2003 and 2006, Forza Nuova ran in elections as part of the now-extinct extreme-right Italian political coalition "Social Alternative," which was led by Alessandra Mussolini, granddaughter of the late Italian fascist dictator Benito Mussolini. In the 2008 and 2013 elections,

Forza Nuova

Forza Nuova ran independently. In the 2018 race, the group partnered with other far-right parties to found and compete as part of the “Italy for the Italians” coalition.⁹ Both while running on its own and in a coalition, Forza Nuova best showing came in the 2004 European Parliament elections, when the Social Alternative coalition received 1.2 percent of the vote.

Forza Nuova is a member of the Alliance for Peace and Freedom, an extreme-right European political coalition.¹⁰ Forza Nuova leader Roberto Fiore also heads the Alliance.¹¹

Doctrine:

Forza Nuova’s ideology is ultranationalist,¹² conservative,¹³ and neofascist.¹⁴ The party’s key political positions, as articulated in its “Eight Points” manifesto, include prohibiting abortion; encouraging family and demographic growth among ethnic Italians; banning immigration and repatriating immigrants; banning Freemasonry and combating secret societies like the mafia; eliminating usury and writing off public debt; restoring the 1929 Lateran Treaty and thereby reestablishing Roman Catholicism as Italy’s state religion; repealing the Scelba and Mancino Laws, which proscribe defending fascism or reestablishing the Fascist Party, and criminalize incitement to violence, hate crimes, and certain hate speech;¹⁵ and forming labor guilds.¹⁶

Forza Nuova’s ultranationalist ideology is illustrated by the group’s popular mantra, “Italians First!”¹⁷ Anti-American sentiments, xenophobia, and anti-Semitism are deeply rooted in the group’s ideology and differentiate the party from other Italian right-wing groups.

In speeches and billboard campaigns, Forza Nuova warns Italians of the alleged dangers of immigration, claiming that immigrants will bring “scabies, meningitis, tuberculosis and Ebola” into the country.¹⁸ After Mada Kabobo, a 21-year-old Ghanaian immigrant to Italy, killed an Italian citizen with an ax,¹⁹ Forza Nuova launched its new campaign, “Immigration Kills.”²⁰ Billboards for the campaign show images of immigrants convicted of violent crimes, their photos splattered in blood. “Who will be next?” the posters read.²¹

In January 2016, following the organized attack of over 300 women by men who appeared to be of north African descent in Germany on New Year’s Eve,²² Forza Nuova created posters highlighting their stance on immigration. The posters, made up of two photos, show one photo of German women smiling and holding up signs that read “Welcome immigrants,” alongside a photo of a woman holding her nose and appearing frightened as a black man comes up from behind her and touches her neck and shoulders.²³

Forza Nuova has also expressed anti-American sentiments. In a November 2014 Facebook post, Forza Nuova President Roberto Fiore wrote that “American tyranny is the primary cause of the ethical-moral disaster, as well as economic, and the immigration invasion that threatens every day the very survival of our common identity.”²⁴

Anti-Semitism is also a key component of Forza Nuova’s ideology. In June 2008, Fiore spoke of his support for Iran’s then-president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. When asked about his brief conversation with Ahmadinejad, Fiore said, “We at Forza Nuova are against any event of war wished for by the Jewish-American lobby against the Iranian population.”²⁵ Hours before his arrival in Rome, Ahmadinejad stated that Israel will “disappear off the geographical scene.”²⁶ Forza Nuova leader Roberto Fiore has also publicly denounced U.S. wars that, he claims, were started by “the people who put Christ on the cross.”²⁷

On January 24, 2014, Ernesto Moroni, a 29-year-old Italian with ties to Forza Nuova, sent packages with severed pig heads to Rome’s main synagogue, to the city’s Israeli consulate, and to a Holocaust refugee museum in Italy.²⁸ Moroni sent them under the name Giovanni Preziosi, an anti-Semitic and fascist politician. When questioned, Moroni admitted that he was the perpetrator, saying, “It was an extreme gesture to make my message arrive to the Jewish community.”²⁹

Forza Nuova

The party also opposes gay marriage and adoption by homosexual couples. One of Forza Nuova's most notorious campaigns denounced homosexuals in Italy, including on billboards, with slogans like "No more f[-]gs!"³⁰

Forza Nuova also opposes both capitalism and communism, viewing both as adversarial to nationalism and reducing individuals to mere cogs in an economic system, rather than individuals with distinct cultures, races, religions, and desires. The party instead calls for "an economic system that provides a generous welfare system for the people, but at the same time allows innovative people to reap the rewards of their ingenuity."³¹

Organizational Structure:

Forza Nuova is led by Roberto Fiore at the national level and by directors at the regional, city, and town levels. Local chapters of Forza Nuova are scattered throughout Italy, and many of them have their own websites and/or social-media accounts.³²

Financing:

Forza Nuova receives funding from private donors. Joining the group requires a donation of 20 or 50 euros.³³

Even though Forza Nuova professes to oppose capitalism, it reportedly owns British businesses and trusts, the latter of which receive anonymous donations and transfer the money to Italian companies owned by relatives or business partners of party leaders.³⁴ Party leader Roberto Fiore also owns a company in Cyprus.³⁵

Reporters and others have also claimed that the Russian government may fund Forza Nuova, given that Fiore has organized business trips to Crimea to encourage Italian investment in that Russian-occupied territory.³⁶

Recruitment:

Forza Nuova relies heavily on the Internet and public appearances for recruitment. The group has an official website³⁷ as well as satellite websites and Facebook pages for its local branches.³⁸ The party is also active on Twitter.³⁹

To recruit in person, Forza Nuova sets up booths in the various squares around Italy.⁴⁰ In some cities, such as Milan, Forza Nuova owns coffee bars, where it is possible for Forza Nuova members to congregate.⁴¹

¹ "Programma Politico: 'Per Uno Stato Nuovo,'" Forza Nuova, accessed June 20, 2015, <http://www.forzanuova.eu/programma%20politico.pdf> [1].

² "Programma Politico: 'Per Uno Stato Nuovo,'" Forza Nuova, accessed June 20, 2015, <http://www.forzanuova.eu/programma%20politico.pdf> [1].

