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Extreme Rhetoric: Far-right Political Posters in Europe

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MA Programme Euroculture Declaration

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	4
CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION	5
CHAPTER 2 – THE USAGE OF THE POLITICAL POSTER - HISTORY	19
CHAPTER 3 - POSTER ANALYSIS	29
<i>IN THE WORLD OF BLACK SHEEP AND MINARETS: STEREOTYPES AND CARTOONS.....</i>	<i>30</i>
<i>THE USE OF PHOTOGRAPHY FOR MYTH AND FEAR.....</i>	<i>40</i>
<i>IMAGE AND TEXT: A MEANS TO AN END</i>	<i>48</i>
CHAPTER 4 – CHALLENGING RHETORIC SKILLS IN POSTER WORLD...57	
<i>FAR-RIGHT RHETORIC.....</i>	<i>58</i>
<i>A DEMOCRATIC AND “PERELMANIAN” ISSUE.....</i>	<i>69</i>
<i>WHAT DIFFERENCES DOES DESIGN MAKE?</i>	<i>75</i>
CHAPTER 5 - COUNTER-PROPAGANDA FOR THE FAR-RIGHT MESSAGE ..	
.....84	
<i>DIRECT RESPONSES.....</i>	<i>84</i>
<i>A CONSCIOUS GRAPHIC DESIGN.....</i>	<i>92</i>
CHAPTER 6 - THE RELEVANCE OF THE POSTER.....97	
<i>OUT IN THE PUBLIC FOR THE PUBLIC.....</i>	<i>97</i>
<i>CYBER CULTURE VS. PHYSICAL CULTURE</i>	<i>103</i>
CHAPTER 7 - CONCLUSION	108
BIBLIOGRAPHY	120
APPENDICES.....	141

ACRONYMS

Amnesty International - AI

British National Party – BNP

European Union – EU

European Community - EC

Food and Agriculture Organization - FAO

Freedom Austrian Party (*Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs*) - FPÖ

French National Front (*Front National*) – FN

Research and Study Group for European Civilization (*Groupement de Recherche et d'Études pour la Civilisation Européenne*) – GRECE

Identity - ID

Instant Messenger - IM

Italian North League (*Lega Nord*) – LN

Member of the European Parliament - MEP

Non-Governmental Organization - NGO

North Atlantic Treaty Organization - NATO

National Renovator Party (*Partido Nacional Renovador*) - PNR

Social Italian Movement (*Movimento Sociale Italiano*) – MSI

Swiss People's Party (*Schweizerische Volkspartei*)– SVP

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics – USSR

United Nations Children's Fund - UNICEF

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization - UNESCO

United States of America - USA

PREFACE

This research has tried to develop and explore some of the twenty-first century political propaganda and persuasion techniques. It has not been only about the far-right, nor has it been solely about posters, but more about how politics seem to be more a jigsaw for the public to crack. Moreover, how designers or artists become attracted to make works as powerful as time bombs, how images and texts can be highly manipulative and influential when having the right characteristics. But also, how “dissenters” continue to exist, from the artist to the “man on the street”, responding to injustice with whichever means they have, sometimes even using the same “weapons”. This work is also a small appreciation for them that maintain their voice in a Europe that seems to have been tried to find double-edged solutions in the midst of crisis, corruption and instability.

A sincere word of gratitude to all the people that have helped me in this research and to all the libraries in more than three countries that have contributed to an endless quest on studies on political posters. For the Euroculture coordinators and all their assistance.

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I would like to thank my family. To my grandmother, for always having been my mother, with all the love and care. To my aunt, for the intellectual and emotional inspiration, encouraging me every day to decode the world and see behind all the political veils. To my sister, for being as strong as she is and always keeping up the fort when I am not there. To my father, for not always showing, but always having been there for me, never turning his back. And to Lukáš, for all the emotional and technical support. And, since we live in a twenty-first century where technology reigns, I have to acknowledge my laptop (and all of those that have helped fixing it) for having lasted until the last full stop.

Patrícia Pereira Paixão, Kraków, 16 May, 2011.

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

Much of the discussion regarding far-right parties in Europe has been triggered by their campaign posters. In the last few years, strong imagery and symbols have appeared in these parties' posters. Along history, posters have been a witness of Europe's political and cultural events, but also of social needs and activities. In a political sphere they might have a connotation of crisis attached to them, may it be a war or economic instability. However, it should be stressed that their production in an organized and compulsive manner became possible due to the same factors that António Fidalgo, Portuguese Professor and writer regarding rhetoric and semiotics, referred in the 2008 International Colloquium "Rhetoric and Argumentation in the Beginning of the XXIst Century" as attributed for the massification and professionalization of rhetoric and the industries of persuasion; "[...] the democratization of society"¹ even if sometimes in a bourgeoisie form, "the media coverage of communication"² and with that the publicity for political parties and other labour organizations and the "emergency of the society of consume"³, inserted in the context of an economy based on competition (and from competition will come the systematic repetition and innovation) and the need for constant new markets.

As referred by the renown scholar and theorist of media, visual culture and arts, W.J.T. Mitchell in *Picture Theory*, already in the 1930's Walter Benjamin had referred to the "aestheticizing politics"⁴ and, in fact, looking at a political poster - or propaganda – in retrospective, may it be in Nazi Germany, Soviet Union, or America they all had something innovative in themselves. These images worked because there was something that made them more appealing, something that seems to be missing in the 21st century; they connoted a sense of artistic accomplishment. Recent campaigns, like Barack Obama's 2008 one (where street art and designers such as Robert Indiana or Frank Shepard Fairey helped launching the "Obama art") came to prove that the

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1. António Fidalgo, "Da Retórica às Industrias de Persuasão" in *Rhetoric and Argumentation in the Beginning of the XXIst Century* ed. Henrique Jales Ribeiro (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 2009), 231.
 2. António Fidalgo, "Da Retórica às Industrias de Persuasão", 231.
 3. *Ibid.*, 231.
 4. W.J.T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1995), 424. Mentioned especially in relation to fascism.

aesthetic contribution still matters. If not always “aesthetic contribution” far-right posters seem to have brought back some visual difference in the political sphere. However, what do these innovations represent and mean? Theodor Adorno stated, in relation to the totality of culture industry, that “[...] innovations are never anything more than improvements of mass reproduction”, thus, they are “[...] not external to the system.”⁵ More recently, the Spanish sociologist Manuel Castells, specialist in information society and communications research, tells us about this new form of capitalism where it “depends on innovation as the source of productivity growth”.⁶ This work will analyse and question these “innovations” in the light of far-right parties, especially as present in the rhetoric. Could they be considered aesthetic contributions, or just powerful persuasive tools? One of the triggers that might have started turning attentions towards far-right posters’ might have been the Swiss People’s Party poster for the Minaret ban in Switzerland, with the work of the designer Alexander Segert. While thinking about these images, and comparing them to other parties’ campaigns, we should also keep in mind that one of their goals might also be to shock, especially in a society where religious fundamentalism has seem to be growing. Nevertheless, this propaganda strategy is already referred by researchers even in relation to the poster, Steven Seidman (Professor of Strategic Communication at Ithaca College, NY), whose unique work regarding posters and election propaganda research around the world will be relevant for this work, mentions how one of the strategies of “negative propaganda is to show immigrants on posters to provoke resentments against foreigners and government policies.”⁷ It will be evident along this work that immigration will occupy a considerate space; it is interesting how most of these parties’ posters targets are not their political rivals. Besides the recent creation of anti-immigration studies, several areas of

5. Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, “The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception,” in *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, (New York: Continuum, 1993), <http://www9.georgetown.edu/faculty/irvinem/theory/Adorno-Horkheimer-Culture-Industry.pdf> , 9.

6. Manuel Castells, *Communication Power*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 33. Wieviorka also reminds how in a Marxist analysis capitalism is closely related to the production of racism (in relations of production) and how the immigrants came to work in a relation of domination of a superior and white class, in *A Diferença*, (“The Difference”), (Lisboa: Fenda, 2002), 102.

7. Steven A. Seidman, *Posters, Propaganda and Persuasion in Election Campaigns Around The World and Through History* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 219.

study texts on rhetoric and metaphors have been taking into account the anti-immigration speech and discourse from politician's side, media and others.⁸

This research will follow in a higher degree disciplines like political studies or political communication (focusing on propaganda, persuasion and manipulation) on one hand, and on the other, visual culture and image analysis. In our visual society we could even wonder if in our contemporary world the two could exist separately. Nevertheless, this study would never be possible without the advances of disciplines like cultural studies since the 80's, allowing for a greater interdisciplinary approach to take place. Obviously major disciplines like sociology, anthropology or history will be present given the origins of most theorists and writers. At the same time subjects and areas like rhetoric, semiotics, discourse analysis, design, or even more precise and narrow, as the poster history, neo-nationalism⁹, identity and memory studies, or public sphere and public spaces. Specialists and theorists in most of these areas will be employed for the research. When it comes to identity studies in a postmodernist light, the Turkish political scientist, specialized in nationalism studies, Umut Özkırmılı refers in his book *Theories of Nationalism* that "it is possible to distinguish two themes that recurrently appear in postmodernist analysis. The first of these is the production and reproduction of national identities through popular culture."¹⁰ The poster is inserted in this "popular culture", an area that has become more known and accepted as a field of study. Interestingly enough, the second theme explored, "[...] notably (by) Homi Bhabha, is the 'forms of contestation inside nationalism's dominant frame' (Eley and Suny

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8. Johnathan Charteris-Black, *The Persuasive Power of the Metaphor* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005) 23; Paul Chilton, in *Analysing Political Discourse: Theory and Practice*, London: Routledge, 2004), 110-34, devoting a sub-chapter to the theme "Foreigners" and analysing deeply a speech by Enoch Powell (with very similar rhetoric characteristics with these parties) and a conversation of a gang of white men that murdered a black man, and; an interesting study on the rhetoric used by immigrants and the one used by the host country in Andreea Deciu Ritivoi, "Talking the (political) talk – Cold War refugees and their political legitimization through style", in *Rhetoric in Detail*, ed. Barbara Johnstone and Christopher Eisenhart (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamin Publishing Company, 2008), 34-56.
 9. Özkırmılı mentions how "nationalism has always been an interdisciplinary subject", Umut Özkırmılı, "New Approaches to Nationalism" in *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, (London: Macmillan Press, 2000), 198, being that its study has took subjects from disciplines ranging from sociology and political science to international relations and psychology.
 10. Özkırmılı, "New Approaches to Nationalism", 196.

1996a:29)''¹¹ which will evidently be also taken into account in this research, particularly in Chapter 5.

The work of the historian Peter Burke in *Eyewitnessing: The Usage of Images as Historical Evidence* will be particularly relevant in this research for his deep analysis of the role of images along history and for history's meaning. Burke closely describes the importance of "images" for historians as "historical evidence" (and how little they have been used in research)¹², being that the poster's objective is to announce something and that it usually deals with present issues, this "historical evidence" is particularly visible. Chapter 2 will give a brief overview of the political poster through history, while Chapter 3 will analyse the posters' rhetoric, visual or textual, understanding what makes them so "different". For a better consultation and reference of each of the posters quoted along the work (usually mentioned by their political affiliation and their respective Figure number), will be placed in the "Appendices" section at the end of the work. Their respective source, may it be website or book, will be encountered in the bibliography, the identification given by the figure number and followed by the respective reference. It seems peculiar then, as mentioned by Jean Meylan in a singular research and analysis of Swiss elections and campaigns through political posters in a 75 years span, that "paradoxically, since the proportion of illiterate people has diminished given obligatory education, the importance of the text has reduced in profit of the image."¹³ The role of images has thus augmented and far-right parties seem to have taken the best advantage of it. But which are the best images to use? Which direct and indirect meanings do they have? It is obvious and it should be highlighted that the need to picture something, represent it and engrave it for others has existed since cave paintings and later on, in the historical relevance of Egypt's pyramids or Roman and Greek city walls.¹⁴ According to Ron Beasley (Managing Director of ABM Research, Toronto) and Marcel Danesi (Professor of Semiotics and Linguistic Anthropology at the

11. Ibid., 197.

12. Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Usage of Images as Historical Evidence*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 10.

13. Jean Meylan, *Aux Urnes, Citoyens! 75 Ans de Votations Fédérales par L’Affiche*, (Lausanne: André Eiselé, 1977), 8.

14. Liz McQuiston tells how "during the Renaissance, placards carrying political comments were hung on public statues" being possible for these statues to create a "dialogue" with each other, *Graphic Agitation: Social and Political Graphics since the Sixties* (London: Phaidon Press, 1993), 14.

University of Toronto) in their work *Persuasive Signs: The Semiotics of Advertising* the primitive form of the poster could go as far as “outdoor signs that were displayed above the shop of doors of several ancient cities of the Middle East”¹⁵. Further ahead, they tell how “a poster found in Thebes in 1000 BC is now considered to be one of the world’s first print ads”¹⁶ and how the similar examples come from Rome, offering money for a runaway slave or renting property were some of the reasons to make posters. Nevertheless, it seems that the “multi-viewing” society is somewhat more modern, not only the need for different kinds of images at the same time and from different places, but the amount of images and the different ways we react and respond (or not) to them. The poster as we see it today, a printed paper or card that is placed in several public places is likewise a modern creation and, as mentioned by Peter Burke, the “two revolutions of image production, the rise of the printed image [...] and the rise of the photographic image (including film and television)”¹⁷ have made its impact upon the evolution of the poster as we see it today. A good amount of books seem to have been published during the 70s and 80s analysing the relevance of the (political or artistic) poster and defining its meaning, some of them will be used in this research. An example is Maurice Rickards’ (British writer, designer and photographer) *The Rise and Fall of the Poster*, where to define the concept of poster he quotes Adams and Dart that have also analysed the meaning of the poster in society. They refer that at least three details must exist for a poster to be considered as such; to be “[...] a separate sheet, affixed to an existing surface [...] it must embody a message; a simple decorative image is not enough, [...] it must be publicly displayed [...] (and, finally) it must have been multiply reproduced.”¹⁸ Whereas this definition might have been valid in the 70s, we could now question if the real meaning of the poster comes from a public display, since it can now exist in a digital format. Moreover, there have been posters (like we will see with Gato Fedorento’s case in Chapter 4 and 5) that have had mainly only one reproduction publicly. Later on, Rickards mentions how the etymology of French and German, meaning ‘posted on’ might give its core definition¹⁹, even so, the location of this ‘on’

15. Ron Beasley and Marcel Danesi, “Advertising as social discourse” in *Persuasive Signs: The Semiotics of Advertising* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2002), 4.

16. Beasley and Danesi, “Advertising as social discourse”, 4.

17. Burke, *Eyewitnessing...*, 16.

18. Maurice Rickards, *The Rise and Fall of The Poster*, (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1971), 7.

19. Rickards, *The Rise and Fall of The Poster*, 8.

might be questioned (what about posters spread mostly through the Internet?). It should be highlighted, that along this research the propaganda imagery posters will be analysed in different shapes, formats or locations. In glass cases or window cases, also known as MUIs, (*mobilier urbain pour information*, “street furniture for information”) that exist on its standard form or in an interactive and digital one, usually lighted and present on the street or on public transport shelters, but also posters glued to walls, displayed on valances or on display cabinets, other advertising panels, phone booths, or even their presence and shape on the web. Billboards, hoardings and banners are also taken into account due to their relevance in public and physical terms. What are the peculiarities of each of these forms and in what way will they contribute for the posters’ final meaning? Does it make a difference how and where they are placed? Although some sources²⁰ claim that the 80’s and 90’s were not a vivid period for political imagery and announced the death of the poster, the 00’s have made an attempt to reverse that scenario. Where does an apparent outdated medium find space (and through which methods) in our modern cyberculture? Chapter 6 will try to answer these questions and see the relevance of the poster today.

Chapter 5 will highlight the relevance of counter-propaganda in poster format for the far-right message. Four kinds of responses are important when thinking about the final result of these posters: the coverage of the media, even if not in form of a poster, will influence the perception of far-right and even the behaviour and structure of most of these parties; independent will be involved when are particularly important when thinking about the far-right; opposing parties usually from left-wing; NGO’s that stand for human rights; and independent voices that are not always institutionalized or organized in an activist sense; and, obviously, designers, that may or not be working for any of the previous entities, that have sought to be socially conscious and active. It seems normal that criticism and responses to far-right posters have not existed as much

20. See Steven Heller, “Polemics and Politics, American Style”, *Graphic Design History*, ed. Steven Heller and Georgette Balance (New York: Allworth Press: 2001), 290-1; James Aulich and Marta Sylvestrová, *Political Posters in Central and Eastern Europe*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 81. Aidan Winterburn describes how the graphic designer Malcolm Frost decried the death of the poster in the 00s comparing it to the 60s, where most of graphic designer commissioned work were posters for theatres, art festivals, government pronouncements in *The Rise and Fall of the Poster – Street Talk*, (Victoria: Images Publishing, 2006), 175-6. Maurice Rickards seems to be the exception, giving the several examples of the poster’s rising along history, and its “second time round” in the 70s, *The Rise and Fall of the Poster*, 39.

in a poster and public format as in the newspapers, television or radio (or even in graffiti media in hidden streets). The poster's *publicness*, in contrast to the more private quality of other media, has probably been responsible for this. The responses that seem to appear do not reach the parody to the aesthetics of propaganda in an organized manner as in World War II period with cases such as the German artist and designer John Heartfield alongside George Grosz poster-like photomontages for *AIZ* (*Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung*, German illustrated magazine published between 1924-38) constantly counter-updating Hitler and Goebbels messages. Given that, in what form have these responses been appearing and which feedback from society have they received? What contribution have they given to discuss the far-right, but also to discuss freedom of speech in the public sphere?

At the same time, posters are still more politically correct or more socially accepted (possibly related to their historical lineage) than other kinds of responses, like demonstrations, which might explain their sudden rising. Liz McQuiston, an American specialist on graphic activism and agitation propaganda and their presence in posters that has written several works, lectured and curated diverse exhibitions regarding the subject (also former head of Graphic Art and Design at the Royal College of Art in London and head of the Postgraduate course in typography at the London College of Printing), refers how billboard campaigns during the 60s in Great Britain were considered a “[...] ’proper’ form of argument that takes place at the level of the man in the street.”²¹ The graphic design series *Fresh Dialogue* that promote roundtable discussions by emerging designers, present in their sixth volume the Brooklyn design group and art collective The 62, that was “[...] initially founded to subvert the “post no bills” sections of pedestrian pathways.”²² Mathew McGuinness, one of the members of the group, tells the story of when they responded to the claim by the White House administration that in an emergency situation people should tape and plaster their houses, they then decided to create masks out of duct tape for a demonstration in New York City (justifying it not only with the aesthetic meaning but also as a protection against teargas), however, as they tell, “the cops didn’t like it, so we went back to

21. McQuiston, *Graphic Agitation...*, 48.

22. Mathew McGuinness, *Fresh Dialogue Six: New Voices in Graphic Design, Friendly Fire*, ed. American Institute of Graphic Arts (New York: Princeton Architectural Press), 38.

making posters”²³. This is also true for the far-right posters; instead of recurring to violence or aggressive behaviour, the poster imagery seems to be a better choice to achieve the intended goals in elections and other campaigns,²⁴ like referenda. Is the power of poster related to its “political (in)correct” characteristic? If so, how has this characteristic been used by the far-right and counter-propaganda side? Taking into account that “political incorrectness” is usually attributed to counter-movements, how has the far-right and their opponents be able to go around this?

Rhetoric in this research is employed with three adjacent meanings, one of them relates to its inseparable connection with political persuasion. When it comes to rhetoric and political persuasion, the 2005 book by Jonathan Charteris-Black, Professor of Linguistics at West of England University, *Politicians and Rhetoric – The Persuasive Power of the Metaphor*, where through Critical Metaphor Analysis he looks into the discourses taken from speeches of politicians like Winston Churchill, Margaret Thatcher, or George W. Bush and how they have become powerful myths. In the work, he refers how, “rhetoric is the art of persuading others, therefore rhetoric and persuasion are inseparable since any definition of rhetoric necessarily includes the idea of persuasion. The essential difference between the two is that rhetoric refers to the act of communication from the hearer’s perspective while persuasion refers both to speaker intentions and to successful outcomes”²⁵. So, in order to understand why these far-right posters are persuasive, we need to analyse which are the rhetoric techniques used. The rhetoric techniques used, and this would be the second adjacent meaning of rhetoric relevant in this research, are most of all related to ancient writings, sometimes even earlier than Greece. If some of these strategies later named propaganda, persuasion or manipulation appeal to emotions, to the qualities of the politician or the adversary’s

23. McGuinness, *Fresh Dialogue Six...*, 42.

24. It would be relevant to use the definition of persuasive communication campaign given by Michael Pfau and Roxanne Parrott as “a conscious, sustained and incremental process designed to be implemented over a specified period of time for the purpose of influencing a specified audience.”, in *Persuasive Communication Campaigns*, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1993), 13. Also, further ahead, the three distinct characteristics of political campaigns are mentioned, being “more person-oriented – representative politics [...] suggests the primacy of character over issue content”; “time frame is sharply defined, at least in terms of a definitive end point” and, finally, “they can turn to the entire range of communication modalities” serving themselves of speeches, debates and attractive a wide variety of mass media news coverage, in *Persuasive Communication Campaigns*, 332-33.

25. Johnathan Charteris-Black, *Politicians and Rhetoric – The Persuasive Power of the Metaphor*, (New York: Palgrave E Macmillan, 2005), 8.

faults it is not so different from the classical tradition. Charteris-Black²⁶ goes as far as to approximate ideology, myth and metaphor to the very basic Aristotelian *ethos* (the morality of the issue), *logos* (the reasoning and proofs to support the issue) and, finally, the *pathos* (the emotional arousal or influence, that was only possible after Aristotle, until then it was seen as “opposed to reason and as likely to impair judgements”²⁷). The former concepts will be relevant in the whole work, ideology in the Chapter “Challenging Rhetoric Skills in Posters World” and myth and metaphor in the “Poster Analysis” Chapter, focused in the sub-chapter *The Use Photography for Myth and Fear* and *Image and Text: A Means to an End* respectively. Finally, the third relevant meaning of rhetoric would obviously be visual rhetoric, if in Ancient Greece rhetoric was the art of public speaking, could we not consider the poster the “art”, or more accurately, the technique of public visual rhetoric. The term started to be used recently, and according to Matthew Rampley (head of Department of History of Art in the University of Birmingham), specialist in art criticism and its political ideological functions, in his essay “Visual Rhetoric” it became a visible concept especially after Roland Barthes and Umberto Eco. However, “[...] the notion of a connection between image and discourse has been central to the understanding of visual art since antiquity.”²⁸ Given that visual depictions had mostly a narrative function and served as a means of communication for the people at large, and that even art itself was “[...] clearly dependent on rhetorical skills of persuasion and eloquence in addressing its audience.”²⁹ We can then see, how the poster is one of the most naked rhetoric examples in a modern visual world, with the intention of selling, advertising or persuading it can serve itself of different tools to make pass the message, and using the correct language and doing it well, through typography, layout, slogan, design, the more successful it will be in convincing an audience. At the same time, the “extremeness” of this rhetoric given by the title, will be explained by the characteristics of the parties and how their visual and textual usages fall outside from other political parties’ posters.

26. Charteris-Black, *Politicians and Rhetoric...*, 13-26.

27. Charteris-Black, *Politicians and Rhetoric...*, 13.

28. Matthew Rampley, “Visual Rhetoric”, in *Exploring Visual Culture – Definitions, Concepts, Contexts*, ed. Matthew Rampley (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 134.

29. Rampley, “Visual Rhetoric”, 134.

Far-right in Europe has been growing and taking shape since the 1990s, however, apart from the media lights and some more detailed studies by French scholars (some of them taken into account in this research) little has been said or researched relating its development. Apart from the constant references along the work, and a more detailed focus on the far-right in Chapter 4 this introduction will try to shine a light upon the importance of these parties and to a further understanding in the European context. This work will focus and analyse posters used by the Swiss People's Party (*Schweizerische Volkspartei*, SVP), Italian North League (*Lega Nord*, LN), Portuguese National Renovator Party (*Partido Nacional Renovador*, PNR) and French National Front (*Front National*, FN). In a little more than twenty years far-right parties have been able to organize themselves, have seats in the European Parliament³⁰ and be recognized and attractive to more mainstream parties for coalitions (one of the most relevant would be Jacques Chirac one with *Front National* in 1979 for the municipal elections). *Lega Nord* was the first modern far-right party to enter in a coalition with the Government in 1993 and it is the strongest of this group in the European Parliament after 2009. The participation of entities that were a part of these far-right parties in a more moderate right is also visible, in Portugal the lawyer and businessman Paulo Teixeira Pinto, ex-member of the far-right party *Ordem Nova*³¹ and supporter of the Monarchy was part of the ex-Prime Minister (current President of the Republic) Cavaco Silva's government during 1991-1995 as a secretary of State for the Presidency of the Council of Ministers. Switzerland's case is obviously unique among the group given that the SVP has always been part of the government³². The creation of a "poster language" where similar visual symbols or metaphors are used, among other common characteristics and "rituals" of these parties contribute to their "organization", which certainly makes the far-right distinct from other parties that might share similar ideologies in Europe. In fact, this might remind us of movements, in the chapter "Diaspora and the Detours of Identity"

30. The British National Party has 2 MEP's, *Front National* 3, *Vlaams Belang* from Belgium 2, *Jobbik* from Hungary 3, *Ataka* from Bulgaria 2, *Lega Nord* 9, Danish People's Party 2, Freedom Party from the Netherlands 2, Freedom Party from Austria 2, Greater Romanian Party 2 and the Slovak National Party 1 in "Far Right Parties in the European Parliament", *The Times* (June 18, 2009) <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/politics/article6528429.ece>. (accessed 12 January, 2011).

31. As mentioned by SOS Racismo, *A Extrema-Direita em Portugal*, (Lisboa: SOS Racismo, 1998), 13.

32. According to Piero Ignazi, *Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 234.

(from the book *Identity and Difference*), that will be often resorted in this research, the cultural theorist Stuart Hall highlights how “ultra-nationalist and fascist movements of the twentieth century have deployed elaborate technological resources in order to generate spectacles of identity, capable of unifying and co-ordinating an inevitable and untidy diversity into an ideal and unnatural symmetry.”³³ Obviously, there are unifying points and issues in all these parties’ programmes, just by a fast browsing through their WebPages all of them include themes like immigration and security or national defence. Identity is usually present, even though the SVP does not include a chapter or section named as such (like the FN or PNR), they do have a section called “Switzerland – an Exception” and “The Sovereignty of the Citizen” that describes the uniqueness of the Swiss people and Switzerland. *Lega Nord* also does not include a section dedicated identity, but constantly refers to it in speeches and their posters. In fact, the SVP and the LN are also the two parties that are most concerned by national federalism, the first one having it officially in the country and the second strongly defending it due to regionalist reasons, the PNR is clearly against the European federalism³⁴, and although there is no evidence for the FN’s position France has also long been an opponent of this kind of system. Strong positions on subjects like the European Union, nation or territory, family, education are also common. It is obvious then, that some of these would be reflected on poster imagery. The choice of the parties analysed in this research, and consequently their posters, fell upon the frequency of the representation of such themes and their visual and textual relevance, but also their presence in the media and other communication sources. The posters of LN, SVP, PNR and FN stood out, in one way or another, from others posters present in their own parties, or even in other parties with the same ideological stances in Europe.

Could a *sameness* from the far-right in Europe be visible through these posters? If so, in what way? Connection and cooperation has certainly existed among them³⁵. In

33. Stuart Hall, “Diaspora and the Detours of Identity” in *Identity and Difference*, ed. Kathryn Woodward (London: Sage Publications, 1997), 305.

34. “PNR – Oposição Nacional! – Entrevista à TVI24 1ª Parte” YouTube, (21 September, 2009) http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t0Ca7jdh_a8, (accessed 26 March, 2011) the President of the party claims that he is against the integration in this “federalist European Union” that has “anti-nationalist politics”.

35. The PNR has more than once shown his solidarity for the “prosecution” done by Democratic Institutions or European Union Organs to leaders like Jean-Marie Le Pen or Jörg Haider (FPÖ) or to the participation of *Alleanza Nazionale* in the Italian government in “PNR solidário com

this sense, the Research and Study Group for European Civilization (GRECE from the word Greece) was created in 1969 by far-right supporters and some *Front National* members aiming at the study of Indoeuropean “culture” in a Judaeo-Christian ideology and past. The Italian political scientist, Professor at the University of Bologna, Piero Ignazi investigates about this European ‘party family’, as he calls it, and their ideological associations and meanings in the work *Extreme-Right Parties in Western Europe*. Regarding GRECE he tells us how there have been attempts to define the concept of *Nouvelle Droite* and create a new ‘thinking’ for the right³⁶. The creation of the international organization for the far-right Euro-Nat³⁷ in 1997 by Jean-Marie Le Pen, or even a charter for young European nationalists has shown this European scope. Le Pen has, in fact, been the great public-relations for the far-right in Europe arranging meetings with far-right or nationalist leaders in Russia, Slovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia or Romania.