³ Gian Guido Vecchi, "Forza Nuova: il 25 aprile fiori in piazzale Loreto," *Corriere della Sera* (Milan), April 22, 2001, http://archivistorico.corriere.it/2001/aprile/22/Forza_Nuova_Aprile_fiori_piazzale_co_7_0104228239.shtml [2].

⁴ "Forza nuova, 2.500 iscritti e 40 sezioni," *Corriere della Sera* (Milan), April 26, 2001, http://archivistorico.corriere.it/2001/aprile/26/Forza_nuova_500_iscritti_sezioni_co_0_0104261886.shtml [3].

⁵ Giovanni Maria Bellu, "Forza Nuova e I suoi Ragazzi," *La Repubblica* (Rome), December 23, 2000, <http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2000/12/23/forza-nuova-suoi-ragazzi.html> [4].

⁶ Fiorenza Sarzanini, "Forza nuova, Bianco valuta lo scioglimento. Militante aggredisce un giornalista, i partiti insorgono. Al Viminale rapporto dell'Antiterrorismo," *Corriere della Sera* (Milan), December 28, 2000, http://archivistorico.corriere.it/2000/dicembre/28/Forza_nuova_Bianco_valuta_scioglimento_co_0_00122810537.shtml [5].

⁷ "'Basta gay.' Rimossi i manifesti di Forza nuova," *Corriere della Sera* (Milan), June 15, 2007, http://archivistorico.corriere.it/2007/giugno/15/Basta_gay_Rimossi_manifesti_Forza_co_10_070615020.shtml [6].

⁸ "Forza nuova, Roma e Current. Sui muri della città (e non)," *Politica Live*, February 24, 2009, <http://www.politicalive.com/forza-nuova-roma-e-current-sui-muri-della-citta-e-non-4490.html> [7].

⁹ Holly Ellyatt, "The Dark Side of Italian Politics — Italy's Swing to the Right Could See a More Extremist Agenda," *CNBC*, March 1, 2018, <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/03/01/italy-election-darker-side-politics-far-right.html> [8].

¹⁰ Francesco LaTorre, "Join The Fight-Alliance for Peace and Freedom," *Forza Nuova U.S.A.*, May 16, 2016,

Forza Nuova

<http://www.usa.forzanuova.info/2016/05/16/join-the-fight-alliance-for-peace-and-freedom/> [9].

¹¹ "Our Board," Alliance for Peace and Freedom, accessed July 31, 2019, <https://apfeurope.com/our-members/> [10].

¹² "Programma Politico: 'Per Uno Stato Nuovo,'" Forza Nuova, accessed June 21, 2015, <http://www.forzanuova.eu/programma%20politico.pdf> [1].

¹³ "Programma Politico: 'Per Uno Stato Nuovo,'" Forza Nuova, accessed June 20, 2015, <http://www.forzanuova.eu/programma%20politico.pdf> [1].

¹⁴ Gian Guido Vecchi, "Forza Nuova: il 25 aprile fiori in piazzale Loreto," *Corriere della Sera* (Milan), April 22, 2001, http://archivistorico.corriere.it/2001/aprile/22/Forza_Nuova_Aprile_fiori_piazzale_co_7_0104228239.shtml [2].

¹⁵ Barbie Latza Nadeau, "Italians Protest against Fascism Following Shooting of African Migrants," CNN, February 10, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2018/02/10/europe/italy-migrants-protest/index.html> [11]; David Broder, "The Memory of the Defeated," *Jacobin*, April 28, 2018, <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2018/04/italy-mussolini-fascism-resistance> [12]; "Furore as Family Minister Moots Scrapping Anti-Fascist Mancino Law," Agenzia Nazionale Stampa Associata, August 3, 2018, http://www.ansa.it/english/news/politics/2018/08/03/scrap-anti-fascist-mancino-law-minister_of19cf02-7575-4025-a855-8eff50d21c61.html [13]; Nick Robins-Early, "Far-Right Italian Cabinet Minister Calls For Repealing Anti-Fascist Law," Huffington Post, August 3, 2018, https://www.huffpost.com/entry/italy-fascist-lega-far-right-mancino_n_5b6488dae4b0de86f4a0f5ce [14].

¹⁶ "The Eight Points," Forza Nuova U.S.A., accessed July 31, 2019, <http://www.usa.forzanuova.info/the-eight-points/> [15].

¹⁷ "Forza Nuova: 'Prima gli italiani,'" TG Regione, September 2, 2014, <http://www.tgregione.it/cronaca-regionale/forza-nuova-prima-gli-italiani/> [16].

¹⁸ "Ebola, Forza Nuova su facebook sugli immigrati: 'Con loro anche scabbia, meningite e tubercolosi,'" L'Huffington Post, August 12, 2014, http://www.huffingtonpost.it/2014/08/12/forza-nuova-immigrati-ebola_n_5671870.html [17].

¹⁹ "One killed in pickaxe rampage in Milan, Italy," BBC News, May 11, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-22496593> [18].

²⁰ "L'immigrazione uccide': l'ultima provocazione di Forza Nuova," TGC0M24, accessed July 28, 2015, <http://www.tgcom24.mediaset.it/politica/fotogallery/1020745/-l-immigrazione-uccide-l-ultima-provocazione-di-forza-nuova.shtml> [19].

²¹ Forza Nuova Facebook post, "Basta immigrazione, basta razzismo contro gli italiani!," accessed July 28, 2015, <https://www.facebook.com/158945334122993/photos/pb.158945334122993.-2207520000.1438094569./1083503781667139/?type=3&theater> [20].

²² John O'Donnell, "Police say 379 women were attacked by immigrants in Cologne on New Year's Eve," *Business Insider*, January 10, 2016, <http://www.businessinsider.com/r-scale-of-cologne-new-year-attacks-grows-as-more-complaints-filed-2016-1> [21].

²³ "Magenta, comunicato stampa di Forza Nuova sui fatti di Colonia e Parigi," *Corriere Alto Milanese* (Milan), January 8, 2016, <http://www.corrierealtomilanese.com/2016/01/08/magenta-comunicato-stampa-di-forza-nuova-sui-fatti-di-colonia-e-parigi/> [22].

²⁴ Forza Nuova's Facebook page, "Da Bruxelles un segnale dall'Europa contro lo strapotere americano," accessed July 21, 2015, <https://www.facebook.com/158945334122993/photos/a.1589453320788861.33767.158945334122993/993752483975603/> [23].

²⁵ Fabrizio Roncone, "Fiore: 'Con Ahmadinejad contro le lobby ebreo-americano,'" *Corriere della Sera* (Milan), June 5, 2008, http://archivistorico.corriere.it/2008/giugno/05/Fiore_Con_Ahmadinejad_contro_lobby_co_9_080605120.shtml [24].

²⁶ Hossein Jaseb and Fredrik Dahl, "Ahmadinejad says Israel will 'disappear,'" Reuters, June 3, 2008, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2008/06/03/us-iran-israel-usa-idUSL0261250620080603> [25].

²⁷ Bruce Wilson, "Roberto Fiore, Budapest, October 23, 2008," YouTube, August 23, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sXV2Er0qvAo> [26].

²⁸ Lavinia Di Gianvito "Minacce agli ebrei, l'autore legato a Forza Nuova 'Era pronto a fondare un gruppo antisemita,'" *Corriere della Sera* (Milan), January 31, 2014, http://roma.corriere.it/roma/notizie/cronaca/14_gennaio_31/minacce-ebrei-individuato-chi-ha-spedito-pacchi-le-teste-maiale-bc267402-8a78-11e3-aecc-b2fa07970b97.shtml [27].

²⁹ Marco Pasqua, "Spedi le teste di maiale, parla Ernesto Moroni: 'Il mio gesto estremo era per provocare,'" *Il Messaggero* (Rome), February 12, 2014, http://www.ilmessaggero.it/ROMA/CRONACA/ernesto_moroni_azione_frontale_teste_maiale_ebrei/notizie/514453.shtml [28].

³⁰ "Basta gay.' Rimossi i manifesti di Forza nuova," *Corriere della Sera* (Milan), June 15, 2007, http://archivistorico.corriere.it/2007/giugno/15/Basta_gay_Rimossi_manifesti_Forza_co_10_070615020.shtml [6].

³¹ Carlo Abruzzi, "Capitalism is the Enemy of Nationalism," Forza Nuova U.S.A., March 16, 2018, <http://www.usa.forzanuova.info/2018/03/16/capitalism-is-the-enemy-of-nationalism/> [29].

³² See, for example, Forza Nuova Milan's official website, <http://www.milano.forzanuova.info/blog/> [30]; Forza Nuova Roma's official Twitter account, <https://twitter.com/forzanuovalazio> [31]; and Forza Nuova Veneto's official Facebook page, <https://it-it.facebook.com/ForzaNuovaVeneto/> [32].

³³ "Tesseramento," Forza Nuova Official Website, accessed May 26, 2015, http://www.forzanuova.eu/?page_id=287 [33].

³⁴ Andrea Palladino, Giovanni Tizian, and Stefano Vergine, "The Italian Far-Right Money," *L'Espresso* (Rome), November 8, 2017, <http://espresso.repubblica.it/inchieste/2017/11/06/news/the-italian-far-right-money-1.313568> [34].

³⁵ Andrea Palladino, Giovanni Tizian, and Stefano Vergine, "The Italian Far-Right Money," *L'Espresso* (Rome), November 8, 2017, <http://espresso.repubblica.it/inchieste/2017/11/06/news/the-italian-far-right-money-1.313568> [34].

³⁶ Andrea Palladino, Giovanni Tizian, and Stefano Vergine, "The Italian Far-Right Money," *L'Espresso* (Rome), November 8, 2017, <http://espresso.repubblica.it/inchieste/2017/11/06/news/the-italian-far-right-money-1.313568> [34].

³⁷ Forza Nuova Website, accessed May 27, 2015, <http://www.forzanuova.eu/> [35].

³⁸ Forza Nuovas Rome's Facebook Page, accessed May 27, 2015, <https://www.facebook.com/pages/FORZA-NUOVA-ROMA/133903959967808> [36].

Forza Nuova

³⁹ Forza Nuova, Twitter, accessed May 27, 2015, <https://twitter.com/forzanuova> [37].

⁴⁰ “Cosa Facciamo,” Forza Nuova Milano, accessed May 26, 2015, <http://www.milano.forzanuova.info/blog/cosa-facciamo> [38].

⁴¹ “Cosa Facciamo,” Forza Nuova Milano, accessed May 26, 2015, <http://www.milano.forzanuova.info/blog/cosa-facciamo> [38].

Forza Nuova

Key Leaders



Roberto Fiore
Leader, former member of European parliament



Giuliano Castellino
Provincial leader—Rome



Francesco Mangiaracina
Provincial secretary—Massa-Carrara



Diulio Canu
National vice secretary—Milan



Giuseppe Provenzale
National vice secretary—Palermo



Marzio Gozzoli
National vice secretary—Pisa



Gianni Correggiari
National vice secretary—Emilia Romagna



Luigi Cortese
Regional coordinator—Piemonte and Valle d'Aosta



Salvatore Ferrara
Regional coordinator—Lombardy

Forza Nuova

there are millions of Europeans who completely share your aspirations for peace and are your partners in your struggle with the Zionist trends.” Source: “Hizbullah Official in Beirut Receives Visiting Far-Right ‘Alliance for Freedom and Peace’ Party Members from UK, Italy, Belgium, Germany, and Croatia - Who Express Support for Hizbullah’s Fight against Israel,” Middle East Media Research Institute, March 19, 2019, <https://www.memri.org/reports/hizbullah-official-beirut-receives-visiting-far-right-alliance-freedom-and-peace-party> [47].