It would be also important to stress that although many of these parties are mostly described by the media and politicians as far-right most of them do not see themselves in this label. An explanation of different definitions attributed to these parties will be given, however, it will also be visible how each party defines themselves ideologically through their posters in a more direct way by stating it, or in a more covered way by the metaphors present in their images and text. In a relevant compilation dedicated to neo-nationalism in Europe, Gérald Gaillard-Starzmann (Professor of Anthropology at the University of Science and Technology of Lille, France) refers how after choosing a pro-liberal campaign director in the end of the 80s, the FN started adopting slogans like “No right, no left, the French First” or “Le Pen, the People”³⁸. Adding to that, in 1996 “the

Jean Marie Le Pen”, PNR –Partido Nacional Renovador, (27 March, 2009) <http://www.pnr.pt/2009/03/27/o-pnr-solidario-com-jean-marie-le-pen/> (accessed 20 March, 2011).

36. Ignazi, in *Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe*, 22.

37. Euro-nat was “meant to become a pan-European confederation of populist radical right parties under the leadership of the FN” (which in 2006 included as its members FN and the PNR, among others) however already in 2006 “the official website of the FN did not even refer to Euronat; it only includes links to websites of some “mouvements politiques à l'étranger”” which included the SVP”, in Cas Mudde, *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 177.

38. Gerald Gaillard-Starzmann, “Regarding the Front National” in *Neo-Nationalism in Europe and Beyond: Perspectives from Social Anthropology* ed. Marcus Banks and Andre Gingrich, 181-2.

FN starts proceedings against Le Monde to prevent it using the epithet ‘extreme right’³⁹ in reference to the party”⁴⁰. The French historian and specialist on nationalism, totalitarianism and the far-right movement in France, Ariane d’Appollonia⁴¹ explains the negative connotation attached to the term. Firstly, taking into consideration set-stereotypes regarding “right-left”, secondly the random use by the public opinion or political parties seems to overshadow a clear and widely accepted definition, the application and usage of the term will then depend on who analyses or the context of the analysis. Thirdly, she mentions how “far-right” “recovers realities not only complex but often contradictory, when at the same time it defines movements that distinguish themselves by different inspiration and objectives [...] There is not one far-right anymore, we should say, the “far-rights””⁴². Nationalism or nationalist seem to be the most common and accepted definition or label for these parties. Taking into account their programs, the representations in posters and using Özkirimli reference, quoting Yuval-Davis in her 1997 book *Gender and Nation*, to the three major dimensions of nationalist projects, “The first is the ‘genealogical’ dimension which is constructed around a specific origin of people or their race (*Volknation*). The second is the ‘cultural’ dimension in which the symbolic heritage provided by language, religion and/or other customs and traditions in constructed as the essence of the nation (*Kulturnation*). Finally, there is the ‘civic’ dimension that focuses on citizenship as determining the boundaries of that nation, relating it directly to notions of state sovereignty and specific territoriality (*Staatnation*).”⁴³ Populism⁴⁴ would surely be a common denominator for all of the parties in this research⁴⁵. However, it is not certain if the majority would see themselves represented by this classification, especially because, as Piero Ignazi refers “[...] ‘personalizations and appeal to the people is spreading within all parties’”⁴⁶. It

39. This term seems to be used in Latin languages, while “radical” or “far-right” is more commonly used in Anglo-Saxon countries. These usages are explored further in Jean-Yves Camus, “L’Extrême Droite en Europe: Où, Sous Quelles Formes, Pourquoi?”, in *Pouvoirs*, (N. 87, 1998), 21.

40. Gaillard-Starzmann, “Regarding the Front National”, 182.

41. Ariane Chebel d’Appollonia, *L’extrême-droite en France: de Maurras à Le Pen*, (Bruxelles: Éditions Complexes, 1988), 9-10.

42. d’Appollonia, *L’extrême-droite en France...*, 10.

43. Özkirimli, “New Approaches to Nationalism”, 211.

44. For a deep study of the term and concept see Wieviorka, *A Democracia à Prova*, 87-117.

45. According to Cas Mudde far-right parties like the FN or the Austrian FPÖ seem to have adopted and prefer it instead of the “far-right” label, at the same time the SVP defines itself as “liberal conservative” in Mudde, *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*, 35-36.

46. Referred from von Beyme, 1996 in Ignazi, *Extreme Right Parties in Europe...*, 30.

should also be noted that other terms have been appearing, one of them is “neo-nationalism” also in the title of the research (that rose from the 2001 Wenner-Gren sponsored workshop in Brussels) edited by Andre Gingrich (Professor of Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Vienna and Austrian Academy of Sciences) and Marcus Banks (Director of the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology of the University of Oxford. In the same lines, the French sociologist Alain Bihr (specialized in the French far-right) has used the term neo-racism, to explain the difference in how these parties distance themselves from the classic racism related to race and biological characteristics and approach the cultural and the “right to difference”⁴⁷. This difference as he explains ahead is a synonym, explicit or implicit, of inferiority, being that what relates me to the other is not only difference but inequality.

Obviously, and to conclude the far-right question Prof. Dr Manfred Kienpointner (University of Innsbruck) refers in his research regarding manipulative discourses of some right-wing parties in Europe that it is fallacious and irrelevant to describe texts from right-wing populism as “[...] dubious and potentially dangerous [...]”⁴⁸ and describe them as such, representing tautological and trivial analysis. What might be relevant is the identification of these texts, to deconstruct them and understand what makes them dangerous. As he mentions further, “[...] one should grant that populists no less than other politicians are sincere [...]”⁴⁹. Nevertheless, the idea of the research is to identify which are the kinds of propaganda and rhetoric used and why they became so popular, and even, which are the reactions from these “other politicians” or from the society at large.

47. Alain Bihr, *L'actualité d'un archaïsme: la pensée d'extrême droite et la crise de la modernité* (Lausanne: Éditions Page Deux, 1998), 28. Also present in Pascal Perrineau quoting P.-A. Taguieff, “Le Front National: 1972-1992” in *Histoire de L'Extrême Droite en France* ed. Michel Winock and Jean-Pierre Azéma (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1994), 277.

48. Manfred Kienpointner, “Racist Manipulation within Austrian, German, Dutch, French and Italian Right-wing populism” in *Manipulation and Ideologies in the 20th Century Discourse, Language and Mind*, ed. Louis de Saussure and Peter Schulz, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2005), 214.

49. Kienpointner, “Racist Manipulation...”, 215.

CHAPTER 2 - THE USAGE OF THE POLITICAL POSTER – HISTORY

With the help of Liz McQuiston's precise timeline⁵⁰ in her 1993 work *Graphic Agitation: Social and Political Graphics since the Sixties* regarding, several historical and political events will be presented in this Chapter that were crucial for the poster to have its modern usage and meaning. It is obvious that they seem to have always been there when "mass audience was essential"⁵¹, as referred by the writer Maurice Rickards (expert in "ephemera studies") giving examples such as government, recruitment, entertainment, or rebellion and insurrection. The ever-changing event to all printed material was the invention of movable types by Gutenberg, which started to be developed around 1440, and already by 1500's most Western Europe used the method to reproduce books. Even if these were only for a small elite, print started quickly being used for leaflets (particularly important during Martin Luther's Reformation⁵²), "[...] enlisting the help of satire and humour, print quickly became the vehicle of the man in the street, with illustrations acting as the new mass language."⁵³ Printed proclamations, as mentioned by Rickards⁵⁴, were for long the sole medium of mass communication, claiming that the history of Europe could be read through them. As with the wars to come and the several counter-propaganda and anti-war movements, the 1600s saw several conflicts that were responded by artistic works. It is important to note that McQuiston's description relies greatly on accompanying the different types of satire, especially in Great Britain and France. This satire was also only possible with the development of a more vernacular language and a narrower definition of nationalism, helped by the printing process. These characteristics and the public and reproducible character of the poster made it hard, since its start to control their messages and posting. In the 15th and 16th century printing

50. McQuiston, *Graphic Agitation...*, 14-27.

51. Rickards, *The Rise and Fall of the Poster*, 9.

52. Steven Seidman refers how the first posters to accomplish the goal of influencing public opinion through propaganda and mass persuasion were the ones of the Protestant Reformation, and that even "the word *propaganda* is derived, in fact, from the Latin, *propaganda fide*, which means, "propagating the faith"'" defending the Catholic Church as an instrument for support in the counter-reform, still existing today a propaganda department of cardinals in the Roman Catholic Church. "Introduction" in *Posters, Propaganda and Persuasion in Election Campaigns...*, 3. Paula Espírito de Santo refers the origins of the word to 1622, instituted by Pope Gregory XV, *instituting the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, Paula do Espírito Santo, *O Processo de Persuasão Política: Abordagem Sistémica de Persuasão com Referências ao Actual Sistema Político Português*, (Lisboa: ISCSP, 1996), 89.

53. McQuiston, *Graphic Agitation...*, 14.

54. Rickards, *The Rise and Fall of the Poster*, 9.

was considered as a “threat to dogma”⁵⁵. Bill-stickers will be prosecuted or “Post no bills” is a sentence that prevails until today, and as Rickards tells, was “more than a threat, but the makings of an eternal truth.”⁵⁶ The British led the way in the 1700s with satire and social comment and in the 1800s with visual satire, caricature and comic art, whereas only by mid-1800s, when Great Britain’s “[...] public taste had grown more conservative and less tolerant of visual abuse”⁵⁷, did France started to rise its satirical voice. Charles Philipon (French lithographer, caricaturist and journalist) was the great booster in this thematic founding the first French newspaper to regularly publish prints and illustrations alongside text, satirizing current events, *La Silhouette* in 1829. When the newspaper was banned in 1831, he later became the editor of weekly political journals like *La Caricature* and *Le Charivari*, both being banned shortly after. The invention of lithography in the 1796, and some years later its coloured version, chromolithography, and its reproduction in large presses gave way for the poster to become official for media agencies and to be accepted and recognized by the larger public should also be highlighted as a support for this media. The term ‘cartoon’, that will be discussed ahead in this research, for satirical and humorous illustration, is said to be coined by *Punch*, a British weekly magazine founded in 1841 (closed in 1992, having a small revival from 1996 to 2002). The term started also being used by American newspapers and magazines that later on started to employ the word ‘comics’ (*Puck*, from 1871 to 1918 and *The New Yorker*, existing since the mid-1920’s)⁵⁸. The importance of caricatures and cartoons is thus relevant in poster history (an example could be given through the representation of Alfred Dreyfus as an Hydra, part of a series of six posters widely distributed during the affair, see Fig. 5), and will be mirrored in this research through the far-right posters. Peter Burke refers that “Between the invention of the newspaper and the invention of television [...] (they) made a fundamental contribution to political debate, demystifying power and encouraging the involvement of ordinary people with affairs of state.”⁵⁹ The presence of satire and humour in posters in Europe has been relevant even more when these work as a

55. Rickards, *The Rise and Fall of the Poster*, 11.

56. *Ibid.*, 12.

57. *Ibid.*, 14.

58. These magazines are also described as often depicting minorities in a negative form, a common one would be the Irish assuming ape features, Michael Pickering, *Stereotyping: The Politics of Representation*, (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001), 144.

59. Burke, *Eyewitnessing...*, 144-45.

response to the system. John Barnicoat, the author of *A Concise History of Posters: 1870-1970* tells us “[...] the underground posters play in between the establishment and the new alternative society”⁶⁰, usually highlighting the restrictions towards social order. Further on this research we will see how the response of the humourist group Gato Fedorento (in translation “Stinky Cat”) to the Portuguese PNR poster might represent a reminiscent of this historical heritage. In *Graphic Agitation I: Social and Political Graphics Since the Sixties*, McQuiston refers how the ‘satire boom’ also made its come back in Britain in the early 1960s, “highlighted by peace protests, the Pill, the Profumo Affair, the Beatles, and other signs of change.”⁶¹ In the later volume *Graphic Agitation II: Social and Political Graphics in the Digital Age* the presence is mentioned in politics since the from the 80s until nowadays, “Blair’s Cheshire cat smile became a ghostly visual trademark – rather like Margaret Thatcher’s hair, which made a comeback in the general campaign of 2001 as a reminder that she had never really gone away.”⁶² Obviously, the power of the poster in the past could be the equivalent of what television represents nowadays, a well-known story is told about William “Boss” Tweed, a 19th century New York corrupt politician, that had caricatures made by Thomas Nast spread through posters. His reaction to these is usually reported as such, “Stop them damn pictures. I don’t care so much about what the papers write about me. My constituents can’t read. But damn it they can see pictures.”⁶³

Like many of the political changes of modernity, suffrage had an evident impact on the poster production of the time with feminist groups strongly designing and producing them. McQuiston refers that this was even the first type of campaign [...] “to borrow the styles and techniques of commercial advertising posters to serve a distinct political cause of anti-establishment [...]”⁶⁴ in a lighter version in America, and in a more aggressive politicized way in Great Britain. At the same time, it changed the electoral spectrum, given that politicians started having new targets they also started including them in their posters. Taking into account that the public that could intervene at a

60. John Barnicoat, *Los carteles: su historia y lenguaje* (Barcelona : Editorial Gustavo Gili, 1976), 216.

61. McQuiston, *Graphic Agitation...*, 48.

62. Liz McQuiston, *Graphic Agitation II: Social and Political Graphics in the Digital Age*, (London, New York: Phaidon Press), 102.

63. Story is told by Heller, “Polemics and Politics, American Style” , 275 and Garth S. Jowett and Victoria O’Donnell in *Propaganda and Persuasion*, (California: Sage Publications, 2006), 75.

64. McQuiston, *Graphic Agitation...*, 19.

political level augmented, and that it also started to have a bigger access to communication sources, the usage of imagery that could attract people, like national or historical symbols also seemed to rise.

As referred by John Barnicoat⁶⁵, even in the different art styles of the 20th century when it comes to poster making, some were more inclined to dedicate themselves to (counter)propaganda than others. Also, many were the art styles controlled by regimes that in some cases even created their own “totalitarian art”. Regarding the political poster, or even the art poster that was also political the USSR could be considered a landmark and a creative engine when it comes to its graphic design style, but also for its practices or regulations. In the first years after the Soviet Revolution, there was a small period where experimentation in the arts and literature seemed to bloom; out of this Constructivism and Suprematism appeared, both relevant for the involvement with propaganda and industrial design (some of these artworks were later referred as Agit-Prop, agitation propaganda). Even if later, some of this movements became oppressed or prohibited by Stalin (and previously hated by Lenin), on the other side of the world they represented a great inspirational source, “Americans were receptive to modernist ideas, which influenced their work and resulted in stylistic diversity.”⁶⁶ Committees like *Glavpolitprosvet* (Chief Committee for Political Education) were created to solidify the support of the Revolution. ROSTA (the Russian Telegraph Agency) was the state news agency in Soviet Russia from 1918-1935, seemed to be as much as state information as an original voice to propaganda, systematically creating posters. John Barnicoat compares ROSTA with the French May of '68 *Atelier Populaire*⁶⁷ (Popular Workshop, mainly constituted by students and faculty of the École des Beaux Arts that produced the first underground posters for the movement with slogans like "*Usines, Universites, Union*"⁶⁸), in their independent and fast and cheap way of poster making, even distributing them for free. However, the Russian group has been criticised by its unreachable intellectual and academic quality, quoting Barnicoat “the masses were given ‘an art of the masses’ from above; they weren’t allowed to participate; it wasn’t

65. To see in detail Barnicoat, *Los carteles...*, 139-146.

66. Heller, “Polemics and Politics, American Style”, 239.

67. Barnicoat, *Los Carteles...*, 244.

68. “Paris”, [Recollection Books Website, http://recollectionbooks.com/bleed/images/France68/paris.htm](http://recollectionbooks.com/bleed/images/France68/paris.htm) (accessed 5 May, 2011).

then, an art of the people.”⁶⁹ The poster, as Barnicoat mentions, is the medium of expression of two forms of expression “the art of the people and for the people”⁷⁰, nevertheless, they both should speak to the people. On a more Western point of Europe, the German Bauhaus made equally crucial experimentations and innovations to poster design, until being forcedly closed by the Nazi regime.

World War I was undoubtedly the turning point when it comes to the political poster, mostly dedicated to enlist soldiers or request financial contributions for the war effort, it was the first moment where money started to be invested in propaganda in a serious and organized manner (professionals like designers and printers were hired and official agencies were created). David Crowley (Professor and Head of the Department of Critical Writing in Art and Design at the Royal College of Art, London) in his embracing chapter “Protest and Propaganda” in Margaret Timmer’s book, *The Power of The Poster*, refers how “[...] popular support for the war was, more than in any previous conflict, a necessary condition for success”.⁷¹ As mentioned by Jean Meylan⁷², the resources to image for poster imagery during World War I there were not as strong as today, resorting most of the times to typographic compositions, or on illustration and caricature. War posters seem to create among the most direct and ‘naked’ messages, it was this ‘massification of suffering’ (see Fig. 10) that gave rise to movements like Dadaism (founded in Switzerland) during and after the World War I period. Posters related to heroic and atrocity acts make their comeback during times of strife and conflict, Meylan even mentions how illustrated propaganda does not develop itself until the wars of the 20th century.⁷³ Not only that, but more than one example has shown us that imagery used for propaganda usage is quite useful during wars and conflicts⁷⁴. John Barnicoat goes as far as to distinguish two phases for the political poster; the ideological (from 1870 to 1919, where warlike advertisement existed in the same terms as commercial one), and the political poster itself (after 1919 until now). What happened,

69. Barnicoat, *Los Carteles...*, 254.

70. Barnicoat, *Los Carteles...*, 256.

71. David Crowley, “Protest and Propaganda - The Propaganda Poster”, in *The Power of the Poster* ed. Margaret Timmers, (London: V & A Publications, 1998), 109.

72. Meylan, *Aux Urnes, Citoyens!...*, 9.

73. Meylan, *Aux Urnes, Citoyens!...*, 9.

74. For more on this see the article by Steven Heller, “Fighting the Image Wars”, in *Looking Closer Five, Critical Writings on Graphic Design*, ed. Michael Bierut, William Drenttel & Steven Heller, (New York: Allworth Press, 2006), 136 -9.

especially after the 50s, as he refers, was that political posters became another facet of commercial persuasion and advertisement⁷⁵. However, the origins of this might go as far as the first decades of the twentieth century when, as Beasley and Danesi refer, business and psychology seem to unite and advertising agencies “build a rhetorical bridge between the product and the consumer’s consciousness”⁷⁶. Being so, there was no reason that this would not be later applied to politics as well. The Spanish Civil war was one of the conflict situations where posters appeared for propaganda or counter-propaganda purposes. It is said that photomontage had its origins there; soldiers trying to pass their message to their loved ones would cut and paste different images and words from newspapers making them imperceptible for the controller’s eye.

Hitler’s interest for propaganda is well-known and quite present in his work *Mein Kampf*. Margaret Timmers, the head of Prints in the Department of Prints, Drawings and Paintings at the Victoria & Albert, curator of the exhibition *The Power of the Poster* and editor of the book with the same name, tells us in that exact research how British propaganda and the usage strategies (such as emotional blackmail) came to influence him in this area. At the same time, Hitler’s knowledge of art and design should be mentioned, as a poster artist and watercolourist that had early in youth been denied the admission in the Vienna School of Applied Arts⁷⁷. When in power, this background reflected itself in the symbolism used, “[...] a new flag and emblem, the swastika, were employed immediately; non-serifed typefaces were replaced by traditional gothic–black-letter typefaces known as Deutsche Schrift.”⁷⁸ Seidman inclusively mentions that Hitler and Goebbels wrote extensively about their design and use, with the posters of the party having the following characteristics “[...] large size to attract attention; memorable slogans, text and graphic images, including a striking symbol; the colour red to emphasize important aspects, or, as previously noted few simple and repeated points that were usually exaggerated or false.”⁷⁹ At the same time, the editors of the book *Manipulation and Ideologies in the Twentieth Century* (a collection of 12 papers that

75. Barnicoat, *Los carteles...*, 222. However we should note that Jean Meylan refers that the political poster in Switzerland during the 50’s used realist arguments of politics and moral and only in the 70’s started using publicity arguments in Meylan, *Aux Urnes, Citoyens!...*, 14.

76. Beasley and Danesi, “Advertising as Social Discourse”, 9.

77. As referred by Steven Heller, “Polemics and Politics, American Style”, 273.

78. McQuiston, *Graphic Agitation...*, 25.

79. Seidman, *Posters, Propaganda and Persuasion in Election Campaigns...*, 191.

analyse ideologies through the discourse analysis and language interpretation) Louis de Saussure (Professor of Linguistics and Discourse Analysis at the University of Neuchâtel) and Peter Schulz (Professor and Director of the Institute of Communication and Health at the University of Lugano) mention in their introduction that, “the Nazi regime adapted the German lexicon with new words and new formulation.”⁸⁰ The series of prosecution, murder and torture of November 9-10 of 1938, were then called *Kristallnacht*, or even the naming of the forced labour and extermination camps as Concentration Camps. Although this was also used by other regimes, like in Eastern Germany, the expert on subliminal persuasion and propaganda, especially regarding marketing campaigns, Anthony Pratkanis⁸¹ (Professor of Psychology at the University of California in Santa Cruz, California) explains in his 2001 book *Age of Propaganda: The everyday use and abuse of persuasion* how it serves as a propaganda tool, but started with advertisement in the 1920s (proved by the success of companies like Lambert, the makers of Listerin, popularizing the term halitosis referring to bad breath to sell their product). The public then became aware that they had something with a name, a label, a concept, that they can fight against something (recent concepts like Islamophobia and Islamization, used by the FN in Fig. 25 could be examples for this research). As with Soviet Russia or even Britain’s Ministry of Information, commissions and agencies were also created in Nazi Germany for propaganda purposes having Joseph Goebbels as their main chief, “Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda” (Ministry for People’s Enlightenment and Propaganda) and its chief agency, the “*Reichskulturkammer*” (National Chamber of Culture)⁸². In comparison to the previous conflict, World War II posters seemed to be less dedicated to enlisting or recruiting (the focus was brought more upon calling women for factory labour or public health issues).

80. Louis de Saussure and Peter Schulz, “Introduction” in *Manipulation and Ideologies in the 20th Century Discourse, Language and Mind*, ed. Louis de Saussure and Peter Schulz (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2005), 4.

81. Anthony R. Pratkanis and Elliot Aronson, *Age of Propaganda: The Everyday Use and Abuse of Persuasion*, (New York: Freeman, 1997), 45-6.

82. Translations by Margaret Timmers, *Power of the Poster*, however the latter has been translated as Minister for Propaganda and People’s Entertainment by McQuiston, *Graphic Agitation...*, 25, translations like Minister of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda or Minister of Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda were also found.

When it comes to poster production and inspiration, in the same way the USA came to drink from Russia for creativity, or Nazi Propaganda was inspired by British propaganda techniques, Cuba, during its Revolution, seems to have come to drink from the United States in terms of style and from the Eastern Europe in ideology. John Barnicoat⁸³ describes with detail the Cuban relation to political posters and how designers had more freedom for creativity than the ones in Soviet countries quoting in their creations the psychedelic style of the 60s, Pop Art, comics or cinematographic elements from the north-American consumption society. “Inspirations” or “appropriations” that have previously seemed almost “sacrilegious” towards an ideology or culture, are nowadays seen as openly accepted, sometimes even in a naïve or more pastiche-like way⁸⁴. International cooperation in political advertisement is usually common in recent times. Steven Seidman⁸⁵ tells how in 1987 Labour Party hired the American politician consultant Joseph Napolitan, who had worked for Hubert Humphrey (38th Vice President of the United States in office from January 20, 1965 and January 20, 1969, run for US President, as nominee of the Democratic Party, in 1968 losing against Nixon) in his American political campaign in 1968 and for Giscard d’Estaing in France in 1975, helping in the campaign and designing posters for the party’s runner Neil Kinnock.

The Cuban posters were mostly artistic, even if ideological and mainly for a private use they were accessible to all. In a way, they also brought some window of the Western reality into the Cuban society, they were accepted publicly, but at the same time they were associated to private desires. As in Central and Eastern Europe before 1989, the posters “made no direct reference to ideology or party programmes.”⁸⁶ The most known example of this creativity and capacity of “undercover” in Central and Eastern Europe is Tomasz Sarnecki’s poster for the 1989 elections and the Solidarność movement. The poster showed the American actor Gary Cooper in the film “High Noon” (1952), but it replaced the gun in his right-hand for a voting ballot and the Solidarność logo above his

83. Barnicoat, *Los carteles...*, 250-6.

84. Lorraine Wild gives the example of contemporary art and its often visual quotations, gives the example of the designer Rick Poynor, that “describes the distinction between parody and pastiche (in a nutshell: parody is meaningful/good, and pastiche is meaningless/bad).”, “Castles made of sand,” in *Looking Closer Five, Critical Writings on Graphic Design*, ed. Michael Bierut, William Drenttel & Steven Heller, (New York: Allworth Press, 2006), 156.

85. Seidman, *Posters, Propaganda and Persuasion in Election Campaigns...*, 154.

86. Crowley, “Protest and Propaganda”, 134.

sheriff badge. This seemed a turning point to officially expand a different kind of poster, of having politicians approaching cinema or music idols, becoming *trendy* or charismatic⁸⁷.

It is also during the 60s that a new left starts to develop and social conscious and youth movements appear, in several countries social, economic or political crisis emerge (issues regarding immigration also start to be discussed). The poster, as told by Jean Meylan “[...] does not seek only to educate public opinion”, but also to represent “an instrument of fight.”⁸⁸ At the same time, it seemed to be a time of appropriation and “bricolage”, going back to other eras for inspiration. An example of this would be Alfons Mucha, which was referred to, by Renner Banham article regarding and exhibition of the artist at the V & A as “First Master of the Mass Media”⁸⁹ (quoted by Margaret Timmers). Timmers refers that Mucha’s popularity was due not only to his work with mass media in fields such as posters or book-designs, but also in the way popular arts were working in modern times. It is in this context that the poster started acquiring its alternative and trendy status, related to an underground movement or to the young generation that posted in the walls of their rooms posters of their idols. The poster becomes the opposition socially and politically, to the *status quo* of the time and to the mainstream, living at aside from all mass media communications, as it was proclaimed during May of 1968 in Paris (mostly by *Atelier Populaire*) and referred by Crowley, “long live communication, down with telecommunication”⁹⁰.

The importance of the political poster in Central and Eastern Europe is well reflected in James Aulich (Professor in the Art and Design Department at Manchester’s Metropolitan University) and Marta Sylvestrová’s (art historian and curator of Brno Biennial of Graphic Design) 1999 research, analysing posters from 1945 to 1995. It is visible the active, but also troubled and productive life span that the political poster had in that area. Obvious propaganda associations with the Soviet Union and the Communist Party (pro or against it) exist. However, the poster worked as an important

87. The description of Solidarnosc poster and this “turn” in poster History is visible through the descriptions by Aulich and Sylvestrová, *Political Posters in Central and Easter...*, 57-60 and Crowley, “Protest and Propaganda”, 133.

88. Meylan, *Aux Urnes, Citoyens!...*, 14.

89. Timmers, “Introduction” in *The Power of the Poster*, 22.

90. Crowley, “Protest and Propaganda...”, 138.

means of communication since, as James Aulich and Marta Sylvestrová tells us, communications were highly affected after the World War II and radio and TV, even when they were implemented, were too far to be wide-reaching to all the population, “posters were distributed as the ‘daily companions of work and struggle’, in the factory, office, street, in houses of culture and in the many clubs established through the trade unions and other party organizations.”⁹¹ They refer the “status” that the poster had in the communist bloc that was not present in post-war Western Europe⁹². This “status” might have decreased nowadays due to several causes; the fall of the Soviet Union, the proximity of the area to the so called Western Europe, or to the globalization of technologies, consumer’s needs with the consequent homogenization. The relevance that the poster maintained a long time in the Soviet Bloc was obviously not only due to a lack of communication means, taking into account that later on television and radio had been “discredited by the lies that had been broadcast on behalf of the regime”⁹³ the poster seemed to rise as a creative solution.