- **October 28, 2018:**Extreme-rightists, including members of Forza Nuova, hold a march commemorating the late Italian fascist dictator Benito Mussolini’s “March on Rome” in 1922.
The march proceeded notwithstanding Italian Interior Minister Marco Minniti’s warning that it would violate Italy’s anti-fascism laws. One of the marchers, a Forza Nuova member, wore a T-shirt saying “Auschwitzland” with a depiction of the camp, a take-off on Disneyland shirts. Sources: Jon Rogers, “Menacing March: Fascist-Saluting Militants Cradle Their Kids as They Rally in Mussolini’s Hometown to Celebrate Italian Dictator,” *Sun* (London), October 30, 2018, <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/7615053/fascists-rally-mussolini-hometown-predappio/> [48]; “Fascist Rally Organizer in Italy Wears ‘Auschwitzland’ T-Shirt,” Jewish Telegraphic Agency, October 29, 2018, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/fascist-rally-organizer-in-italy-wears-auschwitzland-t-shirt/> [49].
- **April 2018:**Forza Nuova partners with other far-right parties to establish the “Italy for the Italians” coalition and compete under its banner in the Italian parliamentary elections.
Source: Holly Ellyatt, “The Dark Side of Italian Politics — Italy’s Swing to the Right Could See a More Extremist Agenda,” CNBC, March 1, 2018, <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/03/01/italy-election-darker-side-politics-far-right.html> [8].
- **February 20, 2018:**Forza Nuova’s leader in Sicily, Massimo Ursino, was bound and beaten by anti-fascist activists.
Source: “Italian Far-Right Leader Bound and Beaten by Anti-Fascist Activists,” *Independent* (London), February 22, 2018, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/italy-elections-latest-updates-beat-bound-forza-nuova-antifa-massimo-ursino-palermo-sicily-a8223316.html> [50].
- **February 7, 2018:**Forza Nuova leader Roberto Fiore expresses support for Luca Traini, a far-right former candidate arrested for shooting six African migrants in the Italian city of Macerata.
Traini made a fascist salute as he was being arrested. Fiore said his party would protest for Traini and provide him legal assistance against the “Nigerian mafia.” Traini was later found guilty, admitted to shooting the migrants, and was sentenced to 12 years in prison. Sources: “Forza Nuova: ‘I nostri avvocati difenderanno Luca Traini contro la mafia nigeriana,’” Vista Agenzia Televisiva Nazionale, YouTube, February 7, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xGCV1y31LbA> [51]; Damien Gayle and agencies, “Italy: Failed Northern League Candidate Held over Migrant Shootings,” *Guardian* (February 3, 2018), <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/feb/03/driver-opens-fire-african-migrants-italian-city-macerata> [52]; “Italian Neo-Nazi Gets 12 Years in Prison for Shooting African Migrants,” *Deutsche Presse-Agentur*, October 3, 2018, <https://www.haaretz.com/world-news/europe/italian-neo-nazi-gets-12-years-in-prison-for-shooting-african-migrants-1.6529261> [53].
- **December 6, 2017:**Ten masked Forza Nuova members create a disturbance outside the offices of the Italian newspapers *La Repubblica* and *L’Espresso*, setting off smoke flares and reportedly throwing some them at newspaper staff.
The protesters read a list of charges against the papers over a megaphone, waving flags and carrying a banner calling for a boycott of the periodicals. On Facebook, Forza Nuova calls the protests a “declaration of war” against the left and the left-wing media, whose leadership it describes as “terrorists masquerading as journalists.” Sources: Jessica Phelan, “Italian Newspaper Offices Blockaded by Far-Right Forza Nuova Party,” *Local*, December 7, 2017, <https://www.thelocal.it/2017/12/07/italy-newspaper-repubblica-espresso-forza-nuova> [54]; “Blitz fascista sotto Repubblica. Militanti di Forza Nuova a volto coperto lanciano fumogeni. ‘Solo il primo attacco.’ Minniti nella sede del giornale,” *La Repubblica*, December 6, 2017, https://www.repubblica.it/politica/2017/12/06/news/forza_nuova_mascherati_fumogeni_intimidazione_repubblica-183252738/?ref=RHPPLF-BH-10-C8-P4-S1-8-T1 [55].
- **November 2017:**Forza Nuova members hold a march in Rome, with some participants holding their right arms outstretched in a fascist salute.
The group was being blocked by the Italian government from doing a march in Rome on October 28 to commemorate the late Italian fascist dictator Benito Mussolini’s “March on Rome” in 1922. Source: Eric Sylvers, “Italy’s Far Right Flexes Campaign Muscle,” *Wall Street Journal*, November 15, 2017, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/italys-far-right-flexes-campaign-muscle-1510754829> [56].
- **October 12, 2017:**Italian Interior Minister Marco Minniti announces that Forza Nuova will not be allowed to hold a march in Rome on October 28 to commemorate the late Italian fascist dictator Benito Mussolini’s “March on Rome” in 1922.
Minniti says the march would violate Italy’s anti-fascism laws. Sources: “FN’s ‘March on Rome’ Won’t Be Allowed - Minniti,” Agenzia Nazionale Stampa Associata, October 12, 2017, http://www.ansa.it/english/news/2017/10/12/march-on-rome-wont-be-allowed-minniti-4_5b27f24b-a459-44ae-9df5-e97244372544.html [57]; “Forza Nuova ‘March on Rome’ Illegal - Minniti,” Agenzia Nazionale Stampa Associata, September 20, 2017, http://www.ansa.it/english/news/2017/09/20/forza-nuova-march-on-rome-illegal-minniti_e227ae41-dc09-4157-b071-7b3d109459a3.html [58].
- **May 10, 2015:**Forza Nuova publishes a blacklist of all Italian hotels providing hospitality to illegal immigrants.
Source: “Forza Nuova verga la lista nera degli alberghi con i profughi,” *Romagna Noi* (Rome) May 10, 2015, <http://www.romagnanoi.it/news/news/1218330/Forza-Nuova-verga-la-lista-nera.html> [59].
- **May 10, 2015:**The Milan office of Forza Nuova is attacked with a cherry bomb, causing an evacuation of the entire building.
Source: “Danneggiata sede Forza Nuova a Milano,” *Ansa.it Lombardia*, May 15, 2015, http://www.ansa.it/lombardia/notizie/2015/04/28/danneggiata-sede-forza-nuova-a-milano_729b397b-cf1a-40ce-83f0-7261474408dc.html [60].
- **March 23, 2015:**Roberto Fiore, leader of Forza Nuova and the fledgling pan-European nationalist organization Alliance for Peace and Freedom, travels to Syria to meet with the Syrian foreign minister.
The visit is an opportunity for Roberto Fiore to “express his support and political closeness to the Christian community in the Middle East and construct bridges.” Source: “Fiore in Siria, ospite del ministero degli esteri con altri esponenti nazionali popolari europei,” *Forza Nuova Radio*, May 23, 2015, <http://www.radiofn.eu/?p=2045#sthash.bftUvmeC.8a0QNmOf.qpbs> [61].
- **March 22, 2015:**Forza Nuova officials travel to Russia to attend the International Russian Conservative Forum in St.

Forza Nuova

Petersburg to discuss the alleged evils of the West, including abortion, atheism, Freemasonry, and unbridled immigration that, if unchecked, will purportedly snuff out the “Caucasian race.”

Source: Alan Cullison, “Far-Right Flocks to Russia to Berate the West,” *Wall Street Journal*, March 23, 2015, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/far-right-flocks-to-russia-to-berate-the-west-1427059613> [62].

- **February 2015:**Eighteen militants who are members of Forza Nuova Milan are accused of a variety of offenses, including grievous bodily harm, dangerous explosions, aggravated domestic violence, and carrying weapons. Source: “Forza Nuova, violenza in campagna elettorale: 18 militanti milanesi a processo,” *Il Giorno* (Milan), February 18, 2015, <http://www.ilgiorno.it/milano/forza-nuova-processo-1.685027> [63].
- **February 4, 2015:**Forza Nuova cofounds the Alliance for Peace and Freedom, an extreme-right European political coalition. Forza Nuova leader Roberto Fiore heads the Alliance. Sources: Francesco LaTorre, “Join The Fight—Alliance for Peace and Freedom,” *Forza Nuova U.S.A.*, May 16, 2016, <http://www.usa.forzanuova.info/2016/05/16/join-the-fight-alliance-for-peace-and-freedom/> [9]; “Our Board,” Alliance for Peace and Freedom, accessed July 31, 2019, <https://apfeurope.com/our-members/> [10].
- **February 1, 2015:**Forza Nuova members travel to Athens and march in support of Greek neofascist group Golden Dawn. Source: Alberto De Filippis, “Riunione di estrema destra europea ad Atene in sostegno di Alba Dorata,” *Euro News*, February 1, 2015, <http://it.euronews.com/2015/02/01/riunione-di-estrema-destra-europea-ad-atene-in-sostegno-di-alba-dorata/> [64].
- **December 21, 2014:**Forza Nuova sets up a booth at the central market in Rimini, giving away pasta and bread to Italians. They refuse to give the products to non-Italians and hold up signs that say, “Free Distribution of Bread—Initiative only for Italians.” Source: “Forza Nuova in piazza, pane e pasta regalati ai cittadini italiani,” *Rimini Today*, December 21, 2014, <http://www.riminitoday.it/cronaca/forza-nuova-in-piazza-pane-e-pasta-regalati-ai-cittadini-italiani.html> [65].
- **September 4, 2013:**Forza Nuova leaves bloody mannequins outside the city administrative office in Rome in protest of Italy’s first black cabinet minister, Cecile Kyenge. Source: “Italian rightists target black minister with bloody mannequins,” *Reuters*, September 4, 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/09/04/us-italy-minister-idUSBRE9830S920130904> [66].
- **September 2005:**Forza Nuova attends a festival of European far-right activists in Greece. The festival is also attended by Greek far-right extremist group Golden Dawn and Udo Voigt of Germany’s National Democratic Party (NPD). Source: Anthee Carassava, “Far-Right Festival in Greece Will Proceed as Planned, Party Says,” *New York Times*, August 10, 2005, <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/08/10/international/europe/10greece.html> [67].
- **January 10, 2003:**Twenty Forza Nuova militants interrupt a local TV station broadcast in Verona that featured radical Muslim activist Adel Smith. The militants break into the studio, waving flags featuring the Celtic cross, and attack Smith and his colleague. They punch and kick both victims and throw eggs at them. Source: “Il leader islamico torna in Tv: picchiato,” *Corriere della Sera* (Milan), January 11, 2003, http://www.corriere.it/Primo_Piano/Cronache/2003/01_Gennaio/11/smithgiornodopo.shtml [68].
- **2008:**Forza Nuova runs in elections as an independent party. Source: “Risultati delle elezioni del Senato della Repubblica del 13-14 aprile 2008,” Ministero dell’Interno, accessed July 28, 2015, <http://elezionistorico.interno.it/index.php?tpel=S&dtel=13/04/2008&tpa=I&tpe=A&lev0=0&levsut0=0&es0=S&mss=S> [69].
- **2003 - 2006:**Forza Nuova collaborates with the far-right coalition Social Alternative, led by Alessandra Mussolini, granddaughter of the late Italian fascist dictator Benito Mussolini. Source: Carlo Picozza, “La Mussolini elogia Silvio Merito suo la rimonta,” *La Repubblica* (Rome), April 11, 2006, <http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2006/04/11/la-mussolini-elogia-silvio-merito-suo-la.html> [70].
- **June 1, 2000:**Seven hundred right-wing demonstrators march in Rome to protest the 2000 World Gay Pride Festival. The protesters, led by Forza Nuova leader Roberto Fiore, give the Nazi salute and chant anti-gay rhetoric. Source: “700 March in Rome against Gay Festival,” *New York Times*, June 2, 2000, <http://www.nytimes.com/2000/07/02/world/700-march-in-rome-against-gay-festival.html> [71].
- **1997:**Forza Nuova splits from Tricolor Flame to become its own political party. Source: Fiorenza Sarzanini, “Forza nuova, Bianco valuta lo scioglimento. Militante aggrredisce un giornalista, i partiti insorgono. Al Viminale rapporto dell’Antiterrorismo,” *Corriere della Sera* (Milan), December 28, 2000, http://archiviostorico.corriere.it/2000/dicembre/28/Forza_nuova_Bianco_valuta_scioglimento_co_0_00122810537.shtml [5].