The political presence of the poster should be also highlighted in its counter-propaganda usage. Its relevance for several activist movements helped creating imagery by itself or even allying itself to political parties and politicians that have defended their rights, examples range from pro-civil and human rights (not only in Europe but in South Africa, U.S.A., or Latin America), women⁹⁴ and gender rights, immigration rights or anti-racism and anti-Nazi, animal rights, ecology or even anti-advertising and technology. As McQuiston refers movements that fought for Women’s Liberation, Black Liberation, Gay Rights, and during the 70s with the anti-war protests against US presence in Vietnam came mainly from America and were later transported to Europe “via the underground network.”⁹⁵ McQuiston defines two relevant graphic eras related to revolutions and movements. One from the 1960s to the 1970s and the other regarding

91. Aulich and Sylvestrová, *Political Posters in Central and Eastern Europe...*, 4.

92. Aulich and Sylvestrová, *Political Posters in Central and Eastern Europe...*, 13.

93. Crowley, “Protest and Propaganda...”, 133.

94. Relevant groups for this movement were the American Guerrilla Girls and their prolific poster designing, but also regarding the pro-life and pro-choice battle, the latter is said to have been “less of a propaganda machine” (McQuiston, *Graphic Agitation...*, 141) and created known poster work such as Barbara Kruger’s (also known for other poster work regarding women’s rights) ‘your body is a battleground’ which was translated to many languages, or Ilona Granet’s, ‘State Womb’ “questioning governments possession or control of women” (Ibid., 141). The Chicago Women’s Graphic Collective in America and See Red Poster Collective in Britain are also mention ahead, (Ibid., 152)

95. McQuiston, *Graphic Agitation...*, 149.

the late 70s, 1980s and 1990s⁹⁶, giving example of several graphic movements around Europe that have made their voice heard through posters⁹⁷ (music movements like rock, or even the *subversiveness* of punk, cinema groups or fashion are some of the examples given): in Britain during the 70s, Rock Against Racism or Anti-Nazi League; in France, the already mentioned *Atelier Populaire* and its “revolutionary child”⁹⁸ the group Grapus, (that lasted from the 70s until early 90s); and, in Germany, green parties and peace movements are mentioned by its activeness in poster designing.

As Margaret Timmers carefully describes⁹⁹ the poster, has then, since its infancy been crowned to museum material. With exhibitions appearing in Europe from the end of the 19th century, it was later on given its own space, from the Louvre with the former Musée de l’Affiche that opened in 1977 (current Musée de la Publicité), or with the solid collection of 10 000 posters in the V&A Museum from where a significant number of publication and researches has come.

Three different characteristics seem to stand out along time and with the development of the posters. Firstly, a primitive and timid poster quite attached to illustration and literature, with no, or very little, symbiosis between one and another, secondly, getting close to the 20th century a poster aesthetics close to art started to be developed, in a way, an artistic conscience in politics, finally, the poster glued to advertising techniques, with the continuous association to big designer companies and advertising agencies.

CHAPTER 3 - POSTER ANALYSIS

It is important to highlight that although these posters will be grouped by its similarities for this analysis, the different types of representation and depiction used by each party will also be taken into account and referred to when it is convenient. It is obvious that even if the PNR and the SVP might use similar image their objective and their context is different, this will also be further developed in Chapter 4.

96. Ibid., 134.

97. Ibid., 52-9.

98. Ibid., 56.

99. Timmers, “Introduction”, 12-25.

In the world of Black Sheep and Minarets: Stereotypes and Cartoons

Repetitions or variations of the SVP posters have been spread by far-right parties around Europe. These representations might seem too tempting in the sense that “one glove fits all”, they can be used no matter the group you want to reach. Peter Burke inserts it into an historical phenomenon called “migration of stereotypes”, referring to the attributed behaviours and physical characteristics that migrated from Jews to witches.¹⁰⁰ Also, which better way to make a stereotype (which actually means “a plate from which an image could be printed”¹⁰¹) migrate than a poster which is not restricted to printing anymore and can easily accessible on the Internet?¹⁰² Repetition is also known to be a powerful rhetoric strategy. According to Michael Pfau (late Professor and Chair of the Department of Communication at the University of Oklahoma) and Roxanne Parrott¹⁰³ (Professor of Communication Arts and Sciences at Penn State University) it can even be relevant and influential for the public’s decision process in a campaign, given its connection to memory. We could even mention an anaphoric tactic of these posters, the fact that one representation has already been used in the form of a poster and debated in some other country in Europe will make it recognized, making it a step ahead in the campaign and possibly creating a consistency needed when the parties are new and not known to the public (the poster and message is backed by a previous one thus, not being alone in the world of representations¹⁰⁴). In terms of poster history, the world has already seen similar cases for example with the poster ‘Your Country Needs YOU’ by Alfred Leete’s, this originally British image and slogan was repeated in similar ways in Italy, Russia, culminating with the even more famous Uncle Sam, ‘I Want you for US Army’¹⁰⁵. This repetition has said to be taken to the extreme with the SVP’s minaret poster (Fig. 1), since as commented by Daniel Saraga in *The Economist*,

100. Burke, *Eyewitnessing...*, 136.

101. Burke, *Eyewitnessing...*, 125.

102. A nationalist website supporter of the PNR teaches how to conceive posters, prepare the glue, where to glue them, and even what to do in situations of confrontation. Causanac, “Manual de colagem de cartazes,” (25 July, 2009), “Causa Nacional” <http://www.causanacional.net/index.php?itemid=225> (accessed 28 April, 2010).

103. Pfau and Parrott, *Persuasive Communication Campaigns*, 223.

104. Pfau and Parrott also mention the relevance of the level of knowledge that an audience has regarding a candidate, product or social issue making the response and memory of the message differ, *Persuasive Communication Campaigns*, 224

105. The history of these posters is told by Maurice Rickards, *The Rise and Fall of the Poster*, 25-9 and also Ruth Walton “Four in Focus” in *The Power of the Poster*, 160-65.

they “not only posted thousands of poster bills across the country, but sent his flyer to every household in Switzerland.”¹⁰⁶

Many far-right posters have chosen cartoons, sometimes in an apparent childish style, implying escapism from the realism of the situation.¹⁰⁷ The style usually magnifies or focuses on certain features of the people portrayed (the case of LN with the poster *Indovina chi è L'ultimo*, Fig. 3 or the SVP minaret poster), or even represent them as non-human. Pigs (used by the PNR in their last campaign, Fig. 6), black sheep (used by the PNR, Fig. 24, but made known by the SVP, Fig. 4), ravens (used by SVP, see Fig. 7, regarding the opposition a referendum for the free movement of workers in 27 EU countries, said to symbolize the new members Romania and Bulgaria¹⁰⁸) and rats (also from the SVP, referring to the last anti-Roma and Italian campaign¹⁰⁹) have been used by some of these parties. It is interesting how all these animals, especially the two last ones, are related to the paradigm that Alain Bihl relates to the “*heterophobia*”¹¹⁰ definition of the pure and the impure (also the fear of difference, this will be further explained in the following sub-chapter). Ravens¹¹¹ are known by not only taking shiny things from people, but usually being seen revolving around garbage dumps, rats are usually associated to sneaky creatures taking food items without anyone noticing, or even dirty, wandering around sewers and having been historically carriers of different diseases¹¹². This representation shows how minorities are subjected to biologic or

106. Daniel Saraga, comment on “The black sheep of Swiss politics,” “The Economist”, comment posted 13, October 2007 http://www.economist.com/blogs/certainideasofeurope/2007/09/the_black_sheep_of_swiss_polit (accessed 28 April 2010).

107. This approach is also present in the four minigames diffused by the SVP where a goat serves to kick black sheep out of the country (the only way of winning the game is actually by voting on the SVP).

108. Steve A. Seidman, “Another Anti-Immigrant Poster”, Posters and Election Propaganda Blog, (7 March, 2009) http://www.ithaca.edu/rhp/depts/stratcomm/blogs/posters_and_election_propaganda/another_anti-immigrant_poster_in_switzerland/ (accessed 26 March, 2011) 60% favoured the referendum

109. Euronews, “Swiss far-right behind Anti-Roma poster”, (2 October, 2010) <http://www.euronews.net/2010/10/02/swiss-far-right-behind-anti-roma-poster/> (accessed 10 April, 2011), some sixty posters were said to have been posted in the canton of Tessin, which borders Italy.

110. Bihl, *L'Actualité d'un Archaisme...*, 22-3.

111. A similar animal, the crow, is also used as an offensive name for black skin people.

112. The word rat is said to come from Germanic origin, “the animal having come from the East with the race-migrations”, with this definition there could surely be an offensive connection towards immigrants, “Rats” in Online Etymology Dictionary <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?search=rats&searchmode=none> (accessed 26 March, 2011).

hygiene metaphors, and how the native population is living side to side to people that might not only bring the ruin and disappearance of their identities, but also contaminate and transmit their behaviours, showing that a biological side of identity prevails. Alain Bihl refers to it as “*mixophobia*”, when the concept of “‘heterophobia’ then turns itself into *mixophobia*: a fear of disappearance of the pure and clean (in all the senses of the word) for the contamination/confusion/transfusion with the other.”¹¹³ As he refers, despite humanity’s heterogeneous characteristic the extreme-right closes itself in communities so narrowly constructed that “the remains of humanity declines in a gradation between man and animal.”¹¹⁴ Although the *Front National* has not used similar depictions in its posters, Bihl also presents and analyses a discourse by Jean-Marie Le Pen, where he claims that “Since there is no immigration control, there is no moral or health control. We see a series of detestable conditions in terms of health, but also in terms of budgets multiplying regarding public health.”¹¹⁵ In a way, as rats were the carriers of plague during Middle Ages, foreigners seem to have been the bearers “plague and cholera once, formerly of syphilis, and of AIDS today”¹¹⁶, and quoting a speech from Le Pen again, “the strong re-entrance of syphilis is undoubtedly from foreign origin.”¹¹⁷ A curious article by Julia Slater in the Swiss Info website, explores the idea of animals used in Swiss posters questioning different experts and certain stereotypes. So, while Pirmin Schwander, head of SVP’s committee says that, “[...] ravens are aggressive, cunning and devious”¹¹⁸, the bird protection society BirdLife Switzerland claims “Ravens are certainly not plunderers,” and that “they make the most of food people leave out for them, or which they find for themselves.”¹¹⁹ However, they have “been the birds of the gibbet. People think of them picking out the eyes of corpses

113. Bihl, *L’Actualité d’un Archaisme...*23.

114. Bihl, *L’Actualité d’un Archaisme...*, 25.

115. Ibid., 87 (quoted from *Les Français d’abord*, op. cit. p. 113).

116. Ibid., 87.

117. Ibid., 87, quoted from F. Landon, “Le Pen est-il un obsédé sexuel?”, in *L’Événement du Jeudi*, 10-17 mars 1988. The question of the sexuality and the Other is also discussed in Pickering, regarding “power relation that support a ‘fixed’ social sexual order” giving the example the “Arab revolutionary threat”, *Stereotyping...*, 164.

118. Julia Slater, “Exploiting the Animals we Love to Hate”, *Swissinfo.ch*, Feb 6, 2009, http://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/politics/internal_affairs/Exploiting_the_animals_we_love_to_hate.html?cid=7199842, (accessed in 16 February, 2011).

119. Julia Slater, “Exploiting the Animals...”, 2009.

and such like"¹²⁰, at the same time, as the article reports, they have installed themselves through popular culture, in child stories, or even through our language.

Depicting people as animals has been recurrent along History. The Dutch specialist in social semiotics and discourse analysis and researcher of visual communication Theo van Leeuwen (dean of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Technology, Sydney) reminds us of black people in 19th century America being called ‘coons’¹²¹ because of the physical aspect of raccoons, “scientific as well as popular racism may appeal to such analogies with the animal world.”¹²² David Crowley¹²³, also notes the German and British Darwinism that started to appear with posters. Caricatures with apes were particularly popular, which “species”, “ethnicity” or “race” would be the best fit to survive was often depicted, obviously spreading prejudices and opening the way for stereotypes¹²⁴. This also explains their usage in political rhetoric, usually with negative connotations. Not only animal personifications, but behaviours and attributions, Charteris-Black gives the example of the frequent usage of the verb ‘creep’¹²⁵ in political discourses. More recently in history, terrorists have often been attributed the catalogue of “dangerous animals”, used not so often with a humorous weight, but more related to the irrational and ‘non human’ characteristic. In this context, while analysing George W. Bush’s speeches Charteris-Black refers how “his metaphors slide down the Great Chain of Being from hunted animals to ‘parasites’ in need of total elimination.”¹²⁶ A later comparison is made with Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*, regarding the usage of the ‘parasite’ metaphor for the Jews, and how a Great Chain of

120. Ibid., 2009.

121. ‘Racoon’ has also been used more recently as an insult to Arab people, said to be referred to the “dark around the eyes” in John C Glass, “Racial Slurs Database”, John C Glass Website, 2003, <http://www.johncglass.com/racialslurs.htm> (accessed 26 March, 2011). The word is actually said to come from the Portuguese “barrancos”, “a building constructed to hold slaves for sale”, “Coons”, Online Etymology Dictionary, <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?search=coon&searchmode=none> (accessed 26 March, 2011).

122. Theo Van Leeuwen, “Semiotics and Iconography,” in *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, ed. Theo Van Leeuwen and Carey Jewitt, (London: Sage, 2001), 107.

123. Crowley, “Protest and Propaganda...”, 113.

124. More on this “vulgarised form of knowledge” in Pickering, *Stereotyping: The Politics of Representation*, 126-137.

125. Charteris-Black, *Politicians and Rhetoric...*, 24. Further ahead he also dedicates a sub-chapter to this metaphor, taking into account its usage by Margaret Thatcher, that was “employed to add colour and a touch of lightness and humour to political discourse”, 109.

126. Charteris- Black, *Politicians and Rhetoric...*, 182, More about the relevance of the comparison of “parasites, microbes and disease” and its association to Jews in *Mein Kampf* in Paul Chilton, *Analysing Political Discourse*, 52.

Being was also created in terms of evil and good. In fact, the rhetoric employment of men as animals also exists in an ideological relation, as by Alain Bihr's quotation of Heinrich Himmler, "national-socialism is but applied biology."¹²⁷

At the same time, the connection of humour and these cartoons seems rather near. While describing the Cold War era poster 'Careless Talk Cost Lives', the book designer Ruth Walton mentions in the chapter "Four in Focus" for Margaret Timmers' book, that people "seemed to 'yearn for humour'"¹²⁸, and that the popularity of the poster made it desirable for displays in shops or restaurants, and even being reproduced in handkerchiefs. In a way, the same situation applies to these cartoonish far-right depictions, this need of humour makes the posters acceptable and even trendy. The SVP has, for example, made caps and ties out of their white sheep kicking the black sheep. It is interesting how humour is used in different ways in the posters while the Portuguese PNR ones, especially in Fig. 6, seem to be somewhat cheap and vulgar, it slightly differs from the response of the group Gato Fedorento (Fig. 28), that has somewhat made a parody of the original PNR poster. The problem with humour, in one case or the other, seems to be closely related to "who is left out", as Pfau and Parrott refer to when it comes to successful political campaigns¹²⁹, it is not only that everyone finds the same things funny, but that more than often humour is not an equalizer.

Even advertising agencies understand these representations in poster design. In the article previously cited, Philippe Meyer, Managing Director of the Saatchi & Saatchi Simko tells us that, "It's much easier to express an idea through symbols using animals, than by presenting them through human beings, people only have a few seconds to grasp what you are trying to tell them, and the use of symbols makes it easier to get the message across."¹³⁰ It is also true that many parties use the image of the animal as a representation for tenderness, strength (along the line of far-right imagery we could mention the British National Party that uses the lion as their symbol), or courage. Such imagery seems to imply the weightlessness of the representations; they should not be

127. Bihr, *L'Actualité d'un Archaisme...*, 34. More recently it seems that the metaphor of "Immigrants are Animals" was also evidenced by Santa Ana in a 1999 study of the Los Angeles Times, referred by Charteris-Black, *Politicians and Rhetoric...*, 16.

128. Ruth Walton, "Four in Focus" in *Power of the Poster*, 154.

129. Pfau and Parrott, *Persuasive Communication Campaigns*, 219.

130. Slater, "Exploiting the Animals...".

taken seriously since they are vulgar, childish and abstract. Moreover, hiding behind these characteristics they are also not responsible (thus an innocent connotation comes to join) for any interpretation possible. On the other hand, the humorous quality of the cartoon is emptied here by the attack represented; they do not imply satire or irony, but pure cruelty, a detachment from reality is not possible. As far representations through cartoons are concerned, Theo van Leeuwen also points out their connotation, “Cartoon drawings can create distance in other ways, for instance through stereotypical modes of depiction.”¹³¹

Lega Nord's poster *Indovina Chi è L'ultimo* in Fig. 3 seems to relate quite well to the capacity that the far-right has of identifying, representing and isolating the minorities. A “yellow” and long-toothed Asian reminding the Chinese or Vietnamese communities, a likely “chubby” Romani woman with a baby, an African black skin man with sunglasses and necklaces and a “threatening” Arab in a *Thoub* or *Dishdashah* clothing and with a dagger or scimitar. All of them in their traditional attire and associated stereotypes, but at the same time putting their own interests ahead of the “native”, an old man. This way it seems easy that the country's population will justify their non-acceptance or seem the foreigner as part of “them”. This stereotypical individual representation shows how *Lega Nord* accepts that one individual might represent its community of origin, if through nothing else, at least through the blood that runs in his/her veins. In this poster, it's not only the minorities that are isolated and represented but also the supposed native, the fact that the elderly man with a cane is left for last and even pushed by the representation of a man from an Arab or Muslim country, could be related to what Banks and Gingrich refer as a “rhetoric of caring compassion: for example, that more of the state budget will be spent on the elderly and infirm...”¹³². Adding to that, it seems that *Lega Nord*'s rhetoric in this poster comes close to the “hard-work ethic”¹³³ referred by Jaro Stacul, (particularly useful when using the north of Italy against the south) which in this poster seems to fit quite well taking into account that the queue could might well be ‘queuing’ for work, health or housing. Either way, as the ‘native’, the other individuals are also dependent of the state and not autonomous and independent to

131. Van Leeuwen, “Semiotics and Iconography,” 100

132. Banks and Gingrich, “Introduction” in *Neo-Nationalism in Europe and Beyond...*, 20.

133. Jaro Stacul, “Neo-Nationalism or Neo-localism? Integralist Political Engagements in Italy at the Turn of the Millenium” in *Neo-Nationalism in Europe and Beyond...*, 172.

have their own resources; it seems to be useful for Prime Minister Berlusconi then to be seen as the antithesis of this stereotype, a hard-working man. In a way, this fits the image of a fragmented society and especially which are the main needs, employment and salaries, health, education. As the French sociologist Michel Wieviorka remarks (quoted by Pascal Perrineau), “In an industrial society, one is either above or below, but everyone has its place; with the polarization of society, one is either inside or outside.”¹³⁴ Not only that, but this “hard-work” rhetoric reminds us of the concept of *underclass*, used by the Americans, and highlighted by Wieviorka in *Democracy to the Test*. Referring the importance of the morality attached to the term, and quoting Sophie Body-Gendrot, “The underclass violates the American ethic related to work, success and to family [...] the dependency goes against the sacred principle according to which the individual should be capable of maintaining his own needs.”¹³⁵ At the same time, in his book *The Difference* he refers how “the aging of the population, the rise of health demands and searches, the growing of unemployment play, in reality, the same effects on welfare and redistribution states conceived and developed in a strong historic juncture of growth a full employment. And, once again, the temptation is great to attribute the difficulties to the immigrants, accused of abuses and perversion of the systems, even if they give them as much as they receive from them.”¹³⁶

Unemployment as a subject is present not only through this *Legia Nord* poster, but also in the Portuguese party PNR, in Fig. 6 or Fig. 24. This type of rhetoric is obviously present in the history of the political poster (possibly even since the foundation of political parties). David Crowley gives the example of the British Labour Party’s poster in 1910, *Workless*, where “the social realist image represented the dreadful ennui and impotence of unemployment...”¹³⁷ Later on, the message was still subverted by the Conservative Party in 1978, *Labour Isn’t Working*, and later in 1979, *Labour Still Isn’t Working*¹³⁸. In both of these latter versions a long queue is presented waiting at the unemployment office, making an analogy to *Legia Nord*’s poster. The posters said to

134. Perrineau, “Le Front National...”, 250.

135. Michel Wieviorka, “O Nacionalismo” in *A democracia à prova: Nacionalismo, Populismo, Etnicidade* (“Democracy to the Test: Nationalism, Populism, Ethnicity”), (Lisboa: Instituto Piaget, 1995), 73.

136. Michel Wieviorka, *A Diferença*, (“The Difference”), (Lisboa: Fenda, 2002), 108.

137. Crowley, “Protest and Propaganda”, 104.

138. Described by Crowley, “Protest and Propaganda”, 104-5 and Seidman, *Posters, Propaganda and Persuasion in Election Campaigns...*, 152-3.

have worked due to their simple and clear mood and message¹³⁹. It is clear that the fear of unemployment is played as a modern issue, responsible for the fall and rise of different governments, their reference in *Lega Nord*'s or PNR's posters remind the relevance it has as an interest and worry for the people and as a matter that these parties could solve.

The choices that the SVP has made for the representations in their posters have helped to associate a certain image with a 'type'. In Europe black sheep have become the way of representing immigrants and minorities as well as women in *niqab* for the Muslim communities.¹⁴⁰ Alain Bihl mentions how "Xenophobia does not see the foreigner in its quality of a singular individual, he is the typical representative of a foreigner group. Its fundamental paradigm is not the opposition me/you but us/you, us/them."¹⁴¹ Why then, have these particular representations been selected? With the minaret poster (Fig. 1) the choice of the woman is a rather intelligent one. Why not a man, since they are the ones appointed for most terrorist acts? Possibly, that would have been too risky after the "*Jyllands-Posten* Muhammad cartoons controversy", a series of 12 editorial cartoons that depicted Muhammad for the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* in 2005 (the caricature connoted that not only Muslims were possible terrorists, but the Prophet itself, adding to that the prohibition of images of Muhammad by Islam should be reminded). Although at first glance women might seem easy targets, the fact is that the West has also absorbed the idea that there also exist female suicide bombers, the idea of the terrorist haunting the West. Nevertheless, it could also be considered a criticism to Sharia in comparison to the equality of men and women of the West.¹⁴² The rhetoric of the 'oppressed woman'/'threatening women' within Muslim religion seems to be currently used by different parties, not only the far-right¹⁴³, in whatever way it

139. Seidman quoting Maurice Saatchi regarding the creation of the poster *Posters, Propaganda and Persuasion in Election Campaigns...*, 152.

140. Regarding representations with black sheep some examples include PNR and Spanish party National Democracy (*Democracia Nacional*), Czech party National Party (*Národní Strana*), and relating the Minaret poster; FN and Polish group Europe for the Future.

141. Bihl, *L'actualité d'un archaïsme...*, 150.

142. The minaret ban campaign has, in fact, started a discussion on women's rights, being called as a "dirty campaign" by some, it has also had the support of feminists in Mathew Campbell, "Women Lead in Swiss vote to ban Minarets" *Times Online*, <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/europe/article6936267.ece> (accessed 10 May, 2010).

143. Some far-right parties have in fact strongly defended the equal rights of women and men (in many of them women have high positions), usually in opposition to Islam, for more see Mudde,

may serve the purpose intended, for example, to justify the recent passed and accepted law in France regarding the prohibition of the use of the veil in public spaces. In Belgium, deputies also approved this prohibition claiming public safety, women's dignity and respect for democratic principles, the law is yet to be approved. However, this depiction also absorbs the idea, which is valid historically and culturally in the West, of women in an inferior social relation, representing them as the sinner and carrier of evil. It would also be interesting to analyse the presence of women in political posters and how often their association is related to religious symbolism, submissive or libertarian, Eve or Mary Magdalene, or even a Virgin Mary, the reference is most of the times there. The covered woman, even if being a devotional religious element, in a Western perspective it can connote (or criticize) the idea that she is hiding something, but also choosing this icon alone could pass the idea of closure to the Western culture; she is not "assimilating". The question of the veil is also rather interesting when it comes to more common propaganda usage, the white that is usually used in women's veils or scarves, associated to Catholicism and to purity, but also to a soft and innocent woman is in this case, due to religious beliefs, a black one. This might create a cultural antithesis, of the pure and impure, or of light and darkness. A similar depiction of a "woman" was also used by the FN in the poster in Fig. 25 and a girl also appears in FN poster in Fig. 11. Women have again been represented by the SVP in two images for an online campaign. One of them shows four young women from the back and naked holding hands in the shores of Lake Zurich. The other, a supposed after, elderly women submersed in muddy waters fully dressed (supposedly Bosnian or Albanian)¹⁴⁴, this imagery was also used as part of a video titled "Heaven or Hell" that showed Swiss people working in multinational companies in one footage, and on the other, Muslim man sitting around¹⁴⁵. It seems relevant to question the presence of these women; Stuart Hall mentions how "Gender differences become extremely important in nation-building activity because they are a sign of an irresistible natural hierarchy at the centre of civic

Populist Radical Right Wing Parties in Europe, 96-97 where the example of the SVP is also given.

144. Nick Squires, "Anti-Immigrant Political Party Issues Images of Naked Women", *The Telegraph*, (19 November, 2010) <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/italy/8146696/Anti-immigrant-political-party-issues-image-of-naked-models.html> (accessed 15 April, 2011).
145. Geoff Dean, "The Swiss People's Party and Islamic Immigration", *The SOP* (3 December, 2009) <http://thesop.org/story/international/2009/12/03/the-swiss-peoples-party-and-islamic-immigration.php> (accessed 15 April, 2011).

life. The unholy forces of nationalist bio-politics intersect on the bodies of women charged with the reproduction of absolute ethnic difference and the continuance of the blood line. The integrity of the nation becomes the integrity of its masculinity.”¹⁴⁶ In the same lines, Umut Özkirimli discusses the role of women in nationalism (and how little they have been taken into account in this question) and refers to women and as the “symbolic border guards”¹⁴⁷ justifying the control of women in having children or behaving “properly”, an historic ‘burden of representation’ takes place. And thus, that is why, gender differences and hierarchy, and consequently, family structure become relevant in nation building and nationality for “the fatherland”. The depiction of this woman also takes us back to the ‘exoticism’ that Said mentioned in *Orientalism*¹⁴⁸. In fact, this ‘exoticism’ is also explained by Alain Bihr in the way that the relation with the foreigner might be a mix of attraction and repulsion, “The foreigner can, at the same time, delight me, seduce me, fascinate me for its difference, its apparent bizarreness, his/hers ‘exoticism’ (let us understand: what I perceive as an exoticism), for his/hers capacity to be or to seem, without a doubt, what I can never be and what I can hardly look like.”¹⁴⁹. She has no individual features apart from the only open space that shows us her eyes that, in fact, look at us in a questioning or defying way.¹⁵⁰ Although she looks at us we are also defied to look back at her and wonder what she is hiding or thinking. In fact, we can but wonder, if it would be really a woman “hiding” under the *niqab*. All in all, playing a gender-riddle could also be the case, is it a “proper” woman? An “integrated” woman? A dangerous one? Is it a “woman”? The minarets, standing on the Swiss flag, could be considered as “object-signs”¹⁵¹ connoting the “myths” of Islam. Their frightening missile shape, as often called by the media, gives the association with threat and attack done on the Swiss society, but also to Europe itself as the domination of the skyline is something historical in Western society.¹⁵²

146. Hall, “Diaspora and the Detours of Identity”, 333.

147. Özkirimli, “New Approaches to Nationalism”, 208.

148. However, it should be noted that Orientalism as the a form of “taste” or “trend” is much more refined, even if still stereotyped, in visual depictions than cartoon and caricature visions of the East.

149. Bihr, *L'actualité d'un archaïsme...*, 152.

150. Jewitt mentions that Kress and van Leeuwen have called these pictures “demand pictures”; “In this way they ‘make contact’ with the viewers, establish an (imaginary) relation with them.” Carey Jewitt and Rumiko Oayama, “Visual Meaning: A Social Semiotic Approach”, 145.

151. Concept mentioned by van Leeuwen, “Semiotics and Iconography”, 103.

152. Synagogues were usually built in a lower height than churches.

The Use of Photography for Myth and Fear

However, not all of these posters imitate one other and not all of them contain cartoons. These are the cases of the FN poster with the photograph of de Gaulle (Fig. 9), the PNR and their airplane (Fig. 28, right side), or the vessel full with passengers (Fig. 8). As the poster, photography sought to “democratize all experiences by translating them into images.”¹⁵³ Crucial for the vividness in a poster (see Fig. 10), Susan Sontag mentions that “A photograph passes for incontrovertible proof that a given thing happened. The picture may be distorted; but there is always a presumption that something exists, or did exist, which is like what is in the picture.”¹⁵⁴ The usage of photography for poster design was propitious since its origins, artists from the beginning of the 20th century such as Alexander Rodchenko and El Lissitzky vigorously used it, Crowley refers how “its mechanical character suggested modernity, and its reproducibility suggested democracy.”¹⁵⁵ Photography was particularly relevant for political propaganda as well. Steven Seidman tells that “by the late 1920s, several political parties were featuring photographs in their election posters”¹⁵⁶, some years later John Heartfield would immortalize his work through this tool in a counter-propaganda fight.

In the FN poster of de Gaulle there is a mythic quality attached to it, which might be defined as iconological symbolism, as it is said by Steven Heller “icons are enduring, but they are not inviolate. Political image-makers use and distort them for their own “patriotic” purposes.”¹⁵⁷ In fact, this quality in posters seems to be particularly present in France and American elections since the 19th century in France and America, obviously, with the former, the propeller was Napoleon Bonaparte with lithographs of him riding a horse being distributed during campaigns¹⁵⁸. A psychological side of visual politics seems to be quite alive in these cases. Beasley and Danesi highlight how studies for advertisement have inclusively linked the psychoanalytic “mythic unconscious” (personal or/and collective) of a culture to raise certain feelings in the audience.¹⁵⁹ The fact that the politician is dead (not being able to confirm or deny the message “he” is

153. Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, (London: Penguin Books, 1978), 7.

154. Sontag, *On Photography*, 5.

155. Crowley, “Protest and Propaganda”, 118.

156. Steven A. Seidman, *Posters, Propaganda and Persuasion in Election Campaigns...*, 165.

157. Heller, “Polemics and Politics, American Style”, 273.

158. Mentioned by Seidman, *Posters, Propaganda and Persuasion in Election Campaigns...*, 3.

159. Beasley and Danesi, *Persuasive Signs...*, 33.

selling) enhances even more this mythical and mystical quality. To keep alive certain myths seems to strengthen and justify messages we might want to propagate. As they mention further on, “while modern peoples do not require myths to explain their daily life, they do rely on myths to explain the world; they still require the psychological power of the poetic imagination to explain things to them in metaphysical ways.”¹⁶⁰

At the same time, Le Pen’s past support for de Gaulle was rather turbulent. Many French considered the withdrawal of Algeria in 1962 as a betrayal and opposed the President. Le Pen included, that even lost his seat in the National Assembly in the same year and supported a candidate for the 1965 presidential elections for his anti-Gaullist feelings. Quoting de Gaulle in a poster (both in image and text) could never leave out this relation, given the majority of FN’s supporters, and Le Pen himself, that have fought in the Algerian War. Another interesting FN poster was the one for the 2009 European Elections that had the party’s vice-president Louis Aliot, running for MEP. The poster, in a similar style of de Gaulle one, shows Jean Jaurès’ picture and a quotation from him, “To those who have got nothing, the nation is their only asset” and below, “Jaurès would have voted FN!” Taking into account that Jean Jaurès was a Socialist leader, usually associated to the left, the choice of image and text, could reflect not only a provocative aspect of the FN, but also its aim to an over-reaching electorate.

In this sense, the appropriation of de Gaulle's sentence comes close to what d’Appollonia refers as one of the characteristics of the *Front National* “the respectability of the discourse and the notability of the staff”¹⁶¹, being it this way that Le Pen quotes Reagan, or Churchill, not because he respects or believes their ideology but because of this “notability”. It is obvious that it is this, “respectability and notability” that will help to create a credible image for the public, which, according to Pfau and Parrott, is actually identified as the most important component of positive public image¹⁶². It is in fact interesting that the politicians and leaders that Le Pen quotes also have the characteristic to have been relevant in rhetoric skills and closely linked to the media, not by any coincidence the same case applies to him. Later on d’Appollonia also

160. Beasley and Danesi, *Persuasive Signs...*, 77.

161. d’Appollonia, *L’extrême-droite en France...*, 336.

162. The other images commonly identified as important for the formation of impressions are, by order, likability, attractiveness and power (or assertiveness) in Pfau and Parrott, *Persuasive Communication Campaigns*, 226.

mentions Le Pen's approach to Catholicism (approaching groups of Christian-Solidarity) even though he was never seen as a believer¹⁶³. Even if his support for de Gaulle would not have been so strong, this poster implies a regeneration of de Gaulle through Le Pen, in a way, coming close to what Charteris-Black mentions as the "restorative myth"¹⁶⁴.

FN's posters seem to recur quite often to the use of concentration, one of Jean-Marie Domenach (French writer that has analysed political movements) rules of propaganda as mentioned by the Portuguese researcher and specialist on political discourses, campaigns and propaganda Paula Espírito do Santo, gathering in the politician all the various attributes which are intended.¹⁶⁵ In fact, Banks and Gingrich call our attention to the fact that most of nationalist and nationalist parties use notions of kinship in its rhetoric, "the state being represented as 'mother' or 'father' (motherland, fatherland), key individuals may be represented in this idiom either metaphorically (Saddam Hussein) or mythically ('Mother India')." ¹⁶⁶ The importance of strong leaders¹⁶⁷ and the care taken with their image and behaviour is usually taken into account by these parties, visible through Le Pen with his characteristic humour and spunky, constantly appearing on TV¹⁶⁸. Gaillard-Starzmann describes the way his speeches start by 'Frenchmen, Frenchwomen, I love you'. Even if this love is irrelevant for politics or even not believed, the question is also that "[...] no one since de Gaulle has spoken to the French in this way".¹⁶⁹ According to Charteris-Black, "there is, then, an evident tension between evaluation of the linguistic choices that form a text and evaluation of the

163. Jean François Touz, the head for immigration issues for the FN explained the characteristics of the 5th plank for the FN's immigration platform, "Implement a proper policy of assimilation" where, in the end, among other results, "Citizens would get priority in all public benefits, with no religious preferences of any kind." in Frédéric Legrand, "The National Front: Going Soft or Getting Wise? New platform leaves some disappointed", 2007, American Renaissance <http://www.amren.com/ar/2007/03/index.html> (accessed in 3 March, 2011).

164. Charteris-Black, *Politicians and Rhetoric...*, 116.

165. Espírito Santo, *O Processo de Persuasão Política*, 126.

166. Banks and Gingrich, "Introduction", 8

167. Coming back to classic rhetoric, in Ancient Greece the importance of the orator to be *vir bonus*, was tested by the *exemplum* (which was one of the try-outs in *technè rhétorique*). This was transformed in first cent. B.C. into *imago* or *eikôn* defining the incarnation of the virtue in one figure (*imago virtutis* as the archetype of God), according to Roland Barthes, *A Aventura Semiológica* ("The Semiotic Challenge"), trans. Maria S. Cruz, (Lisboa: Edições 79, 1987), 55-8.

168. Gaillard-Starzmann refers how in 1987, after announcing his run for presidential elections, Le Pen "comes back from traveling in the U.S. with a 'new look' copied from TV evangelists. He is the first French politician to adopt this style", in "Regarding the Front National", 181

169. Gaillard-Starzmann, "Regarding the Front National", 185 and 194 for the footnote reference.

behavior of the speaker.”¹⁷⁰ Another example might be given by another FN poster that shows Le Pen, wearing aristocratic clothes and pointing a rifle, incorporated in a painting reminiscent of French Rococo or Neoclassicism style and sporting paintings. Not only the idea of a model or an archetype is passed by these posters, but also endurance of certain times and values that Le Pen believes in. This model, as we will also see further described in the next sub-chapter by analysing the text, is not only related to the “type” of French, but also to the “character”, it seems to go beyond race, nation, language, religion, but also to emotional and personality traits¹⁷¹.

In the poster depicting de Gaulle, the denotative¹⁷² signifier is given by his military suit and the headwear which gives us the denotative signified of a military French man from the 1940’s. The connotators of angle show us a profile of a singular man, thus individualized, facing us in a close shot. Together, these features give us the connotations intended (which Barthes, also quoted in van Leeuwen, inclusively referred to as ‘myths’), the signified could express ‘militariness’, ‘Frenchness’¹⁷³, ‘experience’, ‘power’, and ‘historicity’. In fact, this picture could closely be the one analysed by Barthes in his influential work *Mythologies* (1973), and still, does it work is it understood in the same way by French society? Possibly yes. The official and formal characteristic of the uniform, referred by Peter Burke as “the modern equivalent of the armour”¹⁷⁴, is important to mention, especially taking into account that our modern day politicians commonly appear with unbuttoned shirts or casual looks. Even the background colours, which were originally black and white, have been modified to have shades of blue, one of the party’s colours, but also a colour associated with the French flag. Appearing as a reminiscent of the genre of state portraits, the photograph used remotes the year 1942, portraying de Gaulle in General’s outfit of the Free French Forces. This image then also evokes a sense of resistance of France towards the German occupation of their territories.

170. Charteris-Black, *Politicians and Rhetoric...*, 9.

171. This characteristic is described by Pickering especially during Victorian times in England, when the countries were treated as if they were people in Pickering, *Stereotyping...*, 94.

172. The denotative and connotative meanings will be followed as analysed and exposed by Theo van Leeuwen’s analysis in “Semiotics and Iconography,” 92-118

173. van Leeuwen, “Semiotics and Iconography”, 97

174. Burke, *Eyewitnessing...*, 73

Another use of photography is the case of *Lega Nord's* image of a vessel full of passengers with the text “*Abiamo Fermato L’Invasione*” (“We have Stopped the Invasion”), Fig. 8. There are at least three characteristics in this composition that are interesting to analyse. Firstly, the denotative signifier of the image would be the crowd (none of them are individualized) signifying, along with the vessel, foreign people wandering somewhere in the ocean in a vessel. It does not matter which people there are in the boat, they are perceived as an anonymous mass (connotators like framing would characterize the picture as a ‘long shot’ which has a connotation of distance). It even builds up the message more the fact that the crowd is in a ship in the ocean, calling back to historical terms like “oceanic crowd”, referred by Jeffrey T. Schnapp as “[...] far more ancient, traceable at least as far back as the long standing conflation in Greco-Roman culture of *turbulence*, whether maritime, meteorological, or political, with the *turba*, which is to say, the mob.”¹⁷⁵ This historical characteristic of the “oceanic crowd” seems to have also been relevant in the construction of cities, especially the ones destined for imperial stay, as Schnapp says ahead “[...] like Athens and Rome, at a slight remove from the ocean and its proletarian tides.”¹⁷⁶ The crowd, or “mob” as he refers to, is usually then described in this concept as “unrestrained”, “uncontrollable” or even in another characteristic a “liquidity” feature, serving “as a vehicle less for the loss of boundaries between individuals than for the triumph of (collective) Form: symbolic of pre-modern cultures [...]”¹⁷⁷ We could even remind the saying of “being all in the same boat”, which implies being in a similar situation, but also united against something, in this case, the ship exists in opposition to Italy and Italians. Secondly, as we will further explore in the sub-chapter ahead, the text complements the image, creating the idea of ship of unmeasured proportions invading Italy. This technique of augmenting or magnifying the arguments¹⁷⁸ is considered a propaganda rule (following Domenach’s

175. Andrew T. Schnapp, “Mob Porn” in *Crowds*, ed. Jeffrey Thompson Schnapp and Matthew Tiews (California: Stanford University Press, 2006), 4.

176. Andrew T. Schnapp, “Mob Porn”, 4.

177. *Ibid.*, 5.

178. According to an article by *The Economist*, given the applied diplomacy and foreign deals with immigrant countries (giving the example of Berlusconi’s government agreement with Libya to return citizens before they ask for asylum), numbers by the EU’s border security agency, Frontex are provided that show how the number of immigrants coming has diminished from 2009 to 2010 (150 people in the first quarter of the latter while 5,200 on the previous one). At the same time, the number of people coming by land has always been higher than by sea “No boatloads but still trouble”, (14 August, 2010) <http://www.economist.com/node/16797747> (accessed 3 May, 2011).

guidelines), in this case the ‘threat appeal’ is quite evident (also called ‘*ad baculum*’ argument¹⁷⁹). Thirdly, the picture and text might imply two things. One of them, a sense of unaccomplished prophecy, since the *Lega Nord* was able to “stop the invasion” on time. The other, that this vessel does not contain people that want to enter Italy, but people that the LN has sent away in a vessel (used in the same sense as the airplane in the PNR poster¹⁸⁰, Fig. 28, right side). This “ship metaphor” is referred by Peter Burke as quite common in propaganda, this symbol represented “the ship of state, with the ruler or his chief minister as the pilot”¹⁸¹, and even if there is no visible pilot, the idea would be the surveillance of the route of the ship by the LN. In fact, if we follow Bihr’s theory of “the fetishism of identity” for the extreme-right it seems that this poster exists in pair with the other LN poster depicting the North-American Indian (analysed further below). The second point he makes while explaining “fetishism”, is the phobia of difference or *heterophobia* characterised by its denial to difference, being that everyone that does not belong to this collective identity previously defined, everyone that is “an *other*”, different, foreigner constitutes a menace or a threat to the integrity of this identity¹⁸². Also, as he explains further, this feeling of constant threat, creator of insecurity, is developed by the extreme-right in two dramaturgical gestures. In the first one, the tragic anxiety, haunted by this “end of the world” is represented by a “prophecy of an eminent catastrophe”¹⁸³, quite related to Fig. 8. On the other hand, the second gesture is related to a “pathetic appeal” to stop this prophecy to be accomplished, related then to the poster of Fig. 2, identity should then be preserved, defended and restored fighting a double battle, against the other and oneself¹⁸⁴. It is the usage of “mythical” metaphors that make the message so crucially relevant. Charteris-Black refers how, (giving Margaret Thatcher’s example) the “subliminal use of metaphor can

179. Referred by Manfred Kienpointer as one of the most often arguments in political propaganda, “Racist Manipulation within Austrian, German, Dutch, French and Italian Right-wing populism”, 214.

180. This poster of the PNR and the airplane seems, in fact, reminiscent of another by the FN from 1995 that also included an airplane and had written, “When we come in... They go out!” in Seidman, “Anti-Immigrant Stands and Election Campaigns”, Posters and Election Propaganda Blog. (December 14, 2008) http://www.ithaca.edu/rhp/depts/stratcomm/blogs/posters_and_election_propaganda/anti-immigrant_stands_and_election_campaigns/ (accessed 14 April, 2011)

181. Burke, *Eyewitnessing...*, 60.

182. Bihr, *L'actualité d'un archaïsme...*, 23.

183. *Ibid.*, 24.

184. *Ibid.*, 25.

activate two of the deepest human emotions: love of life and fear of death.”¹⁸⁵ It is because they exist, as the author mentions ahead, in between the rational side of ideology and the unconscious mythical elements that they are able to have such an impact on the public. At the same time, fear appeals work the best when following certain instructions, as mentioned by Anthony Pratkanis, that: “(1) it scares the hell out of people, (2), it offers specific recommendation for overcoming the fear-arousing threat, (3) the recommended action is perceived as effective for reducing the threat, and (4) the message recipient believes that he or she can perform the recommended action.”¹⁸⁶ Although some of the instructions are not clearly followed by the posters themselves, they are surely evidenced on the parties’ programs, where a clear notion that the population can “fight against the threat”, especially by voting in the party.

More recently, it seems that the FN has tried to revert a little fear and myth rhetoric, the posters above seems strikingly different from others by the FN, and it was exactly with this that it caused shock and attention to be drawn to it in 2007. The posters were part of a series of six that had 750,000 print-outs, reactions showed that FN affiliates could not have been more disappointed. According to the interview made by Frédéric Legrand in the article “The National Front: Going Soft or Getting Wise?”, he reports the words of an activist of the party; “The first thing I ever did as an activist for the National Front was put up posters with a picture of an Arab and the words: ‘When we show up, they clear out.’ Well, clearly, things are changing...”¹⁸⁷ Other reported reactions can be described as of betrayal to the “fight for our people” which is obviously characterized by the “French ethnic identity” and challenged by a “mulatto in pink underwear” in the poster. Legrand raises the question of how the party has been characterized as “racist”, although FN claims that its ideology has never been “racial”. And apart from the challenge that it would be for French legal code, he also mentions the several connections to “blacks, Arabs, and Jews” in political campaigns or even singers for the FN mass meetings. Nevertheless, this seems more like a smart and convenient rhetoric, which seems to fit the modern context, in Gingrich and Banks words, “[...] many neo-nationalist leaders have been forced, in view of today’s urban

185. Charteris-Black, *Politicians and Rhetoric...*, 23.

186. Pratkanis, *The Age of Propaganda...*, 165.

187. Legrand, “The National Front: Going Soft or Getting Wise?...” *American Renaissance* <http://www.amren.com/ar/2007/03/index.html> (accessed in 3 March, 2011).

heterogeneity, to depart from earlier nationalist ideals of cultural homogeneity. In most cases this reorientation has been achieved through a new emphasis on either ‘assimilation’ or ‘separation’ of various sorts”¹⁸⁸, far ahead in Legrand’s article he quotes Jacques Vassieux (regional councillor for the FN in Savoy) remark in an interview, that “The NF has adjusted itself to a cosmopolitanism that accepts a change in the very nature of national identity.”¹⁸⁹ This “convenience” seems to be related to the chance of a target public that could move “more towards a working-class and even leftist electorate”¹⁹⁰. As suggested by the new supporter of the party Alain Soral, a Marxist and leftist writer, “the NF has a great future on the left, and by the left [...] by the right and even in non-white suburbs because its values of honor and courage are also those of young Frenchmen of immigrant origin [...]”¹⁹¹, this issue of “left-right” fluctuation of the far-right is present in the poster of Fig. 11. But also, to extend the electorate to those that might be considered as ‘Frenchmen’ and ‘assimilated’ enough to vote in the FN, and in this context seems to fit Bihr’s words that “Le Pen affirms to fight not so much against “immigrants”, which he even presents as “victims”, but more against “immigration””¹⁹² Fig. 11 might seem more like a provocation, not only to the “left-right” spectrum, but also the pose and dress of the girl, that even shows her pink underwear¹⁹³. Looking at the second poster, besides the noticed horizontal construction of the title and the aligned frontal group facing us as walking in a march or manifestation, we read “With Le Pen, All together, we will raise our France”. The photograph shows us that the group and union rhetoric is in place, somewhat in a family-like mode alongside the leader “all together” with a purpose.

So, even if the rhetoric does not have a xenophobic message the nationalist characteristic remains, which proves that, even when one ideological element seems to be missing, the other is reinforced. The image is particularly interesting, showing the leader of the party assuming the central position lifting his head in sign of confidence

188. Banks and Gingrich, “Introduction”, 3.

189. Legrand, 2007.

190. Legrand, 2007.

191. Legrand, 2007.

192. Bihr, *L'actualité d'un archaïsme...*, 82.

193. Legrand mentions how few members of the party have spoken out about the poster, referring even the case of “Bernard Antony, the leader of the traditional Catholics, went no further than to joke that he opposed the poster because the young woman is dressed immodestly.” Legrand, 2007.

but also leadership, on both sides he is accompanied by supporters that seem to represent different age groups, and connote social classes (on the right side two men stand out, one with a suit and the other with casual clothes) and maybe even “ethnic backgrounds”. It is relevant to highlight how it is the youngest and the oldest of the representatives that give the arm to Le Pen. Apart from that, despite the fact that it was this “mulatto girl” that created much discord, she appears in this poster being “patted” on the back by a woman that looks at her with a confident smile, while she looks at us. We could but imagine what this “patting” would mean, but, in a way, it seems quite related to the text in the poster, a condescending smile and support that she is “one of us” and should walk ahead with us. Again, the polemics around this poster is much related to what the FN and France sees as “national identity”, unfortunately, still in our contemporary society, as Pickering refers “ethnic and national identities do often blend closely together, but ethnicity is not a *sine qua non* for national identity”¹⁹⁴. The question seems to be often related by having in the same bag foreigners, legal immigrants¹⁹⁵, illegal immigrants and national citizens of diverse ethnic origins or diasporas (following Stuart Hall’s definition¹⁹⁶) of different origins.

Image and text: A means to an end

In their blog, the Portuguese journalists João Lopes and Nuno Galopim posted a text that had been previously published in “6^a” magazine (part of *Diário de Notícias* newspaper). The text, part of a dossier about the exhibition ‘Art and Propaganda’ (at the Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin), asked the question; “When does an image stop being an image that only wants to seduce and starts being an image of propaganda?”

194. Pickering, *Stereotyping...*, 102. Also referred by Stuart Hall how “to share an identity is apparently to be bonded on the most fundamental levels: national, ‘racial’, ethnic, regional, local...” questioning the idea of ‘Black’ as a shared identity, he asks “Does it refer to genetic differences between people or to the colour of their skins? Is it a descriptive term or a political one? Can you be ‘black’ and ‘British’?” in “Diaspora and the Detours of Identity”, 301-02. Further ahead, he rephrases that “desire to fix identity in the body is inevitable frustrated by the body’s refusal to disclose the required signs of absolute incompatibility which we imagine to be located there”, later using the definition of ‘phenotype’ (325), giving the example of Rwanda where Hutus were unable to verify if the person was a Tutsi or not only by their bodies, 309.

195. In this case the difference between a first generation immigrant (where integration should be done) and second generation immigration (where if there were no integration measures, reactions like disappointment, discontent and a move from society might occur) and further ones should even be taken into account. Presented by Wieviorka analyzing the social difference between first generation from Sri Lanka and second or third from Maghreb in France in Wieviorka, *A Diferença*, 140-142 .

196. Stuart Hall, “Diaspora and the Detours of Identity”, 318.

Or yet: when – and, above all, when – does a propaganda speech meddle in an image, opposing its utopian innocence.”¹⁹⁷ One of the answers given was that the propaganda image tries to enact its own context, not as a given reality, but as something given and untouchable. This may be true in some cases or contexts (as with Leni Riefenstahl and “Triumph of the Will”), but in modern political posters, it is not only the image that conveys the meaning, but also the text. As with the poster in Fig. 13, the image might be much more persuasive than the text, and possibly more emotional, but it’s the text that gives it its shape, that determines it. Without the illustration in form of a question, inflicting a sense of guilt and judgment, the pensive look of the father would not be enough to achieve the goals of the poster. Following Portuguese Professor Tito Cardoso e Cunha (specialist in rhetoric applied to cinema and literature), words, “the iconic dimension of the image is its capacity to mobilize emotions and affections”¹⁹⁸, referring more directly to the real, whereas, at the same time, “the image in itself does not produce persuasion, unless it is accompanied by an oral or written text.”¹⁹⁹ In propaganda or in advertising, image and text should be associated with each other, through the name of the party, the slogan or some longer rhetoric text. Charteris Black refers the importance of sound bites in political discourse rhetoric, “short, memorable and quotable phrases that encapsulate arguments”²⁰⁰, that come closely to the slogans present in some posters. In fact, it is interesting how when comparing American graphic design and European, it was the latter that was always more involved in a total union of image and text, but also much more turned to politics than aesthetics²⁰¹. Tito Cardoso e Cunha²⁰² refers how Plato (in *Gorgias*) had even attributed to the image the contrary of the rhetoric art, so we might wonder how it happened that image and text came to create such strong persuasive tools? The poster should then be referred as an ‘iconotext’, concept quoted from Peter Wagner by Peter Burke and characterized as what, “may be

197. João Lopes, “*Propaganda vs. Informação*” (“Propaganda vs. Information”) Sound + Vision Blog, posted on March 31, 2007 <http://sound--vision.blogspot.com/2007/03/propaganda-vs-informao.html> (accessed 20 April 2010).

198. Tito Cardoso e Cunha, “Retórica da Imagem”, in *Rhetoric and Argumentation in the Beginning of the XXIst Century* ed. Henrique Jales Ribeiro (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 2009), 229.

199. Tito Cardoso e Cunha, “Retórica da Imagem”, 229.

200. Charteris-Black, *Politicians and Rhetoric...*, 5.

201. Heller, “Polemics and Politics, American Style”, 276.

202. Tito Cardoso e Cunha, “Retórica da Imagem”, 223.

‘read’ by the viewer literally as well as metaphorically.”²⁰³ Moreover, in the introductory text to the catalogue “*300 Years of the Poster in Portugal*” by the Portuguese National Library, Rui Rocha refers how “first of all the poster is an image, in the sense that it is only understood by the sensorial process that is vision”²⁰⁴, this being particularly relevant in earlier posters that were only text, but for that reason “[...] different graphics started to be produced, colours, sizes of letters, ornaments of geometric nature that serve to conduct or fix the look of the observer.”²⁰⁵ As we can see in the Portuguese poster (attributed to the National Union, 1945) in Fig. 14. Finally, in this analysis of image and text Rocha’s three dimensions of language for the poster will be taken into account, “[...] the linguistic denotation; the rhetoric and the technical mode of inscription.”²⁰⁶

Image and text are not always balanced, in the posters in Fig. 1, Fig. 3 and Fig. 4 the text just comes to add what the image almost explicitly represents, poses a question or focuses on what is intended by the image. A different situation takes place in the poster of the FN (Fig. 9), where the text next to the image is much longer than a simple slogan. This might be particularly relevant in FN’s case where being the oldest among this group of parties; its leader still considers the importance of a strong and well-built oratory presence, being then reflected in the texts used in the posters, maybe even more than in the images. Although the picture remotes the year 1942 the text is said to come from May, 5 1959.²⁰⁷ Contextualizing this year there are at least two important things that should be mentioned to make meaning of it: the election of de Gaulle for President in November 1958; and the continuous war in Algeria.²⁰⁸ The idea passed by this text seems to relate to these events and to his belief that as head of the state he should represent “‘the spirit of the nation’ to the nation itself and to the world.”²⁰⁹ The text then, serves as propaganda now as it served in the past: as a *pater familias* de Gaulle

203. Burke, *Eyewitnessing...*, 39.

204. Biblioteca Nacional, *300 Anos do Cartaz em Portugal*, (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1974), 14.

205. Fernando Rosas, *Cartazes de Propaganda Política do Estado Novo, 1933-1949* (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 1988), 13.

206. *Ibid.*, 14.

207. The context in which this sentence was said is rather difficult to find, it is usually quoted from the book Alain Peyrefitte, *C’était de Gaulle*, tome 1, éditions de Fallois/Fayard, 1994, 52

208. Wikipedia contributors, "Charles de Gaulle," Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Charles_de_Gaulle&oldid=360328413 (accessed May 7 2010).

209. Wikipedia contributors, "Charles de Gaulle".

was the one that knew what the best was for the common interests of the French people. The text exists almost as a backwards prophecy - what “was true” decades ago still prevails today. It is interesting that despite this “paternalistic” and masculine idea of protection Le Pen still passed on the leadership of the party to his daughter, Marine Le Pen, which has, in fact, followed her father’s attention grabbing rhetoric style by appearing in television and radio shows, with a noticed sense of style and a willing to socialize with other parties. This seems as interesting as Le Pen’s “other innovation”, according to Gaillard-Starzmann, in 1994 he became “the first presidential candidate to be photographed with his wife for the campaign posters”²¹⁰, Jany Le Pen then become a “favourite of popular magazines, which praise her simplicity and love for animals”²¹¹

The picture of de Gaulle by itself would never be enough to define what the FN wants to say, by putting their ideology set upon de Gaulle’s supposed words, it defines and strengthens their objectives: “We are above all a European people of white race, of Greek and Latin culture and of Christian religion.” Nowadays, this message would probably be attacked not only its racist content, but also by a non-secular tone, how values such as the Greek and Latin culture and Christian religion come packed with “white race.” Obviously, the religious question seems to have a particular relevance in current days, where questions of integration and assimilation come to the forum; however, how far are these from the first medieval encounters with the new discovered Other? Using the words of the American political theorist William Connolly’s (Krieger-Eisenhower Professor of Political Science at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore) while describing the Aztec-Spanish missionaries encounter and how tolerance could only be seen as a tactic for conversion, “if innocent, they must be converted; if

210. Gaillard-Starzmann, “Regarding the Front National”, 182.

211. Gaillard-Starzmann, “Regarding the Front National”, 182. This characteristic seems relevant while thinking of gender roles in these parties, Mudde refers how “Once more, the French FN is the most extreme proponent of the instrumentalization of female partners for party purposes, particularly regarding municipal assemblies.” Giving even the example of Nonna Mayer and Mariette Sineau “The hierarchy of the sexes was generally respected: when the husband was mayor the wife was only municipal councilor or at best a deputy-mayor [...] (2002: 81-2)” Mudde, *Populist Radical Right Wing Parties in Europe*, 107.

hopelessly corrupted, they must be conquered or eliminated so the corruption will not be spread”²¹².