Forza Nuova

Violent history:

- **February 2015:** 18 members of Forza Nuova Milan were accused of a variety of offenses, including grievous bodily harm, dangerous explosions, aggravated domestic violence, and carrying weapons.⁴²
- **2003:** 20 Forza Nuova militants interrupted a local TV station broadcast in Verona featuring radical Muslim activist Adel Smith. The militants broke into the studio, waving flags featuring the Celtic cross, and attacked Smith and his colleague. They punched and kicked both victims and threw eggs at them.⁴³ Smith was well known in Italy for rallying for legislation that would remove crucifixes from Italian public places.⁴⁴
- **January 7, 2019:** Forza Nuova's Rome chief, Giuliano Castellino, and other far-right extremists assault two journalists who are covering a commemoration of the 1978 murders of neofascists.⁴⁵
- **April 3, 2019:** Far-right activists, allegedly including members of Forza Nuova, violently protest the move-in of Roma families to a housing project in Rome. The protesters yell insults and sling objects vans of Roma, who flee the area.⁴⁶
- **July 15, 2019:** Police raid the homes of several neofascists, including customs agent and former Forza Nuova candidate Fabio Del Bergiolo, and find a significant arsenal of arms, including an air-to-air missile used in Qatar's military. The police issue a statement saying that Italian far-rightists fighting in the war in Ukraine brought the missile back with them. The police do not explain how the missile got from Qatar to Ukraine, but state that in intercepted WhatsApp conversations, Del Bergoglio sought to sell the weapons to a third party—possibly “a foreign government official.” Other captured weapons include pistols, bayonets, hunting rifles, gun parts, ammunition, knives, and brass knuckles. Nazi and fascist paraphernalia were also discovered. Forza Nuova denied any current connections to the accused extremists, saying, “If one of the arrested was a candidate on the lists of Forza Nuova back in 2001 (18 years ago!). We affirm that on the contrary none of the people involved has been a militant of Forza Nuova for years.”⁴⁷

⁴² “Forza Nuova, violenza in campagna elettorale: 18 militanti milanesi a processo,” *Il Giorno* (Milan), February 18, 2015, <http://www.ilgiorno.it/milano/forza-nuova-processo-1.685027> [63].

⁴³ “Il leader islamico torna in Tv: picchiato,” *Corriere della Sera* (Milan), January 11, 2003, http://www.corriere.it/Primo_Piano/Cronache/2003/01_Gennaio/11/smithgiornodopo.shtml [68].

⁴⁴ “Muore Adel Smith, lottò contro crocifisso in luoghi pubblici,” *La Repubblica* (Rome), August 23, 2014, http://www.repubblica.it/cronaca/2014/08/23/news/muore_adel_smith_lott_contro_crocifisso_in_luoghi_publici-94305155/ [72].

⁴⁵ Giovanni Tizian, “Vergognosa aggressione fascista a Roma contro i giornalisti de L'Espresso,” *L'Espresso* (Rome), January 7, 2019, http://espresso.repubblica.it/attualita/2019/01/07/news/vergognosa-aggressione-fascista-a-roma-contro-i-giornalisti-de-l-espresso-1.330219?ref=HEF_RULLO [73]; “Two journalists attacked by far-right extremists in Rome,” *Local*, January 8, 2019, <https://www.thelocal.it/20190108/two-journalists-attacked-by-far-right-extremists-in-rome> [74].

⁴⁶ Chiara Giordano, “Roma Families Moved from Italian Housing Project after Violent Neo-Fascist Protests,” *Independent* (London), April 4, 2019, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/italy-roma-protests-fascists-far-right-torre-maura-a8855166.html> [46].

⁴⁷ Sean Gallagher, “Italian Police Raid of Neo-Fascist Militants Finds Air-to-Air Missile,” *Ars Technica*, last updated July 15, 2019, <https://arstechnica.com/tech-policy/2019/07/italian-police-raid-of-neo-fascist-militants-finds-air-to-air-missile/> [39]; Angela Giuffrida and agencies, “Italian Arrests Linked to Neo-Fascists after Stash of Weapons Uncovered,” *Guardian* (London), July 15, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jul/15/ex-candidate-for-italian-neo-fascists-arrested-over-weapons-cache> [40]; “Italy Seizes Air-to-Air Missile, Guns in Raids on Neo-Nazis,” *Reuters*, last updated July 15, 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-italy-neonazi-arms/italy-seizes-air-to-air-missile-guns-in-raids-on-neo-nazis-idUSKCN1UA1T0> [41]; Callum Paton, “Qatari Air-to-Air Missile Uncovered in Raids on Italian Neo-Nazi Cell,” *National* (Abu Dhabi), July 16, 2019, <https://www.thenational.ae/world/europe/qatari-air-to-air-missile-uncovered-in-raids-on-italian-neo-nazi-cell-1.886979> [42].

Forza Nuova

Associations:

Ties to Extremist Entities:



[Golden Dawn](#) [75]

Forza Nuova has attended various festivals with Greek far-right extremist group Golden Dawn.⁴⁸ The two groups have marched together both in Italy and in Greece. Artemis Mattheopoulos of Golden Dawn serves as Deputy Chairman of the Alliance for Peace and Freedom, an organization run by Forza Nuova leader Roberto Fiore.⁴⁹



[Hezbollah](#) [76]

Forza Nuova Leader Roberto Fiore led a delegation of the Alliance for Peace and Freedom, a far-right European political coalition that he chairs, to meet with Hezbollah foreign-affairs official Ammar al-Moussawi in Beirut. “It has been an honor to meet today the representative of Hizbullah, Mr. Ammar Al-Moussawi,” Fiore said. “We expressed the European support for Hizbullah and the Lebanese government in their efforts towards peace and in the conflict with Israel. Everyone must know that there are millions of Europeans who completely share your aspirations for peace and are your partners in your struggle with the Zionist trends.”⁵⁰



[Jobbik](#) [77]

Forza Nuova joined the European Nationalist Alliance, founded by Hungarian neo-fascist group, Jobbik. At the time, Forza Nuova was still enmeshed with Tricolor Flame.⁵¹



[National Democratic Party of Germany \(NPD\)](#) [78]