Like in the analysis of the Aztec-Spanish encounter, Connolly mentions how there was a fear of losing their Christian identity by helping the other²¹³. The question of identity seems to be, as he mentions, varying in depth, and there is the possibility of an “ontological depth”²¹⁴, constructing itself on a fundamental truth in which the bearer has faith. The FN poster it seems to use the three formulae of collective identity referred by Alain Bihr; “*the Western*, sometimes mixed with ‘the white race’, in fact, the ‘Arian race’ (excluding Semites: Jews and Arabs); the *European civilization*, identified as Christian, Celtic or indo-European; and the *nation* or the *region*.”²¹⁵ While saying that “If not, France will not remain France” takes us back to Bihr’s “threat of identity”, while at the same time Le Pen has also been said similar words “For France to remain France there must be a real difference between the true French and the others”²¹⁶ Excluding this “others” construction, both de Gaulle and Le Pen mention that France, might, in a future, not be France anymore. As mentioned by the French political scientist and specialist of electoral sociology Pascal Perrineau, it is “as a ghost, from which a mythic French original purity will submerge, from an overflowing and destabilizing immigration.”²¹⁷ The title and the signature of the poster seem to call our attention, it is signed by FN’s youth wing that adds “l’esprit de résistance!” and calls for French youth to defend their identity. This “résistance” reminds us again of World War II, but it also seems important to stress this youth support, because it reveals not only a broad scope of the FN, but also contradicts certain associations that de Gaulle would have to an older generation with conservative ideals²¹⁸. Turning down the path France

212. William E. Connolly, “Identity and Difference in Global Politics – Discovery of the Other”, *International/Intertextual Relations: Postmodern Readings of World Politics* (New York: Lexington Books, 1989), 328.

213. Connolly, “Identity and Difference in Global Politics...”, 329.

214. *Ibid.*, 331.

215. Bihr, *L’actualité d’un archaïsme...*, 21.

216. Pascal Perrineau, “Le Front National...”, 267.

217. Perrineau, “Le Front National...”, 267.

218. The British far-right party BNP has also used in their posters “Christian messages” depicting the image of Jesus and the text “If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you”. In another one, Churchill’s image and the text “Join the British Resistance!” in Seidman, “Increased Support for the BNP”, Posters and Election Propaganda Blog, (October 28, 2009) http://www.ithaca.edu/rhp/depts/stratcomm/blogs/posters_and_election_propaganda/increased_support_for_the_british_national_party/ (accessed 14 April, 2011).

chose to take after the May of '68, the youth is now recovering the image that their parents' generation refused. In fact, Perrineau²¹⁹ refers that the FN electorate is mainly masculine, young (one of the youngest among French parties, 18% are in the ages 18-24 and only 11% are more than 65%), active and interclass's, thus distinguishing from the classic right²²⁰. The poster then, seems to question the 'Frenchness' of people, but also to define restrictively what means to be French, in any way, this "othering" is transversal, be it with a French Algeria, or nowadays with immigration. In the other way around, by stereotyping the other a boundary is being built, as told by Pickering, it exists "as a rhetorical strategy of exclusion, made in the interests of the unified collective identity, stereotypical othering seeks to deny not only its historical basis but also its basis in dependency on that which it casts out to the periphery."²²¹

It is a combination of text (or slogan) and image that might call for and incite a more physical acting, this is particularly relevant in the posters of FN in Fig. 9 and 12. While defining the propagation of ideas through manipulation (instead than propaganda) Paul Chilton (Professor and theorist specialized in cognitive linguistics and critical discourse analysis) uses Dan Sperber's notion of "epidermology" to explain "how the 'idea' affects the 'organism'"²²². At the same time, he explains the relation of metaphors with "source domains" (the origin or background for something) and "target domain" (the objective or conclusion)²²³. He claims that "source domains have a clear tendency to be based in human physiological experience of the physical and the social world."²²⁴ Using words like, "*relevons*" or "*defends*" intends dynamism or productivity, they are intrinsically connected not only to our body, but to a full and vivid cultural and

219. Perrineau, "Le Front National...", 261.

220. Perrineau also informs us of the amount of organizations that the FN has created among them: the Organization of War Veterans, Organization of Women, Organization of Peasants, many of these existing with a European scope in Perrineau, "Le Front National...", 274. Antonis A. Ellinas (Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Cyprus, specialist on far-right parties in Western Europe) refers more than twenty org. highlighting the relevance of the Institut de Formation Nationale, created in 1985 to organize training functions across the country giving strong emphasis over the party ideology, even launching a volume with checklists for how to set up a local branch, deal with the press and design party posters, in Antonis A. Ellinas, in "Growth, Persistence, and Fall of the French National Front", *The Media and the Far Right in Western Europe*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 180.

221. Pickering, *Stereotyping...*, 49.

222. Paul Chilton, "Manipulation, Memes and Metaphors – The Case of *Mein Kampf*", *Manipulation and Ideologies in the 20th Century Discourse, Language and Mind*, ed. Louis de Saussure and Peter Schulz, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2005), 17.

223. Chilton, "Manipulation, Memes and Metaphors...", 22-4

224. *Ibid.*, 23.

historical memory that tell us (an “us” that is certainly defined and imagined) how to picture *raising* or *defending* our country, the exact location is also not forgotten (appeals to violence and to behave as little soldiers are not excluded). Not only that but, the fact that the verbs are usually declined in the first person plural, *iremos*, “we will”, in PNR poster (Fig. 6), *abbiamo*, “we have” in *Lega Nord* poster (Fig. 8), *relevons*, “we will rise” in FN poster (Fig. 12), or *Nós dizemos não*, “we say no”, in PNR poster (Fig 24), create the idea of insiders. Whereas the usage of the third person plural, like in *Ils ont tout cassé*, “they broke everything” in FN poster (Fig. 11), or *loro hanno subito... ora vivono*, “they have suffered... now they live...” in *Lega Nord* poster (Fig. 2) creates the idea of outsiders. Paul Chilton refers to these as “social indexes”²²⁵. At the same time, “spatial indexes” are mentioned every time a country is represented by words or even by an image, such as the map or the flag. The usage and the significance of the map should be highlighted in the SVP poster, Fig. 7, the PNR’s in Fig. 22 or FN’s in Fig. 23, not only important when it comes to the connection of the ideology of the parties to the land, but also to a claim of territoriality where a belonging corresponds to. As Alain Bihr refers the individual is connected to its origins since birth and the rupture with the place where they were born (as it is the case with immigrants) is considered sacrilege²²⁶, even a speech by Le Pen, where “the permeability of our borders”²²⁷ is emphasized. It is in fact a characteristic that many of these parties seem to define Europe in the de Gaullian stance “from the Atlantic to the Urals” (usually opposing to a further EU enlargement). At the same time, the importance of temporal *deixis* is also mentioned by Paul Chilton, acquiring its significance since it can “assume a particular historical periodisation.”²²⁸ So, whereas the *Stopp Ja* of the SVP (Fig. 1) translates itself into the immediacy of the present, the need of action “now”, the *Ora vivono nelle reserve* (Fig. 2), tells us that “Now” they live in a reservation, after the immigration wave. These words are closely related to the importance of emotional appeals in campaigns, Pfau and Parrott define verbal intensity as “the distance from neutral that a message presents itself to be, the use of adverbs, and death and sex metaphors”²²⁹ (the ‘invasion’, the

225. Chilton, *Analysing Political Discourse...*, 56.

226. Bihr, *L'actualité d'un archaïsme...*, 86.

227. Bihr, *L'actualité d'un archaïsme...*, 88. cited by F. Landon, “Le Pen est-il un obsédé sexuel?”, in *L'Événement du Jeudi*, 10-17 mars 1988.

228. Chilton, *Analysing Political Discourse...*, 56.

229. Pfau and Parrott, *Persuasive Communication Campaigns*, 221.

‘reservation’, etc.) and verbal immediacy, as the “degree of directness between speaker and an object, as assessed by the message itself”,²³⁰ (may it be the personal pronouns used or the temporal *deixis*).

The photograph used by the FN in Fig. 12 of people walking “onto something” can actually work in two senses, as described by Paul Chilton: a more individual one, “to achieve specific actions”²³¹; or a more ideological one, where examples such as “*the long march of socialism, advancing towards the defeat of capitalism, moving towards a better future*”²³² are given. Charteris-Black mentions these as “journey metaphors”²³³ (originally used by Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) usually bearing a positive connotation creating solidarity among an intended group. There is usually destination and direction (mostly forward), and a certain speed or transport (the walk might be connected to the idea of marches, whereas mechanical transport, like a ship, can connote, as he mentions, “the great epics” of European culture). Finally, the “historical journey metaphor [...] for spiritual purposes”²³⁴ that is divided into two types: pilgrimage and crusade. These could be relevant for far-right parties’ posters; however, with the exception of *Jobbik*, the Hungarian far-right party, they have not been seen. The concept of metaphor is undoubtedly crucial in this sub-chapter, Charteris-Black explains the importance of Critical Metaphor Analysis that intends to identify metaphors, interpret and, finally, explain them. According to him, “the discourse role of metaphor is to legitimate policies by accessing the underlying social and cultural value system [...] (it’s) linguistic characteristic is that it causes semantic tension either by reification or personification.” Taking this notion, reification occurs, for example, in FN’s poster of “Relevons notre France”, personification, and “depersonalification” (referred by Charteris-Black) happen more visually than textually. Any time a sheep, a crow or a rat is used to personify an immigrant, it is, in fact, “depersonalifying” it. Personifications seem to be particularly powerful because they “provide a concrete and accessible framework for the evaluation of abstract political ideologies. They activate emotions originating in pre-existent myths about classes, nations and other social and ethnic groupings etc.”²³⁵ The metaphors used

230. Pfau and Parrott, *Persuasive Communication Campaigns*, 222.

231. Chilton, “Manipulation, Memes and Metaphors – The Case of *Mein Kampf*”, 23.

232. Chilton, “Manipulation, Memes and Metaphors – The Case of *Mein Kampf*”, 23

233. Charteris Black, *Politicians and Rhetoric...*, 45.

234. Charteris-Black, *Politicians and Rhetoric...*, 209.

235. *Ibid.*, 204.

by these parties transmit most of the times their ideology²³⁶ and main programme issues, there are visual or textual metaphors that could, in fact, be grouped.

Continuing with the question of metaphors, Manfred Kienpointner mentions how their “cognitive impact on our perception of the world and, more specifically, on our perception of social groups, political parties and questions of morality”²³⁷ has been proven. This is the case with the “invasion” metaphor²³⁸ that is used in the LN poster in Fig. 8, very connected to the ‘*ad populum*’ argument²³⁹ (‘mob appeal’). Other figures of speech could also be mentioned as relevant to the rhetoric present in these posters. Metonymy is present in the SVP poster referring to Schengen, whereas this is a village in Luxembourg in this case it refers clearly to the Schengen Agreement and the creation of a Schengen area (Fig. 17). Synecdoche exists could be referred to exist visually when a figure in a *niqab* is supposed to represent Islam, with SVP, Fig. 1, or with the FN, Fig. 25. Entailment and presupposition are possibly one of the most present, the PNR claims “We want national production, Work for the Portuguese”, therefore meaning that there is no national production, or that the products consumed are mainly coming from the outside (Fig. 6), whereas the LN inquires “Guess who is the last...” (Fig. 3).

The poster by *Lega Nord* in Fig. 2 also shows its relevance in its text-image combination, with the depiction of a North-American Indian and the text “They have suffered Immigration – Now they live in a reservation!” where again, using Alain Bihr’s words, the idea of a “‘fetishised’ collective identity”²⁴⁰, seems to become sacralised consequently defining this identity in a bio-ethnic context, “the biologic determinism”. Using what it seems like an old chromolithography *Lega Nord* transmits in a more vivid way, what Bihr refers to as the cult of the past, of the dead, the great

236. Charteris-Black notes that “[...] because metaphor draws on two domains by relating abstract notions to our experience of concrete realities, it is an effective way of making an abstract ideology accessible because it is affective.”, *Ibid.*, 22.

237. Manfred Kienpointner, “Racist Manipulation within Austrian, German, Dutch, French and Italian Right-wing populism”, 229.

238. Also referred by Kienpointner to be used in discourses by Le Pen. On the other hand, the “natural catastrophe” metaphor of immigration as a “flood” (which is closely related to the *Lega Nord*) is used by Le Pen, the German Ronald Schill and the late Dutch Pim Fortuyn, Kienpointner, “Racist Manipulation within...”, 229.

239. Referred by Kienpointner as one of the most often arguments in political propaganda, “Racist Manipulation...”, 214.

240. Bihr, *L'actualité d'un Archaïsme...*, 16.

ancestries and of traditions²⁴¹. The fear represented by the poster is related to the disappearance or extinction of a biological heritage of the Italian people corrupted by the coming immigrants. It becomes clear that the messages of LN in Fig. 8 and this one create a core because they are a matter of survival, they work as words of warning for the future that they predict. The image of the Native American Indian also has its own history, Steven Heller refers how “that “noble savage” the American Indian symbolized the strength and promise of the New World settler – who was sometimes the Indian’s ally, but more often was his enemy.”²⁴² However, later on, due to expansionism and nationalist ideals, the significance of this image changed, and the New World became represented by the female figure. However, the image of the Native American is still bound to create controversy and discomfort when misused (this has been the case with stuffed toys or other paraphernalia sold in America). The author of the blog “On the Wings of Eagles” (an enrolled member of the federally recognized Shawnee Tribe) refers how “Lega Nord has dared to compare the current situation as they see it in Italy with the destruction of the indigenous population of North America by the violence and chicanery committed by the masses of European immigrants who rolled over the land”²⁴³, even mentioning the impossibility for the American Indians to make a formal protest at the time, given that the Italian elections had already started.

CHAPTER 4 - CHALLENGING RHETORIC SKILLS IN POSTER WORLD

As explained in the introduction of this work, rhetoric occupies a special place in this research not only given to the more recent usage of the term ‘visual rhetoric’, but taking into account the classical heritage that this discipline brings with it. An interesting study to understand how rhetoric exists in the poster and how it is contextualized in an urban environment is the one by Abraham Moles, a French engineer, doctor of physics and philosophy (said to be one of the first research links between aesthetics and information theory). He reminds the division of rhetoric into two chapters²⁴⁴, the oral, connected to the discourse (the text in the poster), and the visual, (the image in the poster). At the

241. Bihr, *L'Actualité d'un Archaisme...*, 22.

242. Heller, “Polemics and Politics, American Style”, 273.

243. Three Oaks, On the Wings of Eagles Blog, “Italian Politics and the American Indian”, (13 April, 2008) <http://threeoaks-onthewingsofeagles.blogspot.com/2008/04/italian-politics-and-american-indian.html> (accessed 5 March, 2011).

244. Abraham Moles, *O Cartaz*, (São Paulo: Editora Perspectiva, 1969), 210-1.

same time, the relevance of stylistics is underlined, “the art of saying something in a new form (Quintillian), of changing the meaning or the application of words to give the speech a new softness, vitality or impact.”²⁴⁵ As it has already been analysed, this is given by the figures of speech used, the position of the text, the image and the relevance of its design. At the same time, the political poster like other propaganda techniques aims at the unity and general agreement of its audience, in Kenneth Burke’s words (given by the rhetorician Lloyd Bitzer), “if men were not apart from one another, there would be no need for the rhetorician to proclaim their unity.”²⁴⁶ Posters’ messages are then meant to unify the opinion of people regarding a certain issue, however its public or urban characteristic might challenge their existence, the philosopher and Professor Sylviane Agacinski (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris) reminds Aristotle’s idea that “the city is not one, it is a plurality”²⁴⁷, central for the following chapter.

Far-Right Rhetoric

This sub-chapter will try to explain and explore, as much as possible, the spread of far-right or neo-nationalistic rhetoric and its success in the cases analysed by the posters through this research. In a way, where do the origins of the imagery rhetoric used by these parties lie and how deep in the culture’s country they are rooted, for this it will obviously be needed to go through some of the history of the parties, their idiosyncrasies and their context within the country and Europe itself. The rhetoric of these parties seems crucial for their existence in legal standards (relating to the Constitution of each country).²⁴⁸ Although most of these parties deny associations with

245. Moles, *O Cartaz*, 212.

246. Lloyd F. Bitzer, “Political Rhetoric” in *Landmark Essays on Contemporary Rhetoric* ed. Thomas B. Farrell (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.: 1998), 9.

247. Sylviane Agacinski, “Stages of Democracy” in *Public Space and Democracy* ed. Marcel Hénaff and Tracy B. Strong (Minnesota: Minnesota University Press, 2001), 132.

248. From an overview through these parties Constitutions only the Portuguese one seems to include an article regarding the associations of the political party in “Part III – Organization of a Political Party; Article 160º paragraph 1. d) “Will be judicially condemned by crime of responsibility in the exercise of their function in such penalty or by participation in racist organizations or that affiliates to a fascist ideology.” Assembleia da República, “Constituição da República Portuguesa”, (2011) Approved on 2 April, 1976 and in force on 25 of April, 1976 <http://www.parlamento.pt/Legislacao/Paginas/ConstituicaoRepublicaPortuguesa.aspx> (accessed 10 April, 2010). Obviously, the other Constitutions usually include that the parties should

neo-Nazi or fascist movements or parties the truth is that a good amount of their affiliates have or have had connections to these movements, usually joining these parties because they see elements in their campaigns that can meet their own ideology²⁴⁹. The President of the PNR has been questioned in an interview regarding this issue, he answered that these were ‘discriminations’ towards ideologies like ‘fascism’, or to urban movements like the skinheads, and that it was a reductionism for the party to be defined in this way. Adding that, he would only feel troubled if his party would “contain corrupts and paedophiles”²⁵⁰ [remembering the Portuguese Casa Pia scandal and trial where some politicians were involved]. It will be seen that a good rhetoric is relevant to public credibility and political strength. So, in what sense does a carefully planned rhetoric strategy make a difference? Which are the specificities of each discourse that are transmitted through posters? Along this sub-chapter posters from the past that show a similar rhetoric verbally or visually, or that help to explain the cultural memory of each country when it comes to the far-right will be presented.

The similar characteristics of far-right parties, already mentioned in the introduction of this work, led to the coinage of the term “integral Europe” by Douglas R. Holmes, as referred by Gingrich, to describe the “[...] heterogeneous socio-political movements in Europe and beyond that combine essentialised visions of selves and some form of local, regional, ethnic, religious or national chauvinism with stereotypes of their ‘opponent others’”²⁵¹. However, each one of them plays with precise cultural or historical, politic or economic issues of their own countries. In countries like Portugal or France, where colonialism played a major role, the rhetoric of these parties is very related to a colonial discourse of superiority against the immigrants and even a memory of colonizer and

respect the values of democracy (which is characterized by equality despite race, sex, religion, age, language, social class in front of the law) and sovereignty of the state.

249. Due to the difficulty of finding five thousand signatures for the formation of a party, PNR was created in 2000 through the acquisition of the Democratic Renovator Party (a centre-left party in decadence, but not legally extinct), by the National Alliance (which at one point had very similar posters to those of “Mocidade Portuguesa”, the Estado Novo youth organization) and National Action Movement, changing their name to PNR and paying their debts; Wikipedia contributors, "National Renovator Party," Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=National_Renovator_Party&oldid=353980576 (accessed May 8, 2010).

250. “PNR – Oposição Nacional! – Entrevista à TVI24 2ª Parte”, Youtube (21 September, 2009) <http://youtu.be/1R6KjNy76dw> (accessed 15 April, 2011).

251. Referred by Andre Gingrich, “Nation, Status and Gender in Trouble? Exploring Some Contexts and Characteristics of Neo-nationalism in Western Europe” in *Neo-Nationalism...*, 30

colonized²⁵² (a high percentage coming from those ex-colonies). It seems that an overtly open racist discourse is still naturally accepted in public²⁵³ or even justified by a collective memory of a lost empire, sometimes even “[...] nostalgic of the Empire and nostalgic of the monarchy [...]”²⁵⁴ (although mostly Algeria is mentioned in this research, the other French North African ex-colonies and even Indochina should not be forgotten). Pascal Perrineau²⁵⁵ presents us some statistics that could be named “the hierarchy of hate and rejection” (that would possibly be quite similar in Portugal), comparing FN answers to the ones from the general population. The hate for people from Maghreb was highest (82% from the FN and 39% of general population), having as the next ones on the list, descending, “blacks from Africa”, Asian people, *piets-noirs* (“black-foot”, French citizens that lived in Algeria before its independence), Jews, Europeans from the South, people from the Antilles, and finally, the Bretons. It is obvious that the hate for immigrants for an ex-colony that can be identified by their physical appearance is higher than for European people²⁵⁶. Pickering highlights that the prefix “post” in “post-colonial” is not a synonym that the period of colonialism is “over and finished”, erasing or forgetting what existed and what still persists²⁵⁷. It is also important to highlight, as Wieviorka mentions with the French-Algeria case²⁵⁸, that society had to wait for the 90s to discuss the question of the war in public, in Portugal

252. Describing how the golden age of racism was also the one of Imperialism, Pickering tells how the French divided Algeria and its ethnically diverse population in a dichotomy between Arabs and Berbers, where Berbers, and the blond Kabyles, were seen in a more positive and closer way to the Westerners than the Arabs, Pickering, *Stereotyping...*, 135.

253. While referring to this kind of rhetoric in posters it is interesting how the propaganda for the “Empires” of each country were also done through education, usually stating the products or the population of the colonized country, for more regarding the British Empire in Crowley, “Protest and Propaganda”, 115. It should also be noted how far-right parties differ from previous racist posters during the “Empires”, comparing to the “white man’s burden” there is no goal for an education of the minority (this is only valid when they are “back in their land”), since they are no longer useful for the natives, the solution is usually expulsion.

254. d’Appollonia, *L’extrême-droite en France...*, 15.

255. Statistics given by the Conseil supérieur de l’audiovisuel (CSA), February, 1990 in Perrineau, “Le Front National...”, 266.

256. In an interview by the PNR to Bruno Gollnisch (member of the European Parliament and vice-president of FN), he is asked about the Portuguese immigrants in France, to which he answers “the FN has always established a clear distinction in between immigration of European origin, that shares with the French society diverse meeting points, and the immigration-invasion extra-European...” in PNR – Partido Nacional Renovador. “Entrevista a Bruno Gollnisch, eurodeputado e vice-presidente da Frente Nacional francesa” (2 June, 2009) <http://www.pnr.pt/2009/06/02/entrevista-a-bruno-gollnisch-eurodeputado-e-vice-presidente-da-frente-nacional-francesa/> (accessed 26 March, 2011).

257. Pickering, *Stereotyping...*, 15.

258. Wieviorka, *A Diferença*, 217-9.

only recently the colonial wars seem to be discussed more openly. It seems quite convenient then that these parties come forward at a time of public discussion and have their role in it, Le Pen with other members of FN, for example, spent the 24th of December of 2009 with some *Harkis* (Algerians that fought for France) that were still waiting “for promises of Sarkozy in recognition of *Harkis*”²⁵⁹ camping for months by the National Assembly in Paris.

Given the considerate plurality of the population in Portugal racism is not even recognized as existing in the perception of outsiders. In one of the articles of a study done by SOS Racism in 1997 (non-profit Portuguese association working within a European network), later transformed into a publication, they quote the writer Günter Grass saying, “Look to this small country, that is Portugal, where, despite the number of refugee from previous colonies, thousands of gipsies are a part of the country in a natural manner.”²⁶⁰ This impression is obviously refuted by the association claiming the social marginality that immigrants from the ex-colonies live in, or how nothing was absorbed from African culture after five centuries of presence in the continent. Along the publication crimes and acts of violence committed against the Romani community in Portugal are also mentioned. Although the author of the article concludes by claiming that given its “archaic characteristics” the Portuguese “non-racism” unlike other racist ideologies never needed to invoke “the soil” and “the blood” or produce a “Volk”, it seems that lately, at least “the soil” seems to have been claimed by the PNR. In an interview to the *Deutsche Stimme* (the newspaper of the German National Democratic Party), Filipe Batista e Silva, a member of the Nationalist Youth of the PNR, claims that “the main social fractures [with the immigrant] do not derive from a civilization or religious basis, but of a shock of identities and different ways of being and living in society”²⁶¹, admitting the low relevance of immigrants from Islamic communities, but the felt presence of Africans from the ex-colonies and Brazilians. Moreover, the PNR celebrates events like the 2nd of January of 1492, when Granada was conquered from the Moors (referring to the population from Northern Africa that reigned in the Iberian

259. “Jean-Marie LE PEN le 24 décembre aux côtés des Harkis”, Front National, 25 December, 2009 <http://www.frontnational.com/?p=3201>, (accessed in 28 March, 2011).

260. António Guerreiro, “O Racismo Espontâneo” in *A Extrema-Direita em Portugal*, (Lisboa: SOS Racismo, 1998), 5.

261. PNR – Partido Nacional Renovador. “Entrevista de Filipa Batista e Silva ao Deutsche Stimme” (2 October, 2005) PNR. <http://www.pnr.pt/2005/10/02/entrevista-de-filipe-batista-e-silva-ao-deutsche-stimme/> (accessed 28 March, 2011).

Peninsula, very often associated to Muslim religion as well) signalling it in their website by “Conquer of Granada remembers urgency of a new *reconquista* (reconquest)”²⁶².

At the same time, it seems interesting that in the 2003 work *Right-Wing Extremism in the Twenty-First Century* by Peter H. Merkl and Leonard Weinberg, they refer the unique case of Portugal with “law that is now widely admired across the Continent”²⁶³, based on the possibility of extending visas for one year periods or even becoming citizens in cases of illegal immigrants and migrants on tourist visas. Having been through the longest dictatorship in Western Europe (1933-1974) might have influenced the behaviour towards democracy, racism or immigration. Jean-Yves Camus²⁶⁴ (French political scientist specialized on the far-right) groups Spain, Portugal and Greece in the same situation when it comes to the far-right, where it seems that it didn’t come out reinforced after the instalment of democracy. However, Portugal’s transition to democracy has been described by some as “[...] more traumatic and troublesome”²⁶⁵. Even if most authors refer the marginalization of the far-right, it is evident that the last years Portugal has seen the PNR on the spotlight more than often²⁶⁶. Even though there are no known posters, in the past or in the present (with the exception of the far-right), openly referring to immigration or even the threat of the Portuguese identity in relation to others, the definition of how the Portuguese identity *should* be defined was present in the past. As with other totalitarian or dictatorial regimes, Portugal also had its own propaganda machine; posters were ordered by the state through the National Secretariat of Information / Secretariat of National Propaganda. At the same time, as described by Fernando Rosas in the catalogue of the exhibition *Portuguese Political Propaganda Posters of the Estado Novo, 1933-1949*, “in a long duration level – the nation appears in the official discourses in such a present way, that it could not have existed anywhere

262. PNR – Partido Nacional Renovador “2 de Janeiro | Conquista de Granada lembra urgência de uma nova reconquista”. PNR. (3 January, 2011) <http://www.pnr.pt/2011/01/03/2-de-janeiro-conquista-de-granada-lembra-urgencia-de-uma-nova-reconquista/>, (accessed 26 March, 2011).

263. Peter H. Merkl and Leonard Weinberg, *Right-Wing Extremism in the Twenty-First Century*, (Taylor & Francis e-Library: 2005), 26.

264. Camus, “L’Extrême Droite en Europe...”, 26.

265. Ignazi, in *Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe*, 194, He continues to explain during the sub-chapter (194-6) why Portugal’s settlement into democracy in the first years was far from peaceful with pro-Salazarist groups trying to bring back the regime and a left-wing military one trying to impose a Revolution.

266. The Greek case is analysed in focus by Antonis A. Ellinas, *The Media and the Far-Right in Western Europe*, “Greek Nationalists: From Mainstream to the Margins?”, 125-166.

else besides the regime it stood for and justified it. Regarding the short duration, processes like statistics, with all its objectivity myth; citations in direct speech that augment may it be the documental value of what is affirmed, or the involvement of those who read it [...]”²⁶⁷ The posters presented in Fig. 15 and 16 are one of the most known series (seven in total) in the Portugal of António de Oliveira Salazar, created in 1938 to point out the 10th year of the Dictator’s government (he had previously been and was until 1940 Minister for Finances), they were meant to be distributed in schools to spread the values of the regime. Each one has the title “The Lesson of Salazar”, the poster in Fig. 15, has the inscription “God, Nation, Family: The Trilogy of National Education”, and summarizes, in its best, the regime. Pedro Rosa describes the image as “a bond between political power, religion and rural life in Portugal.”²⁶⁸ Every symbol describes the new regime, the simplicity, the mother and wife cooking, the presence of God and religion given by the cross, and from the two light sources power seems to enter, from the door the father arrives from work where the family awaits him (the table is even set with bread and wine), and from the window a castle with the Portuguese flag makes its presence. Most of the posters describe Portugal before and after Salazar, as in Fig. 16, in a way, they represent a result of its time, taking into account the new techniques in cinema, but also the presence of realism and narration in art. On the left, a low-angle allows us to peak into the scenery of before, where a village is portrayed in brown and yellow colours in a misty way with people seating on the ground, no paved roads and simple houses. In comparison, the image on the right appears in a bigger size and light seems to invade the picture from the clear sky, people standing straight and walking in a new pavement, greeting each other in harmony where even the clothes seem to be tidier with a clean-cut look. In the centre of the village, which also seems the gathering point a “House of the People” stands out with the Portuguese flag. A text comes to join the representation, “With the Corporative New State a new era of dignifying work and social justice initiates”. Posters designed for educational purposes, especially in Imperialistic or totalitarian regimes, have been quite common. Still today, the question of education and the conscience of national identity seem to be connected, Pickering mentions how “[...] mass compulsory education with a standardized language

267. Fernando Rosas, *Cartazes de propaganda política do Estado Novo...*, 15.

268. Pedro Rosa, “O Cartaz de Propaganda do Estado Novo”, *Arte Teoria* (Lisboa, Nº 6: 2005), 293.

and set curriculum has been of primary in naturalizing the idea of national belonging.”²⁶⁹ Adding to that, Wieviorka also mentions how immigrants are taken as the cause of school’s dysfunctions; the discussion of the Islamic veil has, for example, started in school environment, “social segregation rapidly becomes racial segregation, habitat or school.”²⁷⁰ In this theme it is worth mentioning a more recent poster, presented by Liz McQuiston, by the British artist Tam Joseph made in 1983-4, named ‘UK School Report’, showing a drawing of three students with a subtitle under each one of them saying, “Good at Sports”, “Likes Music” and, finally “Needs surveillance”²⁷¹.

The origins of the far-right in France differ from author to author, Pascal Perrineau²⁷² by four main events of the French past. Firstly, a counter-revolutionary legacy against the root philosophy of the French Enlightenment and Revolution which includes a hostile movement against de-colonization or a Catholic fundamentalism. Secondly, a Cesarist pulsion, characterised by a plebiscitary temperament with its origin in the “*boulangism*” of the end of the 19th century or the leagues formed in-between the two world wars and the “*poujadism*”²⁷³ of the end of the 1950s.²⁷⁴ Thirdly, the consequences of the Algerian war, and finally, the nostalgia of a strong state. On the other hand, Ariane d’Appollonia quotes J.C. Petitfils where he describes three main characteristics of the far-right in France “traditionalism, nationalism and fascism”²⁷⁵, mentioning that they are not exclusive of one another. Later on she mentions the triptych that is usually characteristic of these three, “love to the nation, a great desire for social justice and the vindication of a strong people”²⁷⁶.

The *Front National* is funded on the 5th of October of 1972, coming from the organization *Ordre Nouveau*. Jean-Marie Le Pen debuts himself in presidential elections

269. Pickering, *Stereotyping...*, 99.

270. Wieviorka, *A Diferença*, 107.

271. McQuiston, *Graphic Agitation II...*, 53.

272. Pascal Perrineau, “L’exception Française”, *Pouvoirs*, (N. 87, 1998), 35-42.

273. Pippa Norris explains Poujadism, how “a dramatic seismic political tremor occurred in January 1956 when the established parties were rocked by the success of Poujade’s party [...]” in *Radical Right, Parties and Voters in the Electoral Market*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 56.

274. d’Appollonia also refers the importance of the Dreyfus affair as the “baptism” of nationalism in France, quoting from R. Rémond, *L’extrême-droite en France...*, 15.

275. d’Appollonia, *L’extrême-droite en France...*, 11. It should also be mentioned that she refersto fascism and communism as “foreign ideologies” and not something that more or less simultaneously and generally spread in Europe in the Chapter “Les Influences Étrangers”, 24-7.

276. *Ibid.*, 11.

in May 1974 (receiving a poor 0,62%)²⁷⁷. The 80s start quite low for the FN with Le Pen not being able to gather 500 signatures needed to apply for the Presidency of the Republic and with his party not getting more than 0,18% of votes in the legislatives²⁷⁸. It seems to be after this that the party starts to gain shape and initiates its interventions over immigration and insecurity. In 1977, the French government enforced its surveillance into issuing employment cards to illegal immigrants, laws start being proposed for the deportation of immigrants. A little after this the case of the city Vitry-sur-Seine occurs, on 24 December, 1981, after a march led by the mayor of the town-hall (of communist affiliation) against some immigrant residences, bulldozers were sent to bring all of them down²⁷⁹. In 1986 the main French parties question the definition of French identity by territory and not blood²⁸⁰. According to Gaillard-Starzmann, it is also around this time that François Duprat, the second most active in the party after Le Pen, is assassinated and then replaced by Jean-Pierre Stirbois at the Political Bureau, aiming at the development of the FN on the basis of national identity “defined around the defence of small enterprise and the battle against the “immigrant invasion””²⁸¹. After this timeline, and its continuous appearances in the 90s, the peak of the FN could be undoubtedly the achievement of Le Pen making it to the second round in the presidential elections in 2002. It is interesting how the FN posters on Fig. 11 and 12, described in the sub-chapter regarding *The Use of Photography...*, vaguely remind us of slogans and imagery previously used by other French politicians in the past. In the 1988 elections, when Le Pen's poster flashed a “Defend our colors”, Chirac claimed. “We will go further together”, which could remind us of the “All together we will raise our France” in Fig. 12. In the same year, the socialist candidate Raymond Barre had a poster created for the French overseas territories, a photograph of himself holding a black child, with the slogan “A French overseas at the Elysée, The overseas are confident in

277. Percentage given by Perrineau, “Le Front National...”, 245.

278. Percentage given by d'Appollonia, “Le Nouveau Visage du Front National”, *L'extrême-droite en France*, 333.

279. Perrineau, “Le Front National...”, 248.

280. Ellinas, “Growth, Persistence, and Fall...”, 182.

281. Gaillard-Starzmann, “Regarding the Front National”, 179. Gaillard-Starzmann mentions further ahead how the FN programme has put this in practice in the towns it governs where streets are renamed and daily newspapers are substituted by publications of FN's choice, 186.

Raymond Barre”²⁸², closely reminds us of the kind of approach used by the FN poster in Fig. 11.

Jean-Yves Camus calls the group that includes Germany, Austria and Switzerland, the “Germanic era”, referring to a common culture that can influence beyond borders and characterised by “a *völkisch* model of national identity, the territorial irredentism and the historical revisionism.”²⁸³ According to the Dutch scholar and writer specialized on far-right European groups, Cas Mudde, the SVP originated as an agrarian party in the German Protestant cantons of Switzerland and, within the “right-wing extremism”, it is considered “the most problematic party to classify”²⁸⁴, partly due to the cantons system that has shaped the party in having different faces (particularly distinct in Zurich and Berne). The party seems to distinguish itself from the others of the group also due to its defense of the free market; according to Mudde the SVP proclaims only one cure for Switzerland, “less state, more market.”²⁸⁵

This new labour migration of post-war years had actually been requested, as Jean Meylan refers “The economic overexpansion of the ‘60s needed to resort to foreign labour. And so, from 1960 to 1964, the number of immigrant workers passed from 500 000 to 800 000.” Interestingly enough, as with the French case²⁸⁶, the first interventions (questioning work competition and pressure on salaries, but also the lack of social infrastructures as housing or schools) came from left-wing labour unions and parties, thus generating nationalist position from the unions, but also from middle class layers. Jean Meylan describes the first four initiatives (among any other anti-immigration movements these were organized and counted with the participation of official far-right parties, highlighting in particular the role of *Action National* created in 1961) that were developed in Switzerland to reduce foreign population, although until 2000 the

282. The posters of Chirac and Raymond-Barre are analysed and shown in Seidman, *Posters, Propaganda and Persuasion...*, 120

283. Camus, “L’Extrême Droite en Europe...”, 22.

284. Mudde, *Populist Radical Right Wing Parties in Europe*, 57.

285. Mudde, *Populist Radical Right Wing Parties in Europe*, 123, Mudde proves this by quoting several passages of the SVP election manifesto of 2003, he also discusses this issue further ahead in the sub-chapter “Deregulation and Privatization”, 128.

286. Ellinas tells us how as early as the 1960s the communists showed their concerns regarding the impact of immigration, even asking for the repatriation of immigrants and rejecting proposals to grant them voting for local elections in 1981, also reporting the Vitry case in Ellinas, “Growth, Persistence, and Fall...”, 172-3.

initiatives already counted to seven²⁸⁷. The first initiative took place in 1965 by the Democratic Party in Zurich with the objective of reducing the foreign population to 10% of the total local inhabitants, it was later withdrawn and substituted by a second initiative by Action National and 70,292 citizens in 1969 (see Fig. 18), the third initiative came in 1972 (see Fig. 26 and 27) with the intention of reducing the foreign population in three years from 1 million to 500 000 people. Obviously, several opposing organizations kept being created that denounced the inhumanity and xenophobe character of the text. The 2000 initiative consisted on diminishing the foreign residents from 19.3 % to 18%, which would mean the expulsion of 100,000 people²⁸⁸. Among these initiatives, the German political scientist Peter H. Merkl (specialized in radical right and comparative sociology of political parties and democracies) describes how two recent bilateral treaties of Switzerland with the EU “would probably have violated the UN refugee convention. Half of the targeted ‘foreigners’ were actually born in Switzerland or had lived there for at least 15 years.”²⁸⁹ It is widely known that Switzerland has one of the toughest immigration laws in Europe, more recently the SVP has also requested a “kin liability law”, where the family of an immigrant that committed a crime could be deported along with the member²⁹⁰. Obviously, apart from a great opposition from most of Swiss society’s institutions (see Fig. 19, 30, 31 and 38), since its appearance in 1971 the SVP has been quite supportive of the initiatives.

Seizing the opportunity of a shaky political context in Italy in early 1990s, *Lega Nord* was founded by Umberto Bossi²⁹¹ in 1991 and formed with junction of several 'leagues' (*Lega Lombarda, Liga Veneta...*). A strong criticism to the state and its corruption, contesting the idea of national identity and seeking the transformation of the country in a federal state or its division of the north from the south are defended.²⁹² For Umberto Bossi, Italy seems threatened by immigration that comes from the south, and in this sense there exist two targets already represented, one is immigration and the other, the

287. Peter H. Merkl, “Chapter One, Stronger than Ever”, ed. Merkl and Weinberg, *Right-Wing Extremism in the Twenty-First Century*, 26.

288. H. Merkl, “Chapter One, Stronger than Ever”, 27.

289. *Ibid.*, 27.

290. Geoff Dean, “The Swiss People’s Party and Islamic Immigration”, The SOP (3 December, 2009), <http://thesop.org/story/international/2009/12/03/the-swiss-peoples-party-and-islamic-immigration.php> (accessed 15 April, 2011).

291. Ignazi describes him as an uncontested leader with anti-political discourse, that “introduced very direct, outspoken, and even vulgar language” in *Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe*, 55.

292. Jaro Stacul, “Neo-nationalism or Neo-localism?...” , 160.

south of Italy. It is true that Padanian²⁹³ Nationalism has officially existed for some time not in Italy, and even when it didn't this division was always felt among the population. *Lega Nord* proclaimed the independence of Padania on 15 September 1996 in Venice and has since then created a Padanian Parliament, a flag, an anthem, among other regional events²⁹⁴. At the same time, along its existence, Lega's characteristics, as described by Ignazi, seem to be “The juxtaposition between the people – including small entrepreneurs -and big business and the banks, between the ordinary man and 'Rome's' politicians, between the native people and the aliens [...] In this vision, Bossi joined the other extreme right parties in support of Serbia in the Kosovo war[...]”²⁹⁵

Italy had already seen a strong right wing and post-fascist party, *Movimento Sociale Italiano*²⁹⁶, later transformed into the *Allianza Nazionale* party. However, whereas MSI “had its electoral reservoir in the south”²⁹⁷, with the north “more militant and radical, claimed to be the heir of the socialistic and antibourgeois 'republican' fascism of the 1943-5 period...”²⁹⁸, *Lega Nord* is obviously stronger in the north of the country. According to Piero Ignazi²⁹⁹, until its dissolution this party refused to adopt the populist xenophobic rhetoric preferring to remain faithful to the traditional values of fascism³⁰⁰ (anti-abortion, homosexuality, communism and labour unions, discipline and having as main historic and cultural references Mussolini or Julius Evola) which made them loose votes in the 90s when the LN was using such themes and parties like the *Front National*

293. Term that started to be used by Lega Nord in the early 90s for the regionalization and autonomy of the North of Italy, it originally refers to the Po Valley in Italy.

294. Data given by Wikipedia contributors "Padanian nationalism," Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Padanian_nationalism&oldid=410772275 (accessed March 06, 2011).

295. Ignazi, *Extreme Right Parties in...*, 57

296. This is also said to be the party that inspired the creation of two French organizations beginners of Front National, *L'Oeuvre Française* and *Ordre Nouveau*, “which broke new ground by permitting its members to keep their traditional political membership of other parties”, in Gaillard-Starzmann, “Regarding the Front National”, 178. It should also be important to mention that Cas Mudde refers how the extinct MSI and the FN are usually mentioned as the responsible for this “whole party family” in Europe (with Ignazi naming the first as “traditional” and the second as “postindustrial” see the chapter “From Ideology to Parties” in *Extreme Right Parties...*, 20-34) in Cas Mudde, *Populist Radical Right Wing Parties in Europe*, 14.

297. Ignazi, *Extreme Right Parties in Europe*, 37.

298. *Ibid.*, 36.

299. Ignazi, “La Recomposition de L'Extrême Droite en Italie”, *Pouvoirs*, (N. 87, 1998), 86-7.

300. The same applies to Front National at its beginnings as referred by Ariane d'Appollonia, mentioning how Le Pen “had tried to avoid” the immigration theme, “Le Nouveau Visage du Front National” in *L'extrême-droite en France...*, 335.

and FPÖ were rising. Although the call for “group appeal” and to civic duty and the usage of youth is usually common in political posters, the uniqueness of the posters presented in Fig. 20 and 21 is their reference to the “Roman citizenship”. At the same time, the MSI’s rhetoric in the poster of Fig. 22 and the one by the Fascist regime in Fig. 23 seem to come close to the “threat” message, having the parties as the only saviours.

A Democratic and “Perelmanian” Issue

One question that we might pose while observing far-right posters is how do their messages get across and are accepted in a globalized or multicultural society. The question of democracy and freedom of speech are posed here. Discussions and polemics around similar cases have been raised in the past, which seem to be connected more with what is appropriate to show in the public sphere or give support, than anything else. Two posters of the Portuguese PNR have mobilized attentions towards the party. The first one, coming from April 2007, shown in Fig. 28 (right side) was extremely vandalized, and later removed, since it was considered visual pollution. It is interesting how following the messages “From the President to the Nationalists” in PNR website, the one from March 2007 describes the inspiration felt by being present in an FN convention, the next month the message claimed the success of the poster. The second one (Fig. 24), placed on 29th September 2008, was removed only one week after its placement, giving origin to extended discussions related to freedom of expression and the question of how legal this removal had been.

During a round table discussion about PNR’s second poster,³⁰¹ in a Portuguese television show dedicated to current political issues, one of the intervenients, Pacheco Pereira (Portuguese journalist and politician), claimed that in a democracy we should be able to manifest ourselves against immigration and even if the public does not like these messages, the liberty of a democracy is also for those we dislike. Indeed, people should be able to manifest themselves if they are against immigration; the difference is mainly in the way this is done. Placing that message in form of an outdoor in one of the busiest

301. On the Portuguese TV show “*Quadratura do Círculo*” Cartaz PNR – António Costa, Pacheco Pereira e Lobo Xavier [Video], (2008), from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sH2OREKFP_M 3:41 (accessed 27 April, 2010).

areas of Lisbon could be considered as an obvious provocation not only to the public, but to the media. A white sheep placed in the Portuguese map (more precisely in the south of Portugal, possibly having some connotations with the North of Africa), kicks black sheep with the words “crime”, “unemployment”, or “multiculturalism”, written on them. The title on top asks the question in red bold, and capital letters “Immigration?” to which the answer in white is “We say” and then in capitals again and in black “No!” In opposition to PNR’s first poster (Fig. 28, right side) that had the president giving its face, this one has the globalizing and defined “we” to say no to immigration, a personification of social issues is taken to action, “unemployment” or “multiculturalism” are all personified as if they were animals, or live subjects that could be simply ‘attacked’ or kicked out as our evident enemy³⁰². This personification goes further than simply humorous given that it is no longer a political party or an institution that is responsible for these “problems” (which are named as problems and as adverse by the poster). The simplicity of the poster seems to know and identify clearly the responsible of crimes or multiculturalism, we know who the criminals are and we possibly know that immigrants make a multicultural society, however are they the ones responsible for a social and economic instability? In the show, the mayor of Lisbon justified the removal of the poster³⁰³ by its appeal to violence and racial motivation that the message contained, violating the principle of equality, which is in the Constitution.³⁰⁴ However, the General’s Republic Attorney stated that “by itself” the poster was not considered illegal; being then considered that the town hall was taking the place of law and official authorities. Again, Pacheco Pereira commented that this justification for the removal was an interpretation of the Constitution, meaning that

302. Charteris-Black explains the usage of this method in *Politicians and Rhetoric...*, 15, he then analyses personification in each of the case studies taken into account.

303. The poster was removed not by a Court but by the alderman for the Environment and Green Spaces, José Sá Fernandes (that for being affiliated to the Portuguese left-wing party *Bloco De Esquerda* created even a bigger polemic).

304. In the Amnesty International report for 2009 the only reference to Portugal in the entry ‘Racism’ is the reference to this poster, in Amnesty International, “Portugal”, 2009 in “Amnesty International Report 2009: The State of the World’s Human Rights” <http://report2009.amnesty.org/en/regions/europe-central-asia/portugal> (accessed 26 April 2010), later on the PNR reacted to the report, mostly to the section “Torture and other Ill-treatment” where the AI denounces the abuse of security forces, the PNR comes in defense of “order and security”, and questions why the ethnic violence in Portuguese neighborhoods or the fumble behavior of Portuguese politicians regarding crime is not denounced by the AI in “Comunicado sobre o Relatório da Amnistia Internacional”, PNR – Partido Nacional Renovador, (28 March, 2009) <http://www.pnr.pt/2009/05/28/comunicado-sobre-o-relatorio-da-amnistia-internacional/> (accessed 12 April, 2011).

there is no appeal to violence. This might stand as a dubious argument, if we would have a piece of art stating “Rebel yourselves against Immigration” would this piece of art be suggesting that we should really rebel against immigration, or as the art that it serves, it would exist to question? The matter here seems to be closely related to the existence of a political poster as propaganda.

Even the bare existence of propaganda in a democracy should be questioned, since, quoting Noam Chomsky “Usually the population is pacifist [...] So you have to *whip* them. And to whip them you have to frighten them.”³⁰⁵ Frighten them exactly *through* propaganda until you have attained your goals. Far-right posters are especially convenient in times of crisis, appealing to emotional and personal problems. Packing pre-conceived ideas and pointing them for unemployment or social conditions in a poster seems to unite people; showing that they are not alone and there is a promise or chance of better life if they vote for the party, not only that, these posters call people’s attentions because they exist as a novelty in how to represent issues. The polemic that was created by these posters in public, but also the discussion augmented by the media has obviously contributed to some “fear” among the population, and as Chosmky or Sylviane Agacinski have mentioned that the way these public spaces are being use makes the public question democracy, “in what sense do we want this to be a democratic society”³⁰⁶ and “fear of a perversion of democracy but also to the fear of its expansion.”³⁰⁷

It seems rather interesting how features of democracy like freedom of expression are only pointed out when useful. The president of the PNR José Pinto Coelho, claimed that the removal of this poster was an act against the freedom of expression, but curiously, he was also the one to state in another interview³⁰⁸ that if he had to choose between safety or freedom of expression, he would choose safety. Does this mean democracy is following the ideas of far-right, or that safety already comes above freedom of expression? The paradox of far-right’s values and democratic ones is partly explained

305. Noam Chomsky, *Media Control: The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda*, (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2002), 30.

306. Chosmky, *Media Control*, 9.

307. Sylviane Agacinski, “Stages of Democracy”, 129.

308. “RTP – A Extrema-direita existe?” 2006 [Video]
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sH2OREKFP_M (accessed in 28 April, 2010).

by Alain Bihr and his “triple opposition definition for the extreme-right”³⁰⁹ in France constituted by “*identité, inégalité, pugnacité*.” In a way, he explains that its values oppose to the triad of the French Republic; *liberté* (opposing to the economic, politic, and moral liberalism, including multipartism, tolerance, rights of the citizen and individual or individuality); *égalité* (every equality is a sign of decadence, being considered a sign of decadence); and, *fraternité* (opposing to the compassion to other people, the unity of the humankind or the dignity towards every human being).

The rhetoric in these posters is mostly Manichean, but the main difference is usually in how explicit these representations can be, reminding us of the saying “the fish dies by the mouth.” The PNR poster, although having kept the same line as the SVP, is much more explicit. While the Swiss text reads “For more Security”, the Portuguese one has a clearly written message against immigration, kicking out black sheep that were catalogued with words in their backs which the President José Pinto Coelho referred to as the “cancers of the country.”³¹⁰ It is clear that all these parties seek more “security” and a more “protective state”, but the abstractness of the SVP poster lets the public define where security is more needed, in family life, in work, or in education.

A similar example to the Portuguese case was the FN’s poster in Fig. 25. The court of first instance of Marseilles ordered a payment of a 500 Euros fine and the removal of the posters stating that they represented “an illicit manifestation.”³¹¹ Three anti-racism organizations had also pushed the poster to be banned and launched legal action, not only that, but the advertisement agency that had designed the SVP poster claimed that they would sue FN for plagiarism³¹². While evoking the SVP’s poster of the minaret³¹³,

309. The detailed explanation comes in Bihr, *L'actualité d'un archaïsme...*, 38-9.

310. Lusa, “PNR: Marinho Pinto diz que só um juiz pode ordenar a remoção do cartaz,” (October 7, 2008), *Expresso* <http://aeiou.expresso.pt/pnr-marinho-pinto-diz-que-so-um-juiz-pode-ordenar-remocao-de-cartaz=f418610> (accessed 27 April, 2010).

311. Le Figaro.Fr, “La justice interdit les affiches controversées du FN,” *Le Figaro* (March 3, 2010) <http://www.lefigaro.fr/politique/2010/03/12/01002-20100312ARTFIG00842-la-justiceinterdi-les-affiches-controversees-du-fn-.php> (accessed 5 May, 2010).

312. RFI, “Algeria Protests French far-rights minarets poster”, (10 March, 2010) <http://www.english.rfi.fr/africa/20100310-algeria-protests-french-far-right-minarets-poster> (accessed 15 April, 2011).

313. According to BBC website the “minaret-ban” poster was banned in Basel, Lausanne and Fribourg, but accepted in Geneva, Lucerne and Winterthur, and finally, Zurich that although it disapproved its “negative and dangerous” message it was part of political free speech ahead of the 29 November referendum “Zurich allows anti-minaret poster” *BBC News* (8 October, 2009) <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8297826.stm> (accessed 29 April, 2010).

this one substituted what could be the national French flag with an Algerian one in the shape of France's map, or in the words of *Front National de la Jeunesse* "the geographical map of the Hexagon"³¹⁴. The SVP one does not use any other nation's flag to pass their message apart from their one and their written message reads "Stopp Ja" and in smaller letters "Zum Minarett-verbot", while this one stated in a finished sentence "Non à L'Islamisme." In this, it would be interesting to remind Pickering's words regarding nationalism and identity and how each nation worships herself, "[...] nations often contrast themselves with other nations, and with the 'foreigners who occupy them'"³¹⁵, this poster shows, not only by the quotation of the SVP one a "contrast to another nation", but also by using the symbol of the Algerian flag, a "contrast with the foreigners", which may well be perceived as foreigners, but might be French by birth for more than one generation. Already in the 60s, Abraham Moles tells how in France, given the legislation to poster fixation, people would try to place their posters in a forbidden location or where the price for the posting is too high even knowing that the poster will later be removed, in any case by then, the poster will have fulfilled its goal³¹⁶ (even the price of a fine would be lower than the affixation costs). In fact, it seems that the FN had the best results in the PACA region (Provence Alpes Cote d'Azur) where the campaign mainly took place, ending with 21% in the first round of elections and even 12% nationally³¹⁷. The current legislation started in 1988 by Chirac, where candidates "are forbidden to use commercial billboards during the official campaign period; rather, they were given access to billboard space provided by the government, and each candidate was allocated the same number of equal spots."³¹⁸ Not only that, but also colours and size are controlled by the National Commission for the Control of the Electoral Campaigns, and although Steven Seidman mentions that "the colours of the French flag could not be used so that candidates could not try to imply that they were

314. Front National Jeunesse, (28 June, 2010) FN, <http://www.fnjeunesse.fr/?p=848> "Une Nouvelle Affiche Polémique du FNJ Présentée à Cannes" (accessed 15 April, 2011).

315. Pickering, *Stereotyping...*, 93.

316. Moles, *O Cartaz*, 225.

317. Seidman, "Le Pen's Party Issues Anti-Islam Poster in France", Posters and Election Propaganda Blog, (March 15, 2010), http://www.ithaca.edu/rhp/depts/stratcomm/blogs/posters_and_election_propaganda/?p=4 (accessed 20 April, 2011).

318. Seidman, *Posters, Propaganda and Persuasion in Election Campaigns...*, 121.

the “patriotic” choice”³¹⁹ the FN seems to use the red, blue and white quite often in a very “patriotic” way, Fig. 9.

In these cases as with the case of what Pacheco Pereira had called “interpretation of the Constitution” it seems important to cite what the Belgium Professor, specialist in Comparative Legal Reasoning, Guy Haarscher mentions as the “pseudo-argument in the Perelmanian sense”³²⁰, that is, the approval of something that seems to be based on human rights when in fact it is not. Haarscher gives the example of “separate but equal” in the U.S.A. and the interpretation by the Courts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendment. He calls the strategy “wolf in the sheepfold” with far-right posters it seems that the content of these messages is sustained by the premise of freedom of expression as “segregation was ‘poorly’ justified by reason from egalitarian premises.”³²¹ As with the case he presents, things that seem much “black and white” in the very beginning start to deepen as questions of equality and right begin to be posed. This is not only shown through “people adopting different (but reasonable) interpretations of the same values,”³²² but also through the way Constitution serves to justify the existence of the ideology. A recent example could be France’s prohibition of the Muslim veil, *burqa*, *chador* or *niqab*, since prohibiting women of a certain religion to wear specific clothing would be unconstitutional, the strategy went by prohibiting “the dissimulation of the face in the public space.”³²³ Obviously, the “acceptance” in a democratic society is determined by certain actions and behaviours that might be admissible, but we know that there might be ways to go around them, some more politically correct than others. Václav Havel’s 1978 text “The Power of the Powerless” still shows its relevance here. Although written for the context of a post-totalitarian state “They can’t discard the rules of their own game, they can only attend more carefully to those rules. Cracks in the ritual begin to appear. The point is this: even in the most ideal of cases, the law is only one of several imperfect and more or less external ways of defending what is better in

319. Ibid., 121.

320. Guy Haarscher, “Perelman, The Use of the “Pseudo-Argument” and Human Rights” in *Rhetoric and Argumentation in the Beginning of the XXIst Century* ed. Henrique Jales Ribeiro (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 2009), 282.

321. Haarscher, “Perelman, The Use of the “Pseudo-Argument” and Human Rights”, 286.

322. Ibid., 287.

323. According to Lorena Sofia, “Sair de casa com o rosto coberto...”, *Público*, (11 April, 2011) http://www.publico.pt/Mundo/sair-de-casa-com-o-rosto-coberto-vai-valer-multa-em-franca_1489219 (accessed 11 April, 2011).

life against what is worse. Respect for the law does not ensure a better life. Quality of life and not of laws enhance life."³²⁴ Even if the removing or keeping an outdoor might be according to “the Constitution”, does it become a synonym of a fair message, does it validate it as truthful? Reminding Havel’s words, regarding the usage of ritual communication and the legal code, again, “Like ideology the legal code functions as an excuse. It wraps the base exercise of power in the noble apparel of the letter of the law; it creates the pleasing illusion that justice is done, society protected, and the exercise of power objectively regulated”³²⁵, however, like ideology, it becomes an instrument outside the power structure, it becomes “the integrity of the world of appearances.”³²⁶

What Difference Does Design Make?