Forza Nuova has attended conferences and festivals where Germany’s National Democratic Party (NPD) has also been present.⁵² Forza Nuova leader Roberto Fiore is the president of the Alliance for Peace and Freedom, where Jens Pühse of the NPD acts as the secretary general.⁵³

Ties to Extremist Individuals:

Forza Nuova



[Eleytherios](#)

[Synadinos](#) [79]

Golden Dawn representative Eleytherios Synadinos traveled to Milan on December 20, 2014, to attend a meeting of Jobbik-founded European Nationalist Alliance.⁵⁴ The meeting was organized by Roberto Fiore, leader of Forza Nuova.⁵⁵



[Udo Voigt](#) [80]

Udo Voigt, Member of the European Parliament (MEP) and former chairman of the National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD), attended the December 2014 meeting of the European Nationalist Alliance in Milan, organized by Forza Nuova leader Roberto Fiore.⁵⁶

⁴⁸ Anthee Carassava, "Far-Right Festival in Greece Will Proceed as Planned, Party Says," *New York Times*, August 10, 2005, <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/08/10/international/europe/10greece.html> [67].

⁴⁹ "Together for a Europe of Free Nations—The Alliance for Peace and Freedom moves forward in Brussels," Alliance for Peace and Freedom, February 21, 2015, <https://alliancepeacefreedom.wordpress.com/> [81].

⁵⁰ "Far-right European parties forge alliance," EU Business, October 25, 2009, <http://www.eubusiness.com/news-eu/politics-parties.13f> [82].

⁵¹ "Far-right European parties forge alliance," EU Business, October 25, 2009, <http://www.eubusiness.com/news-eu/politics-parties.13f> [82].

⁵² Anthee Carassava, "Far-Right Festival in Greece Will Proceed as Planned, Party Says," *New York Times*, August 10, 2005, <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/08/10/international/europe/10greece.html> [67].

⁵³ "Together for a Europe of Free Nations—The Alliance for Peace and Freedom moves forward in Brussels," Alliance for Peace and Freedom, February 21, 2015, accessed June 22, 2015, <https://alliancepeacefreedom.wordpress.com/> [81].

⁵⁴ "Far-right European parties forge alliance," EU Business, October 25, 2009, <http://www.eubusiness.com/news-eu/politics-parties.13f> [82].

⁵⁵ "Forza Nuova riunisce a Milano i camerati europei, per la Russia e contro gli Usa," Tiscali Politica, December 20, 2014, http://notizie.tiscali.it/politica/feeds/14/12/20/t_93_ADN20141220211521.html?politica [83].

⁵⁶ "Forza Nuova riunisce a Milano i camerati europei, per la Russia e contro gli Usa," Tiscali Politica, December 20, 2014, http://notizie.tiscali.it/politica/feeds/14/12/20/t_93_ADN20141220211521.html?politica [83].

Media Coverage:

Media

Forza Nuova's inflammatory rhetoric and advertising campaigns have attracted media attention, particularly in the group's native Italy.

Forza Nuova's provocative billboards and posters, which are plastered all around Italian cities, receive overwhelming negative media attention from local, national, and international sources. Forza Nuova's anti-gay campaign, one of its largest, received overwhelmingly negative attention from Italian media sources. *Corriere della Sera*, the Milan-based newspaper, uses words like "gay hatred" to describe Forza Nuova's actions, billboards, and marches.⁵⁷ *Il Fatto Quotidiano*, another Italian paper, describes Forza Nuova as "homophobic."⁵⁸

North American coverage of Forza Nuova has been scarce. The *New York Times* did, however, mention Forza Nuova when discussing the racist backlash against Cécile Kyenge, a black Italian who became minister of integration under Prime Minister Enrico Letta. In the article, the *New York Times* described Forza Nuova as "a xenophobic political movement."⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Fabrizio Roncone, "Da Svastichella alle scritte sui muri I covi romani dell'odio antigay," *Corriere della Sera* (Milan) September 3rd, 2009, *Washington Post*, September 11, 2004, http://roma.corriere.it/notizie/cronaca/09_settembre_3/assalti_gay_roncone-1601728590468.shtml [84].

⁵⁸ Alex Corlazzoli, "Udine, campagna omofoba di Forza Nuova: 'Basta mode gay, maschio resisti,'" *Il Fatto Quotidiano* (Rome), April 9, 2015,, <http://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2015/04/09/udine-campagna-omofoba-forza-nuova-basta-mode-gay-maschio-resisti/1575994/> [85].

⁵⁹ Elisabetta Povoledo, "Slurs Against Italy's First Black National Official Spur Debate on Racism," *New York Times* (New York), June 22, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/23/world/europe/slurs-against-italys-first-black-national-official-spur-debate-on-racism.html?_r=0 [86].

Forza Nuova

Rhetoric:



[87]

[*Roberto Fiore, Forza Nuova Leader, October 8, 2016 \[87\]*](#)

“Forza Nuova defends Assad and the Syrian people against attacks by ISIS and the USA.”⁶⁰



[88]

[*Forza Nuova Poster, October 2017 \[88\]*](#)

The poster depicts a black man raping a white woman (referencing a recent rape of a woman on a Polish beach, reportedly by immigrants), and says: “Protect her from the invaders. It could be your mother, wife, sister, daughter.” The poster is adapted from a World War II fascist poster in which the man was a black American soldier.⁶¹



[89]

[*Roberto Fiore, Forza Nuova Leader, May 13, 2019 \[89\]*](#)

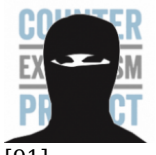
“Anti-fascism and arrogance are a thing of the past, Italy has changed and Forza Nuova speaks how, where, and whenever it wants. The only resistance is ethnic.”⁶²



[90]

[*National Secretary, Forza Nuova, May 26, 2015 \[90\]*](#)

“The lords of war in Washington continue in this way their politics of death. Whoever wants real peace has the responsibility to unmask them and stop them. Whoever wants peace must support the Syria of Assad.”⁶³



[91]

[*Davide Pirillo, National Director and Calabrian Regional Secretary of Forza Nuova, May 20, 2015 \[91\]*](#)