Design’s relevance and analysis in this research exists for two reasons. Firstly, one of the reasons that might contribute to the rhetorical skill and to make some of the far-right posters stand out is in fact its design; this sub-chapter will present design’s relevance for the far-right message. Secondly, when thinking about the several responses far-right posters have been having (or at least responses to anti-xenophobe or racist messages), some of them, even if indirect, come from graphic designers with a strong social conscience, this will be discussed in Chapter 5. Most famous designers and design movements along history have, in fact, been connected to poster design. The British designer and journalist Angharad Lewis in a recent work regarding the rise and fall of the poster and its street element, tells us how the poster “is the ultimate end game in the problem-solving challenge of graphic design: large scale, mass communication that hones a message into a snappy visual repartee.”³²⁷ Behind some of the designs of the SVP posters is the Swiss Alexander Segert (that has also collaborated with the Austrian far-right party FPÖ) and his company GOAL AG. In an interview and article by the *NY Times* (that turned a lot of attention to far-right posters), Segert mentions that the posters design were, “Fifty percent Stalin, 50 percent Norman Rockwell. The images are aggressive, not funny, without charm, straight to the point, clear and [...] in no way

324. Václav Havel, “Power of the Powerless”, in *Open Letters – Selected Writings, 1965-1990*, ed. Paul Wilson (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 190-2.

325. Havel, “Power of the Powerless”, 186.

326. *Ibid.*, 189.

327. Angharad Lewis, *The Rise and Fall of the Poster – Street Talk*, (Victoria: Images Publishing, 2006), 17.

radical. They're the opposite of most advertising today. They aim just at their target audience.”³²⁸ With words such as “straight to the point” and “clear” Segert reminds us of the constructive posters that should be the most harmonious and, above all, serve their function. Looking at Segert’s minaret poster, one of the things that might come to our minds in terms of composition is the constructive laws. Somehow the words of the designers Josef Hoffmann and Joseph Maria Olbrich relating the poster designs for the Wiener Werkstätte might echo, “the surface is arranged and formed into geometrically proportioned parts, the lettering is condensed and included in the space as an element of equal importance to the image, the drawing is stylized and strictly divided both vertically and horizontally, and only two colours are used.”³²⁹ It should also be noted how this idea of order and clarity, sometimes almost obsessive in design, seems to come close to a totalitarian ideology, where everything *must* have its place and serve its precise objective, a clean and fated organization in a poster or in art³³⁰. While describing Nazi propaganda techniques McQuiston highlights the importance of “strategy of image and manipulation: co-ordinated colours, slogans, emblems and uniforms.”³³¹

The “colours” question referred by Hoffmann and Olbrich seems to be in practice in the SVP posters’, however, it is interesting how the logos also tell a lot about the design and the philosophy behind it. The FN uses the colours of the French flag, represented in the past in the shape of a waving flag or flame and nowadays in a pyramid (in 1972 the logo was a three-coloured flame similar to that of MSI). Similar logos exist within the European far-right; in the Belgium FN, that uses the colours of the Belgium flag, the Italian party Tricolour Flame Social Movement (*Movimento Sociale Fiamma Tricolore*, MS-FT) using the colours of the Italian flag, the Spanish MSR (*Movimiento Social Republicano*) uses a black and red flame, and finally, the Portuguese PNR uses a red and blue flame, connecting the flame with fire, protection, light, and union of an ancient

328. Michael Kimmelman, “When Fear Turns Graphic”. The New York Times. (January 14, 2010), <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/17/arts/design/17abroad.html?pagewanted=1> (accessed 26 March 2010).

329. Josef Brockmann-Müller and Shizuko Müller-Brockmann. *Geschichte des Plakates = Histoire de l’Affiche = History of the Poster*, (Zürich: ABC, 1971) 157.

330. An interesting example of this is the 1928 work by Jan Tschichold, *The New Typography*, reflecting not only this order, but in a way its historical and social context describing thoroughly which typefaces are “suitable” for the 20th century and which ones are not, again “clarity and concentration on essentials” is referred.

331. McQuiston, *Graphic Agitation...*, 25.

community.³³² Claiming that they would never use the colours of the flag because “[...] they are due to change according times and national directions[...].”³³³, they state the blue as the colour of the Arms of D. Afonso Henriques, founder of the country and adopted on the first flag, and the red to the representation of blood “shattered in the battles of our ancestors [...] a tight connection to our identity.”³³⁴.

The “new objectivity” appeared in Switzerland with the “new typography” and in the poster world the terms Swiss Style or the Swiss Legacy are known. Angharad Lewis refers that the last golden era of posters was with the New International Style in the 1960s, “a graphic evolution that begun in Switzerland and had a huge impact on posters still felt today”³³⁵. The Swiss legacy is described by the curator and art and design critic Margit Staber (board member of the Foundation for Constructivist and Concrete Art in Zurich) in these words, “[...] Swiss visual culture during the thirties, and consequently the forties, came dangerously close to confusing understandable conservative attitudes with the attempt, or even the wish, to curry favour with Big Brother.”³³⁶ We could say here that history might be repeating itself, or at least that Segert’s posters carry a collective memory and the weight of cultural freight. However, not only his posters carry this weight, as we have seen in the previous subchapter, some previous political posters already carried similar messages. It is convenient that memory plays a preliminary role here, especially regarding collective identity, although, in Wieviorka’s words, we shouldn’t assume the “superficial connection between strong memory and strong identity, or between inexistent memory and weak identity.”³³⁷ At the same time he claims that “blood and violence, subordination and destruction of some pre-existent identities”³³⁸ are necessary to build a collective national identity, including forgetting and re-remembering, or even threats to the supposed identity.

Nevertheless, Switzerland clearly seems to have always been the most dedicated to design. Steven Seidman describes the poster in Fig. 27 as “a quasi-Futuristic style

332. PNR – Partido Nacional Renovador. “Símbolo”. PNR. <http://www.pnr.pt/sobre-2/simbolo/> (accessed 28 March, 2011)

333. PNR, “Símbolo”.

334. Ibid.

335. Lewis, *The Rise and Fall of the Poster...*, 30.

336. Margit Staber. “Poster Persuasion” in *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*, Vol. 19, Swiss Theme Issue (1993) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1504105>, 76.

337. Wieviorka, *A Diferença*, 201.

338. Ibid., 202.

(somewhat reminiscent of Marcel Duchamp's "Nude Descending a Staircase") that depicted 'immigration', as a kinetic six-armed, six legged man."³³⁹ The Portuguese design consultancy company FLUOR, presents their idea of design as "all about knowing the past, the present, the future"³⁴⁰. Becoming clear that the a need to play with a past history and memory, a present context in economic or social level, and the future wishes and ambitions of each society is as much valid for design as it is for politics. It is possible that the most efficient design or political rhetoric are the ones that can balance these time frames, not too much of future, possibly thinking about consequences not yet achieved, or promises not yet accomplished, and not too much of the past, creating nostalgia or discomfort, maybe just cleaning the edges in between.

The second part of Segert's sentence relates to Norman Rockwell, which is even more intriguing, since the artist is associated with depictions of American everyday life with all its common places. However, this is also closely related to a popular culture, or sometimes even "populism" (following Wieviorka's definition "abolishing the distance that separates the "people" of the power, building an intermediate discourse between the top and the base"³⁴¹). And in this the value of his poster is also questioned, not as something truly creative or creator of discussion, but as a pure imitation of styles, quoting Adorno "Having ceased to be anything but style, it reveals the latter's secret: obedience to the social hierarchy."³⁴²

In a way, Segert's responses and attitude might question us about the social role of designers, or their "social responsibility" and "public consciousness" that attempted nowadays presented by contemporary designers (issue that will be dealt with more depth in Chapter 5). This almost "double agent" characteristic that makes designers "having ties both to the anti-globalization movement and big business"³⁴³, as mentioned by Charlotte Fiell and Peter Fiell and their in-depth work regarding contemporary graphic design, seems to play very well on their public image, in one side having what

339. Seidman, "Posters in Election Campaigns Around the Rest of the World", 165.

340. "FLUOR", *Graphic Design for the Twenty-first Century:100 of the World's Best Graphic Designers*, (Kohl: Taschen, 2003), 196.

341. Wieviorka, "O Populismo", in *A Democracia à Prova* ("Democracy to the Test"), 92.

342. Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception," 6.

343. Charlotte Fiell and Peter Fiell, "Introduction", *Contemporary Graphic Design*, (London: Taschen, 2007), 8.

is politically correct, and on the other what really grants them the authority and monetary power to become an elite. Segert possibly achieved this “public image” not through a “politically correct” attempt but right through the opposite, which could be today’s equivalent to achieve fame or standing out. It is no wonder then that the SVP would hire a graphic designer or other publicity agents when other parties also do it and graphic designers accept these and other jobs for big corporations with no sense of guilt. We are not sure then who is to blame of the spread of racist and xenophobic messages, in a global market the responsibility of society’s ethics is not one-sided, but comes divided in parts.

It was also because of aesthetic side of Segert’s minaret poster that most attentions in the media were raised. Sam Leith in an article from *The Guardian* compares old propaganda posters with modern-day ones and names three reasons why “today’s political posters are just ugly.” He firstly mentions the “evacuation of ideology [...] Few posters now aim to symbolise an abstract idea, be it striking the chains from the workers’ wrists, or the glorious bounties of empire.”³⁴⁴ Comparing this idea with Segert’s poster of the minaret, although there is no “visual action” shown by the poster there is a narrative that is told through the iconic images of the flag, the minarets standing on top of it, and the woman covered in black in front of the image looking at us, we should be able to tie this structure together by following the hints. In fact, it seems that the “visual action” Leith wants to refer to is closely related to the social realism of nationalist states, be it communist or fascist, that represent a certain situation. Be it so, even if there might be a revivalism of the poster given by these parties, it would be cultural and visually impossible to come back to lithographs of beginning and mid of 20th century or nationalist narratives with the apology of work, religion, or the country. Not only that, but if there is an “evacuation of ideology”, it might be by the political simplicity that these parties exist on, Ignazi refers the lack of theorizing within the post-war extreme right³⁴⁵, the poster then, might represent a stronger ideology. Secondly, he claims, “the move towards negative campaigning [...] If your poster is a

344. Sam Leith, “The Political posters used to be works of art. Today, they’re crass, ugly and sterile” *The Guardian*, (March 7, 2010) <http://www.guardian.co.uk/artanddesign/2010/mar/07/political-posters-labour-1909> (accessed May 5 2010).

345. Ignazi, *Extreme Right Parties...*, 22.

picture of the other guy, you don't want to make it memorable or beautiful.”³⁴⁶ This characteristic is actually quite common in the country where Leith is reporting from, Great Britain is mainly known for this type of campaign, which seems to be widely accepted and even bearing, most of the times, a strong sense of humour. With far-right parties, since they have no “individualized” single rival, there is a preference to show their own faces (and although they use negative campaigning, it is usually towards a ‘type’ not towards a single target). Finally, he points: “the shift from screenprinting to (digitally altered) photographs. Political posters are not now about trying to establish an icon, a created image [...]”³⁴⁷ Most importantly, with SVP, graphic design is used and not the realism of photography. Giving a sensation closer to a “handmade” work than all other posters, this image seems to be personally created “for us” or, at least, took some time to make. Adelaida de Juan (Cuban writer specialized in visual arts), quoted by John Barnicoat, tells us that “The more artistic the graphic work, the more useful it will be. Naturally, all work of art accomplishes better its ends when it transcends its original function.”³⁴⁸

Nevertheless, a political poster is usually associated with mass production in contrast to the artistic and cultural poster (in Abraham Moles words, “the multiplied object of art”³⁴⁹) that might be appreciated in private and dedicated to a specific public that expect a high degree of technique. And so, opposing Leith’s argument, or at least contrasting it, comes the idea that “the more polished the message and its delivery have become, the more distrust they seem to breed”³⁵⁰ in contemporary society. As important design might be it should maintain itself ‘authentic’ or at least keeping a clear and understandable³⁵¹ message, especially when talking about political posters. As it is mentioned by David Crowley, “producers of graphic propaganda have tended not to overestimate the intellectual capacity of their audiences. In fact, one might claim that the singular intelligibility of the propaganda has been one of its distinctive features.”³⁵² Not only that, to pass on a clear propaganda and political message the focus should

346. Leith, “The Political posters used to be...”, 2010.

347. Ibid.

348. Barnicoat, *Los Carteles...*, 253.

349. Moles, *O Cartaz*, 234.

350. Charlotte Fiell and Peter Fiell, “Introduction”, 7.

351. Also highlighted by Barnicoat, *Los carteles...*, 183.

352. Crowley, “Protest and Propaganda”, 106.

primarily be on its effectiveness and not aesthetics, obviously if the aesthetics will be useful, they should be used. The poster is not an “end in itself... but only the media or vehicle”³⁵³, this “end in itself” is not the aesthetic pleasing (that could obscure or conceal the message), but the persuasion and provocation. In this way, poster and propaganda exist in symbiosis for each other, and we could even add, with the far-right message that might be characterized by a lack of political depth. We wonder then, if that is the reason why political posters have become so “crass, ugly and sterile” using Leith’s words.

Leith finishes the article saying that the party that would have the most original vote would win his vote. This opinion seems rather linear, for Leith a political poster seems to represent the same as cultural commodity, not only that, but an “ideological commodity” that may be bought by its aesthetic appearance, and, quoting Adorno “amalgamates with advertising.”³⁵⁴ So, presupposing this, it is not only the “political party” that is being bought, but also the package that it offers, an identity? Authority and order? The apology of family and work? Or maybe, a city where immigrants and minorities are submissive, that respect the native? In fact, in some cases, especially with identity, it seems to be being sold by these parties’ posters as rare objects, so that we desire them. Pratkanis explains how this is a principle of persuasion known as ‘scarcity sells’, or “phantom trap”³⁵⁵ in propagandist use, easily arousing emotions over something that can be unavailable. In these parties’ cases, it seems to be directed to messages such as “our land, our jobs, our services are missing”, thus making the public aware, that they have something, that is theirs, disappearing, and in that way, highlighting its threatened existence. In relation to commodity capitalism the British editor and Professor of Critical and Contextual Studies Aidan Winterburn (Leeds Metropolitan University) tells how the increase of the working classes during the 1960s was particularly important, many people felt like that “they needed badges of belonging, of identity”³⁵⁶, so, there was a class that started to dislike itself and looking and trying to purchase things that would make them seem more cultural. At the same time, Ignazi³⁵⁷

353. Abraham Moles quoting Savignc in *O Cartaz*, 194.

354. Adorno and Horkheimer, “The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception,” 22.

355. Pratkanis, *Age of Propaganda...*, 188-95.

356. Winterburn, *The Rise and Fall of the Poster – Street Talk*, 176.

357. Ignazi, *Extreme Right Parties in...*, 34.

refers how the working class has evolved since the 60s and there is more a question of conflict of values than material ones, emphasizing self-realization and identity. Far-right parties seemed to be in the 80s, alongside new leftist ecologist and libertarian parties, the ones that could answer to the changes, like Pfau and Parrott refer regarding the success of a product in campaigns, “Usually easier to gain market entry for a new product than to reposition an old one when it involves making a fundamental alteration in product image...”³⁵⁸, thus explaining their success. We might wonder why graphic design has mingled with advertisement and why has the population become so passive politically, how, as mentioned by Winterburn, “[...] style and design sheared away from the political and the ethical, neutered and tamed”³⁵⁹, however, these forces have joined together to make everyone stay in “their belonging place” making them feel exactly what they would like to be. It is true that the poster persists, but exactly with which meanings. It has been the alliance of democracy with capitalism that has provided the alliance design with politics and big markets making some of the most known posters possible, even the ones from the far-right.

It is interesting that while describing Nixon and the famous “media competition” (especially against Kennedy), Liz McQuiston refers that “his strategy centered on the principle that the ‘image’ is what the voter psychologically ‘buys’ like any commodity”³⁶⁰. McQuiston does not even refer to an ideology of the party, or the candidate’s reasoning anymore, but only to his image. Political propaganda comes to assimilate to a competition for consumption, when in fact, what matters is not what politicians produce, or what results they show, but how polished is the rhetoric they transmit. It is interesting that for politics or design that seek to have more substance the fears of how they might be named can be similar (especially depending on their campaign methods and goals), political rhetoric is substituted by advertising, rarely telling us anything about the party or candidates objectives, and design often gives place to “branding.”³⁶¹ Nevertheless, more recently, politicians seem to have been using

358. Pfau and Parrott, *Persuasive Communication Campaigns*, 12.

359. Winterburn, *The Rise and Fall of the Poster...*, 179.

360. McQuiston, “National Politics” in *Graphic Agitation*, 30

361. Charlotte and Peter Fiell, *Graphic Design for the Twenty-First Century...*, 304. Agharad Lewis also presents us the distinction between graphic design and advertising posters, where the first “is more elusive and tends to be seen either as a fly-poster [...] or doesn't make it to the street at all.” in *The Rise and Fall of the Poster*, 27

branding as well, in diverse campaigns for war or elections purpose. In his eloquent essay “My Country is Not a Brand” for one the design compilation volume series *Looking Closer*, William Drenttel mentions how war has been branded by sound bytes and promotional bumpers like “Operation Desert Storm”, or “Operation Iraqi Freedom”, or how America is constantly named by media and politicians as a brand, adding that “When the vocabulary of a nation’s foreign policy is the vocabulary of branding, then it is, in fact, selling Uncle Ben’s Rice...”³⁶² Ron Beasley and Marcel Danesi refer how advertising is commonly used in propaganda, publicity, and public relations, characterizing contemporary advertising as “a blend of *art* and *science*, because it employs both aesthetic techniques designed to influence how people perceive goods and services, and the tools of psychology and statistics to assess the effects of such techniques on consumer behaviour”³⁶³ and propaganda as “the craft of spreading and entrenching doctrines, views, beliefs, etc., reflecting specific interests and ideologies (political, social, philosophical, etc.) by attempting to persuade people through rational or emotional appeals.”³⁶⁴ While referring to political rhetoric the concept of “propaganda” should also be mentioned as its counter-side, the expression seems to have fallen out of use in contemporary society³⁶⁵. In fact, it seems that since quite early it has carried negative connotations, David Crowley tells the story of how in Great Britain “in 1932 a civil servant working for the Foreign Office admitted that in his job as a publicist he avoided using the word ‘propaganda’, because it was ‘in particularly bad odour for some time after the war.’”³⁶⁶ Later on Crowley³⁶⁷ also mentions that the psychological fear and public concern attached to this concept is also related to the later totalitarian states in Europe. Steven Seidman also refers this view of propaganda as

362. William Drenttel, “My Country is not a Brand”, in *Looking Closer Five...*, 163

363. Beasley and Danesi, *Persuasive Signs...*, 2. Later ahead they mention how advertising has come to be used by “right-wing” and “left wing” groups even if criticized by its promiscuity or by the use of stereotypical role models and unabashed consumerism, 10.

364. Beasley and Danesi, *Persuasive Signs...*, 2.

365. In most of these parties’ websites, when looking for their posters, only *Lega Nord* and PNR seemed to use the word “propaganda” referring to their posters: “And now newspapers and posters in factories, kids’rooms, in homes, in the fields of Pontida. The vehicles used by the propaganda of our movement, when newspapers and television turned against us, or worse, ignored us, were the most effective both for the type of message content and because they were made from the people for the people.” in *Lega Nord*, “Manifesti” <http://www.leganord.org/ilmovimento/manifesti.asp> (accessed 29 March, 2011). The PNR asks the public to “Do propaganda of the PNR wherever you are”, by posting the posters and flyers presented, PNR, “Propaganda” <http://www.pnr.pt/propaganda/> (accessed 21 April, 2011).

366. Crowley, “Protest and Propaganda”, 115.

367. Crowley, “Protest and Propaganda”, 116.

“deceitful”, particularly present after World War I, “in the Axis countries, particularly Germany, the general public also viewed “propaganda” and “lying” synonymously”³⁶⁸, books such the 1927 *Propaganda Technique in the World War* by Harold Lasswell that had definitions of the concept that included words like “fake”, or “tool”, also contributed to this association.

Adding to this, we could see where the poster would place itself, Jean Meylan tells us that “codified, regulated, integrated into the Western economic and political system, the poster has finally produced non-disclosure (non-communication).”³⁶⁹ In any way, both resemble “commercial” tools and exploit cultural issues for plain exchange purposes, common characteristics in a capitalist society. Not only that, but these far-right posters, using Dichter’s “strategy of desire”³⁷⁰ used in advertising, seem to target some desires, not concrete material objects, but emotional or psychological with socio-economical motivations (hidden or repressed desires related to identity, nationality or the Other). In the case of *Lega Nord*’s ship with immigrants, Fig. 8, or even in FN’s poster in Fig. 12, it seems that, in Moles words, “it’s the optimum taken to the absurd”³⁷¹.

CHAPTER 5 - COUNTER-PROPAGANDA FOR THE FAR-RIGHT MESSAGE

Direct Responses

Counter-propaganda has been as relevant as propaganda itself, it can take different forms and positions, it’s not only the creation of a poster from scratch, but the adaptation from other images (like Picasso’s *Guernica* reproduced to thousands) or distorting the original propaganda message usually into a (dark) humorous text (John Heartfield or George Grosz). David Crowley describes “two traditions that lie at either end of spectrum which encompasses the history of propaganda in the 20th century”³⁷². On one side, posters that are “designed by official artists and produced by state

368. Seidman, *Posters, Propaganda and Persuasion in Election Campaigns...*, 7.

369. Meylan, *Aux Urnes, Citoyens!...*, 9.

370. Theory is referred by Moles, *O Cartaz*, 13.

371. Moles quoting Savignac in *O Cartaz*, 195.

372. Crowley, “Protest and Propaganda”, 101.

printers”³⁷³, also called by McQuiston “official voice”³⁷⁴, “‘the establishment’: governments, leaders and institutions that operate systems of control and define societal values and priorities”’. On the other side, Crowley mentions “agitational images sometimes designed by the untrained and printed by any means possible”³⁷⁵, what McQuiston describes as “unofficial voice”³⁷⁶, “those who question, criticize or even reject those systems and structures as well as the motives of the people behind them.”³⁷⁷

The passive manner that the poster can exist and the indifferent attitude that the stroller reacts to it also contribute to this indifference in public. Most of the times, it’s not even the stroller that reacts to it, but communication systems like television or newspapers. We may wonder of the convenience of these posters as a target of the media functioning as a distraction from other situations and not dealing with the message itself. In fact, it is often been stated that these posters do not exist (only) for the stroller, but mainly to the mass communication systems. It seems that magnifying the fact that immigrants live in our countries through visual representations has obliterated to question ourselves about the gaps in a democratic society. When thinking about the responses from society that these posters have obtained, we should notice that not all can really be considered as “counter-propaganda” or having a subversive and critical analysis, as it is usually the case with television, radio or newspapers. In this Chapter, attention will be given primarily to the responses in a poster medium. However, the problem of modern media and even their reaction to the far-right seem to be related to what Agacinski mentions when comparing it the counterpower made through printed publications during the French Revolution, “distance is blurred [...] journalists, politicians, rulers and their opponents, unions and experts, intellectuals and other members of ‘civil society’, share the same screen, the same television and radio studios. This expanded public sphere and the political sphere thus become superimposed on one another....”³⁷⁸. Also, in the same lines of thought, public opinion starts to be questioned, are the responses and reactions to far-right posters really well-informed and with an attempt to create discussion and thought? Or are they as Agacinski tells us “irrational or

373. Crowley, “Protest and Propaganda”, 101.

374. McQuiston, *Graphic Agitation...*, 29.

375. Crowley, “Protest and Propaganda”, 101.

376. McQuiston, *Graphic Agitation...*, 30.

377. McQuiston, *Graphic Agitation...*, 30.

378. Agacinski, “Stages of Democracy”, 130.

naïf, seduced or manipulated by the media.”³⁷⁹? The problem of the media as a source of information lies, as Wieviorka refers, in their two different registries, one of “emotion, affection, passion, fear or seduction, that can owe a lot to images, sounds, to a spectacle; and, on the other hand, the analysis, the arguments, the information that is wants to be fact.”³⁸⁰ In the first example that will be given, when thinking about the response of Gato Fedorento, or even NGO’s and independent activists we wonder about their need for self-advertisement or publicity, even if there is a real concern for the social cause building a name associated to it might have its positive feedback. This last possibility also relates very well to the case of graphic designers that have intervened with works fighting racist and xenophobic ideas, the “double agent” characteristic, mentioned in the previous chapter, fits in this description. It is profitable for a big corporation like Coca-cola or McDonalds to have graphic designers that also have a good social reputation. The second option given by Agacinski³⁸¹ of media counting as the new rhetorical technique of modern democracy will be discarded in this case, since it is not believed that a media greatly owned by private entities, may it be in television or newspapers, can really speak for the greater public interest in an unbiased and pluralistic form. It should be remembered here the ownership by Silvio Berlusconi of a television chain and newspapers. Berlusconi was also the creator of the party Forza Italia that has established alliances with *Alleanza Nazionale* and *Lega Nord* since mid-90s, more recently *Forza Italia* merged with *Alleanza Nazionale* forming his current party, *Il Popolo della Libertà* maintaining the same coalition with *Lega Nord*. The importance of the media for the organization of the FN and its later success seems particularly important, especially during the 80s, after the famous letter written by Le Pen complaining to the French President that the media was ignoring his party and the conference. According to Antonis Ellinas, “in 1982, the national press and the public broadcasters ignored the sixth congress of the FN, coinciding with the FN’s tenth year of existence”³⁸². After a meeting with the Minister of Communication everything

379. Agacinski, “Stages of Democracy”, 130.

380. Wieviorka, *A Diferença*, 125. In this sense it would also be interesting to refer “the *rational vs. non-rational* dichotomy” in advertising explained and presented in a table with the different media by Beasley and Danesi, *Persuasive Signs...*, 11.

381. Agacinski, “Stages of Democracy”, 130.

382. Ellinas, “Growth, Persistence, and Fall...”, 176. The story is also reported by Perrineau, “Le Front National...”, 253-4.

changed and in June 1982 the President of the FN makes a successful TV appearance³⁸³. In January 1984, Le Pen stars in *Figaro-Sofres* (a barometer for polls regarding different society issues) which measures the popularity of political forces. On 13th February 1984 he has his debut on the TV show “*L’heure de vérité*” (with an audience of 7 million, his second appearance in 1986 would have 17 million³⁸⁴), and according to Gaillard-Starzmann “distributes 15,000 posters to publicise the show.”³⁸⁵ One of the Chapters in Wieviorka’s book *The Difference* is related to the influence of the media³⁸⁶ in racism, showing how there can be a “direct logic of production or co-production”³⁸⁷, by reproducing and disseminating behaviors and ideologies, or by a specific intervention without an outside influence (institutions or organizations), giving the example of how a speaker in the French radio TF1 imitated Le Pen by singing a song with racial insults to black people and then interviewed Le Pen³⁸⁸. Obviously, he does not leave out the option that openly racist media exists, mentioning that “not all democracies possess means to fight those practices”³⁸⁹ or even that not all journalists follow the Code of Ethics. This does not mean, in any case, that media should not be legitimate in a democracy (Wieviorka also describes the “anti-racism” media however, more than often the situations reported are dramatized, or sometimes when in error, rarely admitting and correcting it³⁹⁰) what it should not be forgotten is the possibility of filtering and answering to the information given to the public. In the end, as referred by Pratkanis, “The media may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about”³⁹¹.

Once again, Agacinski³⁹² presents and justifies three ways for the “publicness of thought”, following Aristotle. One, because plurality is always a better judge for a work or decision, enriching the judgment; second, a public judgment would be more beneficial than an assembly judge since the ideas would “add up” instead of rectifying each other. The last one refers that the difference between the *assembled* public and the

383. Gaillard-Starzmann, “Regarding the Front National”, 180.

384. Ellinas, “Growth, Persistence, and Fall...”, 188 .

385. Gaillard-Starzmann, “Regarding the Front National”, 179.

386. Wieviorka, *A Diferença*, 121-140

387. *Ibid.*, 121.

388. *Ibid.*, 128.

389. *Ibid.*, 132.

390. *Ibid.*, 137-140.