“A nation that respects itself will not allow itself to be invaded by ‘hosting’ millions of desperate people who continue to be desperate even in Italy, where they heavily burden and significantly influence social spending [which is] taken from the Italians in a time of strong economic uncertainty.”⁶⁴



[92]

[*Mirco Ottaviani, Emilia-Romagna Regional Director of Forza Nuova, May 10, 2015 \[92\]*](#)

In reference to Forza Nuova’s publication of a list of hotels who served immigrants:

“[I want people to] get a closer look at the true faces of those who, for 30 denari, are willing to betray their own fatherland and countrymen.”⁶⁵



[93]

[*Roberto Fiore, Forza Nuova Leader, March 16, 2015 \[93\]*](#)

“The theory of gender [fluidity and homosexuality] is like ISIS, because it threatens society and is an attack on our identity. In a difficult moment we should reinstate the true values, while the gay propaganda boosts the already worrisome decrease of the Italian demographic.”⁶⁶

Forza Nuova



[Roberto Fiore, Forza Nuova Leader, March 2015](#) [94]

“ISIS, without a shadow of a doubt, is helped by Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Turkey. Furthermore, many talk about American involvement.”⁶⁷

[94]



[Roberto Fiore, Forza Nuova Leader, October 2008](#) [95]

“This is the financial capitalism that is pushing thousands and millions towards poverty, lead and directed from the same people who put Christ on the cross.”⁶⁸

[95]



[Roberto Fiore, Forza Nuova Leader, June 2008](#) [96]

In reference to his meeting with then-President of Iran Mahmoud Ahmadinejad:
“I told him [Ahmadinejad] that we at Forza Nuova are against any event of war wished for by the Jewish-American lobby against the Iranian population.”⁶⁹

[96]



[Roberto Fiore, Forza Nuova Leader, March 2008](#) [97]

“On immigration we have always been very clear: we aren’t and we never will be animated with feelings of hatred, we know perfectly well that this phenomenon is very serious. It threatens to kill our culture, destroy the safety of our people and our families, hit us in our weakest points: our children, our wives, our mothers. So, what we propose is very simple: immigration should be immediately blocked.”⁷⁰

[97]



[Roberto Fiore, Forza Nuova Leader, March 2008](#) [98]

“We [Forza Nuova] believe that there is an ontological difference between the races. I don’t have problems with foreigners, I’m married to a Spanish woman and we have ten children. But I say no to non-European immigrants and to the Roma.”⁷¹

[98]

⁶⁰ Patrick Strickland, “Why Do Italian Fascists Adore Syria’s Bashar al-Assad?,” Al Jazeera, February 14, 2018, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/01/italian-fascists-adore-syria-bashar-al-assad-180125115153121.html> [99].

⁶¹ Nick Squires, “Italian Neo-Fascists Plan New March on Rome More than 90 Years after Mussolini Seized Power,” *Telegraph* (U.K.), September 7, 2017, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/09/07/italian-neo-fascists-plan-new-march-rome-90-years-mussolini/> [100]; “Racist Poster by Italian Far-Right Party Calls for Urgent Reaction by Authorities,” *European Network against Racism*, October 18, 2017, <https://www.enar-eu.org/Racist-poster-by-Italian-far-right-party-calls-for-urgent-reaction-by-1443> [101].

⁶² Ylenia Gostoli, “Italian Neo-Fascists Protest Former Mayor of ‘Refugee Town,’” Al Jazeera, May 13, 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/05/italian-neo-fascists-protest-mayor-refugee-town-190513161508776.html> [102].

⁶³ “Califfati made in USA,” Forza Nuova, May 26, 2015, <http://www.radiofn.eu/?p=2050#sthash.2PgewjUy.dpuf> [103].

⁶⁴ “Immigrazione: Pirillo (Forza Nuova), “Una Nazione che si rispetti non si fa invadere ospitando,” *Lamezia Oggi* (Lamezia Terme), May 20, 2015, <http://www.lameziaoggi.it/cronaca/2015/05/20/immigrazione-pirilloforza-nuova-una-nazione-che-si-rispetti-non-si-fa-invadere-ospitando/> [104].

⁶⁵ “Forza Nuova verga la lista nera degli alberghi con i profughi,” *Romagna Noi* (Rome), May 10, 2015, <http://www.romagnanoi.it/news/news/1218330/Forza-Nuova-verga-la-lista-nera.html> [59].

⁶⁶ Micol Sarfatti, “Roberto Fiore (Forza Nuova) in Regione Lombardia: ‘La teoria gender è come l’Isis,’” *Huffington Post Italy*, March 17, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.it/2015/03/17/fiore-regione-lombardia_n_6883470.html [105].

⁶⁷ Matteo Carneletto, “Roberto Fiore: ‘Il governo siriano ha documenti che dimostrano la presenza di foreign fighter italiani con Isis,’” *Il Giornale*, June 6, 2015, <http://www.ilgiornale.it/news/politica/roberto-fiore-governo-siriano-ha-documenti-che-dimostrano-pr-1139452.html> [106].

⁶⁸ Bruce Wilson, “Roberto Fiore, Budapest,” YouTube, 2:37, October 23, 2008, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sXV2Er0qvAo> [26].

Forza Nuova

⁶⁹ Fabrizio Roncone, "Fiore: 'Con Ahmadinejad contro le lobby ebreo-americane,'" *Corriere della Sera* (Milan), June 5, 2008, http://archiviositorio.corriere.it/2008/giugno/05/Fiore_Con_Ahmadinejad_contro_lobby_co_9_080605120.shtml [24].

⁷⁰ "Roberto Fiore sull'immigrazione - Atessa -," Youtube video, 10:02, posted by CindaOrtona, November 5, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dZ75GpdctfA> [107].

⁷¹ Alessandro Trocino, "Fiore e il 'contagio fascista': un passato che non passa nonostante il doppio petto," *Corriere della Sera* (Milan), March 21, 2008, http://www.corriere.it/politica/08_marzo_21/intevista_fiore_8ca4b402-f779-11dc-b233-0003ba99c667.shtml#ryy4Z8ogBEf2UC5R [108].