391. Pratkanis, *Age of Propaganda*, 46.

392. Agacinski, “Stages of Democracy”, 137.

dispersed public seems to be that in the first every member would contribute for the decision-making while in the latter a debate does not necessarily exist. In fact, the latter seems to be closely related to our modern condition. She then uses Habermas stream of thought and how the real public would be the one that assembles and discusses, “given that there is no public space without ‘reciprocal communication’”³⁹³ In any of these responses, we should again question and think how often do they come from the ones represented in these posters, are the people that question, and react do these posters the ones that are affected by their message? Do they feel themselves represented or do they keep silent? Or do they speak, but are ignored? Manuel Castells refers how “to challenge existing power relationships, it is necessary to produce alternative discourses that have the potential to overwhelm the disciplinary discursive capacity of the state as a necessary step to neutralizing its use of violence.”³⁹⁴

Nevertheless, political parties, humorists or organisations have taken a stand and responded to far-right posters usually using the original message and distorting or ridiculing it. In the SVP case, many were the examples that have used their white and black sheep and transformed them into colourful ones, or even having the white sheep being kicked out of the map. Regarding the election for ballot-box citizenship on the 1st June, 2008, the Green Party of Geneva showed white sheep with the label “accepted”, while the colourful ones all revealed a red “refused”, Fig. 28. At the same time, the SVP logo “For more security!”, has been transformed by the Swiss Party of Labour into “For more diversity!” with a black, brown and a yellow sheep wearing a conical Asian hat kicking the white sheep with a SVP logo attached to it and by the Swiss Socialist Youth into a “Equality now!”, with a black and white sheep facing each other with a heart above them (these are said to be transformed into stickers), Fig. 31. Criticism has been raised towards some of these responses, claiming that they generate even more attention to the original, which might be considered as a “bonus”³⁹⁵ to the parties themselves, trivializing their messages. In the sub-chapter concerning “the fight against the FN”, Gaillard-Starzmann refers how one of the principal ways for “controlling the FN” has

393. Agacinski, “Stages of Democracy”, 139.

394. Castells, *Communication Power*, 16

395. Words used by the President of PNR as a reaction to Gato Fedorento’s poster. Portugal Diário, fnsul, “Os ‘Gatos’ foram Perfeitos Anormais” [Video] <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vZdmyTY31SI> (accessed May 5 2010).

been its demonization³⁹⁶. This demonization has actually been present in some posters, in one way or another, regarding the image of the far-right. However, he mentions how demonization is in the long run be inefficient and dangerous, “inefficient, because whilst the mainstream condemned the FN, the latter’s popularity never stopped growing, dangerous because, as the boundary of the acceptable is subjective, lines become blurred and consequently certain taboos are relativised.”³⁹⁷ Although the poster in Fig. 29 refers to the BNP and its action in the UK (according to the author of the website “Throughout the general election there was a constant fear that the BNP would win its first seat in the House of Commons”³⁹⁸), it could surely be an example of this “demonization”. The poster was designed by Saatchi and Saatchi and elected as one of the posters of the year in terms of design in the UK, however, we know how strong a symbol like the Nazi-swastika still is, and how Nazi connections still make Europe tremble. In some cases, it gives the parties a reason to behave as victims, a target of the system. After the first PNR poster was completely unrecognized by vandalism, it was substituted by another, claiming “Ideas are not erased, they are discussed”, assuming a politically correct posture of being on the side of reason. In this, they try to approach themselves to the general public, “the common victims of the system.” The victimization behaviour is in fact often used, may the parties be ignored or “prosecuted”, an example given by Banks and Gingrich³⁹⁹ is how during the construction of the EU extreme parties, from left or right, were left aside.

The Portuguese humorist group Gato Fedorento answered to the first poster of PNR by placing another one of same size and dimensions next to it (Fig. 28, left side). Their poster read “More Immigration!” and below “The best way to pester foreigners is to make them live in Portugal”. The group, constituted by four members, displayed a picture of themselves where they all imitated the President of PNR through a similar beard and expression. This response seems to do more than distorting the first message; far-right groups have a connotation of violence, many people feel threatened and fear reacting to them. There is an attempt not to take far-right posters seriously by laughing

396. Gaillard-Starzmann, “Regarding the Front National”, 185.

397. Gaillard-Starzmann, “Regarding the Front National”, 185.

398. Benedict Pringle, “Top 10 British Political Adverts 2010”, Political Advertising Website <http://politicaladvertising.co.uk/category/uk-general-election-2010/> (accessed 20 February, 2011).

399. Banks and Gingrich, “Introduction”, 14.

at them, since they are usually a minority and people do not want to get involved with these groups⁴⁰⁰. But, most importantly, this also leaves a doubt in the air for us to ask ourselves if the message is truly serious. It is important to stress that after the constant vandalizing of the PNR poster, some sympathizers or affiliates of the party were seen standing close to the poster as a form of protection (a member of the humourist group and his daughter had even been threatened by a nationalist militant after the “poster” incident). With Gato Fedorento’s response the discussion was brought to the public sphere, the PNR poster became uncrowned or dismantled and started to exist, opposing to the protected discussions in television or newspapers.

The poster of Gato Fedorento was removed by Lisbon’s town hall only one day after its appearance since it was considered “illegally placed advertisement.” However, this definition was later refuted by the President for the Commission of Rights, Liberties and Guarantees of the Parliament, claiming that the poster couldn’t be considered advertisement, but political propaganda (defined by the message and not who is behind it), which being a right to everyone, it would be illegal to remove it.⁴⁰¹ Why wasn’t the issue of freedom of expression discussed in this case? The poster, by itself, should not be attributed a narrow ideological and political, it has never been this way and possibly never will. It serves as much for to fly-postering and iconoclasm as to institutionalized advertisement and political propaganda. Forcing the poster to have only one meaning would be anti-democratic. The question of democracy and following the Constitution was already explored in a previous sub-chapter, however, it would be relevant here to mention the difference of Gato Fedorento’s poster, their message was certainly looked by the public and brought the PNR to public discussion, not only that, it forced us to understand how the public usually accepts political messages uncritically. The PNR poster, before Gato Fedorento’s answer, had only been highlighted by the media, but it had seemed to fall, for the general public, in the same bag as other political propaganda. This seems rather dangerous, on one side, there’s the acceptance that political messages are so “equal to each other” that there is no difference among them, by the other, if a

400. Banks and Gingrich refers how the lack of research regarding these movements has been more related to “[...] sake of moral hygiene than to avoid bodily endangerment”, “Introduction”, 7.

401. Inês David Bastos, Filipe Morais e Fernanda Cândia, “Gato Fedorento”: sob ameaça da extrema-direita por causa de cartaz” (April 6, 2007), *Diário de Notícias*, http://dn.sapo.pt/especiais/interior.aspx?content_id=1006095&especial=Extrema%20Direita&secao=SOCIEDADE (accessed 2 May 2010).

far-right poster messages are really accepted as similar to other messages, then this might say a lot about the state of current politics and how obvious it might be why these parties are gaining votes. What Gato Fedorento has done, nowadays, seems to be close to what the greengrocer in Václav Havel's "Power of the Powerless" has done, they refused to be indifferent to the poster outside saying "Workers of the world, unite!", they refused to behave in the way it was expected of the general public⁴⁰². Once again, as Havel mentions the "opposition"⁴⁰³ can come from reactions with an indirect political effect or just from people who make public their nonconformist and critical opinions. It is troublesome that reactions only come when extreme messages or situations seem to occur; it is rare that responses to political messages exist in a very visible and official way. Possibly, the fact that Gato Fedorento were protected by their own "ideology", of being known TV humourists, has also helped to validate the message. At the same time, the fact that they are humourists should not discard their message and meaning, as Havel mentions, "It is truly a cruel paradox that the more some citizens stand up in defence of other citizens, the more they are labelled with a word that in effect separates them from those "other citizens."⁴⁰⁴

Nevertheless, while asked if their poster represented politics the group answered negatively, that in fact, it represented a joke. The media promptly announced that after all this response "had *only* been a joke."⁴⁰⁵ This seems to diminish the role of humour and laughter, after all, humour can laugh about everything (but maybe not with everyone⁴⁰⁶), and as art, it is never derided of a critical sense. This "joke" could even allude to Milan Kundera's book with the same name and how a joke, which here implies telling the truth, might shake and threaten the ideology of a political system. It is quite amazing that living in a society of "spectacle" how "jokes" like the one from Gato Fedorento are so surprising. Already in his 1969 work, *An Essay on Liberation*, the German philosopher, sociologist and political theorist Herbert Marcuse mentioned that, "In face of the horribly serious totality of institutionalized politics, satire, irony and

402. Havel, "Power of the Powerless", 146-8.

403. Havel, "Power of the Powerless", 167-71.

404. *Ibid.*, 171.

405. Bastos, "'Gato Fedorento': sob ameaça da extrema-direita por causa de cartaz".

406. The question of the media and humour is also relevant for the spread of racism and xenophobia, Wieviorka highlights how in France it has become acceptable to make jokes with Muslims and Belgium people, how jokes with black people still persist, but how anti-Semitic humour are rare, and only accepted when the humorist is himself Jewish, in *A Diferença*, 127-28

hilarious provocation becomes a necessary dimension of new politics. The disdain for the *esprit serieux*, that allows the talks and the actions of professional and semi-professional politicians, is mixed with the disdain for the values they profess and, at the same time, destroy. The rebels live the desperate laughter and the cynical challenge of the fools as a means for unmasking the acts of serious people that governs the whole.”⁴⁰⁷ Like the greengrocer, the revealed what many people thought and did not say or discuss, making it in a clever way but what went against the “acceptable”, as humourists they could say anything they wanted, but would they be heard as serious? Possibly, they would not be attributed the catalogue of “dissidents”, since democracy is installed in Portugal, however, their image sure changed to many people. They were not simply non-sense humourists anymore, they became political as well.

A Conscious Graphic Design

In the communist bloc and in its heritage towards the poster, Aulich and Sylvestrová tell us how “Just as there was a symbiotic dynamic in the field of politics between the *apparatchik* and the dissenter, so there was between the political and the art poster.”⁴⁰⁸ It might be a little far-fetched to compare the communist bloc’s dissenter with nowadays one, since boundaries in between the fields have become a little blurred and regimes have changed. However, further ahead they mention Ivan Novak’s words, of the Slovenian avant-garde and industrial music group Laibach, “The basic problem is that Westerners believed that they were – in contrast to those in the East – free, and that they alone were doing pure art and pure music whereas Easterners had to make ideological art. It’s not true. It’s basically the same model, except it’s more sophisticated in the West.”⁴⁰⁹ What this means is that nowadays the ideas of “dissenter” and “ideology” are even more unclear and blurred that they were thirty years ago, the “sophistication” now means more obfuscation. However, this “symbiotic dynamic” still exists today. Jonathan Barnbrook, a British graphic designer and typographer known for being politically active mentions how, “Design is both a political and cultural force for change, although most designers choose not to think about the power it has.”⁴¹⁰ At the

407. Herbert Marcuse, *Um Ensaio para a Libertação*, trad. Maria Ondina Braga (Amadora: Bertrand, 1977), 89.

408. Aulich and Sylvestrová, *Political Posters in Central and Eastern Europe...*, 13.

409. Aulich and Sylvestrová, *Political Posters in Central and Eastern Europe...*, 80.

410. “Jonathan Barnbrook” in *Contemporary Graphic Design*, ed. Fiell and Fiell, 52.

same time, he has also mentioned his disappointment towards design stating that, “There was a time when it was thought that design had an important role in society. It could tell people meaningful information or try to improve our ways of living. It could tell people meaningful information or try to improve our ways of living. Today we seem to have forgotten that design has this possibility.”⁴¹¹

However, the inherent criticism and *subversiveness* characteristic of poster designers in post-communist countries seems not to have vanished. The criticism to the new regimes is usually characterized by satire, McQuiston presents poster examples from Russia, Moldova, Hungary and Poland (the relevance of Warsaw International Poster Biennale should be mentioned) is given. The relevance of posters that challenge the established politics and system or that raise awareness towards discrimination⁴¹² in society is related to what McQuiston refers to a general alertness and consciousness over cases around them, encouraging the public to take action⁴¹³. Regarding responses in design to far-right posters designers have raised their voices, may it be to the parties themselves and their politics, or to a widespread racism and xenophobia. In the French case, demonstrations of solidarity have been shown through the posters, especially towards Algeria that faced a turbulent Civil war during the 90s like in Fig. 35 or Fig. 37. For the Swiss and Italian cases, interesting designs have appeared in form of poster that denounce immigration laws in the past and how they are still present today. A poster from 2000 presented in the work *The Design of Dissent* (2005) commemorates the 1949 peasant rebellion in southern Italy that resulted in a relevant immigration to Switzerland (having an inherent criticism to Swiss laws for immigrants still today), Fig 34. Another one still, from the same designer, presented a “dark-skinned model holds a target to make clear the xenophobic racist consequences on immigrants on this poster protesting

411. “Jonathan Barnbrook”, *Graphic Design for the Twenty-First Century...*, 82.

412. It is relevant to note that she also mentions that “racism and extremism (fascism) have also become grave issues for twenty-first-century designers”, mentioning the cases of the UK and Germany, the latter with especially interesting poster designs, the Berlin activist and artist Sandy K has designed in 1999 the poster “Kein Mensch ist Illegal” giving a face to four immigrants and presenting their stories regarding health, work, public space and education that are usually presented as ‘faceless’ by the media, and Lex Drewinski 1996 poster with his “Nostalgia” in white letters and black background, with the “s” being replaced by a swastika and the “g” by a hammer and sickle in in *Graphic Agitation II...*, 196.

413. McQuiston, *Graphic Agitation II...*, 195.

a new discriminatory Italian immigration law.”⁴¹⁴ At the same time, the veil, *burqa*, *chador* or *hijab* (already commented regarding the SVP and FN poster in the sub-chapter *In the world of Black Sheep and Minarets...*), has been mentioned by Liz McQuiston. In a post-9/11 climate, it seemed to become “a powerful and potentially confusing graphic symbol with a range of meanings. It could be used to feed fears and prejudices associated with terrorism that were re-emerging at the time; it could be seen as a symbol of repression by fundamentalist regimes; or it could be a symbol of individual empowerment, commitment and religious belief.”⁴¹⁵ This symbol has then been represented in different forms or opinions; as irrelevant for the woman’s real attributes and personality, as in Fig. 32, or as an imprisonment or tomb from freedom, Fig. 33. Sometimes, even to subvert an ideal of beauty in Western society and the association of a symbol to terrorism, the renown designer Scott King has done for a project developed for New York Gallery, PS1 (also an exhibition), with the title, "How I would sink American Vogue", presenting a woman and a *niqab* and the slogan “6 expert tips on how to get that Taliban look this Summer”.

The problem of design, as referred by the Professor of design history (University of Illinois, Chicago) and writer, Victor Margolin⁴¹⁶, in his essay for *Looking Closer 5, Critical Writings on Graphic Design*, while describing William Morris’s lectures and writings, is that there seems to be a lack of political thinking or theorizing. Richard Buchanan's (professor of Design, Management and Information Systems) article further ahead mentions a lack of “moral and intellectual purpose”⁴¹⁷ Not only producing something, but also building your own theory and philosophy around what you produced and created. The question seems to lie in the connection to capitalism, and how “its best is a highly efficient system of delivering goods and services. At its worst it imposes undesirable products, and even environments, on the consumer and citizen.”⁴¹⁸ The solution he refers, in terms of the designer, should be to place himself as a critic

414. Glaser, Milton, and Mirko Ilić (Foreword by Tony Kushner). *The Design of Dissent*. (Gloucester: Rockport Publishers, 2005), 111.

415. McQuiston, *Graphic Agitation II...*, 196.

416. Victor Margolin, “The Citizen Designer”, in *Looking Closer Five, Critical Writings on Graphic Design*, ed. Michael Bierut, William Drenttel & Steven Heller, (New York: Allworth Press, 2006), 118-28.

417. Richard Buchanan, “Human Dignity and Human Rights: Thoughts on the Principles of Human-Centered Design”, in *Looking Closer Five, Critical Writings on Graphic Design*, ed. Michael Bierut, William Drenttel & Steven Heller, (New York: Allworth Press, 2006), 142.

418. Margolin, “The Citizen Designer”, 122.

and as a citizen, for this, he suggests tools as the *calculus of value*, that would make us relate the product with the conditions of production and the materials used. However, in the making of posters, the *calculus of value* is mostly ideological, if it is not something physical, but more of a message or an idea. It might not be possible for designers to stop the design of these posters (many of them are even made by the youth section of the parties), however, it might be possible for them to respond to these posters with creative messages. It is obvious that the creation of oppositional messages might be engines for debates regarding not only the far-right, but design, and even the present political systems. How to change a designer conscience, then? Well, in a way, as Buchanan⁴¹⁹ reports from a conference in South Africa, Dr. Kadir Asmal suggests that change of the design motto from “form and function” to “form and content” would be effective in the meaning of designers’ works, but also make them better conscious of their makings. In a way, the problem of design and designers, unlike art, is that their authors do not see themselves either as authors or responsible for the work they made, they created a product for society which will possibly be reproduced a million times, only rarely their name will be taken into account (more likely the brand or company they work for), if the designer starts to consider as primary a more personal relation with what he produces, a more conscious, ethic and responsible work will possibly rise. Angharad Lewis gives the example of Barnbook’s anti-Bush and anti-Blair fly-postering that had the politicians faces with a speech balloon, “What should Bush really be saying? - Fill in above.”, as she mentions “the poster is at its most powerful when it is personal.”⁴²⁰ Still referring the conference, Dr. Asmal continued by arguing that design, finds “its purpose and true beginnings in the values and constitutional life of a country and its people”⁴²¹, claiming that design is based on human dignity and human rights. So, if racist and xenophobic messages go against the constitution of a country, if equality should be one of the principles of democracy, helping to spread such messages could be questionable for a designer that has “human beings as a central place in his work”, in opposition to the usual thought of “user-centered design”⁴²².

419. Buchanan, “Human Dignity and Human Rights...”, in *Looking Closer Five...*, 140.

420. Lewis, *The Rise and Fall of the Poster...*, 40.

421. Buchanan, “Human Dignity...”, 141.

422. Buchanan, “Human Dignity...”, 142.

Abraham Moles⁴²³ refers even that a significant number of posters among the best are from non-advertising agencies like UNESCO or FAO. Even if there is not a direct need of advertising agencies to defend human rights, it is more than natural that a connection exists. The best example of these companies is obviously Saatchi & Saatchi⁴²⁴ that besides having been involved in the design of the poster in Fig. 29 has, for example, “advised parties and candidates in the first democratic elections in Russians and South Africa.”⁴²⁵ More recently, Saatchi & Saatchi was also hired to help Kenya’s “war on corruption”⁴²⁶, according to *The Independent*, in 2006 President Mwai Kibaki launched a campaign in Nairobi for people to be able to identify corruption in the three different phases that Saatchi envision for a three-year span, “changing mindsets”, how corruptions affects everyone and the positive results⁴²⁷. Within their Human Rights Awareness campaigns Saatchi has also worked in diverse occasions for Amnesty International in different points of the world, a European example includes the posters for the Spanish AI with an unfinished Eiffel Tower and the title “There are Projects you can’t Walk Out On”, other partnerships include UNICEF or Anti-Slavery International.

To conclude, what better words than Richard Buchanan ones, highlighting “Design is not merely an adornment of cultural life but one of the practical disciplines of responsible action for bringing the high values of a country or a culture into concrete reality, allowing us to transform abstract ideas into specific, manageable form.”⁴²⁸ Milton Glaser (graphic designer, author of the “I love New York” logo) refers how

423. Moles, *O Cartaz*, 21.

424. Saatchi & Saatchi was founded in 1970 in London, but has now its headquarters in New York, according to their website they “work with 6 of the top 10 and over half of the top 50 global advertisers.” They employ more than 6500 people in 140 offices in 80 countries. Also, they have tried to maintain a “clean image” with that program of sustainability, True Blue (with the four streams, Economic, Social, Environmental, Cultural”, quoting “we define our Focus as ‘making sustainability irresistible’” Saatchi & Saatchi Worldwide, (2001) <http://www.saatchi.com/en/> (accessed 27 February, 2011).

425. Seidman, *Posters, Propaganda and Persuasion in Election Campaigns...*, 17.

426. Saatchi had previously worked on a Kenya-related-work, “Operation Kenya” used several posters and fliers to persuade training in Kenya with the British army.

427. Christopher Thompson, “Saatchi hired to help Kenya’s ‘war on corruption’”, *The Independent*, 7 March, 2006, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/saatchi-hired-to-help-kenyas-war-on-corruption-468907.html> (accessed 15 February, 2011)

428. Buchanan, “Human Dignity and Human Rights...”, 142.

primitive are the means that designers have “to dissent”⁴²⁹, like posters, buttons, flyers or t-shirts. However, as much primitive it might be, this is the same material distributed by politicians to pass their message, why wouldn't it work as part of a dissenter's voice if it can have design by its side?

CHAPTER 6 - THE RELEVANCE OF THE POSTER

Out in the Public for the Public

Along history many of these public visual statements (sculptures and buildings of different kinds or even murals) have been associated and commissioned for propaganda motives, even if many of these artists would not be overtly political, modernity brought “independent” artists with a singular voice to public. In this sub-chapter the relevance of the poster as a public statement (in public) will be referred and developed. In the chapter relating “The laws of poster-designing” the late Swiss graphic designer Josef Müller-Brockmann quotes A.M. Cassandre (French poster designer from the 30's); “The... obstacle is the indifference of the man in the street. The poster must penetrate into his emotional real, not like a gentleman going through the door with a painting on an easel, but like a burglar through the window with a crowbar in his hand...”⁴³⁰ Although some voices disagree,⁴³¹ the shout or “crowbar” comparison seems quite true and efficient, especially if we are talking about the content of far-right political posters. This shout description seems, in fact, closely related to the “unary images” (‘one thing’) described by Roland Barthes in *Camera Lucida* (1980), which he later compares to pornographic images. Interesting enough, the comparison of pornographic image and propaganda is done by W.J.T. Mitchell, “The relation of pornography to propaganda is a kind of displaced version of the relation of “private” to “public” art: the former projects fetishistic images confined, in theory, to the “private sphere” of sexuality; the latter projects totemistic or idolatrous images directed, in theory, at a specific public sphere. In practice, however, private “arousal” and public “mobilization” cannot be confined to

429. Milton Glaser, “Since Then” in *Looking Closer Five, Critical Writings on Graphic Design*, ed. Michael Bierut, William Drentel & Steven Heller, (New York: Allworth Press, 2006), 145.

430. Josef Brockmann-Müller and Shizuko Brockmann-Müller, *Geschichte des Plakates = Histoire de l’Affiche = History of the Poster* (Zürich: ABC. 1971), 18.

431. Barnicoat presents us two separate views, the Dutch visual artist Roland Holst saw no need for “shouting” in poster designing, while the cartoonist and bookbinding designer Albert Hahn believed that the poster was not for the “gallery audience” so “why not a shout when that is what is needed?” in Barnicoat, *Los carteles...*, 138-9.

their proper spheres: rape and riot are the “surplus” of the economy of violence encoded in public and private images.”⁴³². The passive mode in which the poster exists seems to contribute for a certain *voyeurism*, it stands silently, fixed and apparently innocent (almost provoking to be observed), what we don’t realize is that most of the times images can also be noisy. Abraham Moles even analyses the question of “image” and “fixed” in a poster, referring that a fixed image has more objectivity; “nothing stops us from detailing or neglecting it, looking it, or prolong the pleasure of its vividness in our memory.”⁴³³ Even the technical aspects like the position that it occupies (horizontal comes closer to cinema canvas and a perpendicular position seems to benefit the visibility for passengers in cars), or the size (Moles refers “not a dimension in meters, but the percentage of a solid angle for the average field of vision”⁴³⁴) will count to transmit a final message.

The type of posters we are analyzing usually contain messages that could be considered to call for exclusion and thus, discrimination, which is becomes part of their curiosity for the public, this is one of the characteristics and strengths of the poster. Roland Barthes mentions in his “The Semiotic Challenge”, how “It would be interesting (but difficult), to know how many passer, citizens consumers of the street, had the experience of ‘passing voluntarily’ in a point of the city where there is a poster that seduces them.”⁴³⁵ The placing of the poster in the city context also enables this experience, the city defined not by its concise space, but from the possibility of what and who we encounter in it, it’s its public feature that makes this “adventure” possible.⁴³⁶ While referring to the “man on the street”, we should that is has been the street itself that has made the poster official, as largely explored by Aidan Winterburn, the street is equivalent to “the cross-pollination of different classes and ideas; the chance of assembly and political violence and the sense that all revolutions started on the street.”⁴³⁷ Quoting in his essay numerous examples of books that have related the

432. W.J.T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory...*, 382.

433. Moles, *O Cartaz*, 18.

434. *Ibid*, 91.

435. Christine de Rendinger, *L’Affiche d’Intérieur: Le Poster*. (Paris: Jean-Pierre Delarge, 1976), 50.

436. It is interesting that a connotation of eroticism had already been given to the city by Barthes “The eroticism of the city is the teaching that we can take from the infinitely metaphoric nature of the urban discourse” in Barthes, *A Aventura Semiológica*, 188.

437. Winterburn, *The Rise and Fall of Street Posters – Street Talk*, 178.

meaning of the streets and the presence of the poster, reveals us that to see a poster a *walker*, or using Walter Benjamin's term and concept, a *flâneur* is usually required, to really have a confrontational experience. Posters, even if belonging to a “disposable” culture are part of the artificial environment of the city in the same way as buildings or monuments. Not only that, but the places where billboards and posters are placed are also crucial to their understanding in cultural terms, but also to a validation of those spaces. McQuiston tells how a known poster of Guerrilla Girls from the 1980s regarding women artists' discrimination in New York, having been refused billboard space was then transformed into a bus and street poster⁴³⁸. In this sense, the billboard has certainly come to change public space, having started to be actively used by America; it is now common all over the world, and usually with legislation by its side, favouring them instead of posters⁴³⁹. Aidan Winterburn⁴⁴⁰ also mentions how in Britain with ‘Blairite’ initiatives that mixed private with public money for forms of public communication, this seems not to be case only there, but also in other parts of Europe, making us question to what point public space is *really* public.

The ephemeral characteristic of the poster might also explain some “iconoclastic” or defacement acts from the public, if the poster is not protected by some glass window (as for example, in platform displays in the subway or in billboards located in unreachable heights) it's most likely that it will be ravaged or altered by passers.⁴⁴¹ Naomi Klein's famous work, *No Logo*, has the Chapter with the same title starting with one of this “guerrilla art” stories and ravaging billboards in New York⁴⁴². In any way, whatever happens to the poster will contribute for its final meaning and significance, even when the intention is not to alter the original message of the poster⁴⁴³, Steven Seidman tells

438. McQuiston, *Graphic Agitation II...*, 169.

439. Lewis, *The Rise and Fall of the Poster – Street Talk*, 17.

440. Winterburn, *The Rise and Fall of the Poster – Street Talk*, 176.

441. Many of these far-right political posters have been ravaged in various ways (written answers, blanking the eyes, ripping) or answered by placing a similar poster next to it (may it be from a political party or not). Iconoclastic acts in poster imagery seems to be quite common, especially in France and Great Britain where “pasting up posters for their own candidates and defacing or tearing down those of rivals”, quoted by Seidman from Russell Chaddock, *Posters, Propaganda and Persuasion in Election Campaigns...*, 121. Some of these iconoclastic acts also constitute historical and political standpoints, Crowley describes Stalin's poster being put to the torch in October, 1956 in Budapest, what he referred as a “public exorcism” of what was “more than just an image”, in “Protest and Propaganda...”, 101.

442. Naomi Klein, “No Logo”, in *No Logo*, (Flamingo, 2000), 204-313.

443. Giving the example of Guerrilla Girls, Liz McQuiston presents a Fiat billboard altered by the group, the picture of a Fiat car from 1979 alongside with a text that read “If it were a lady, it

what happens in Latin America, but surely occurs in many other places, how “the standard practice is to maximize the impact of a poster’s message by pasting many copies of the same poster in rows or columns. This repetition attracts attentions.”⁴⁴⁴ The poster has what Abraham Moles calls it “useful life”⁴⁴⁵ or in Margaret Timmers words “a metaphor for memory [...] building up into layers of meaning.”⁴⁴⁶ This condition is more common among independent posters than billboards of political parties or even advertising ones that are renovated from time to time and have a definite life span, “reducing real life to useful life”.⁴⁴⁷ However, it should be stressed that posters exist in many shapes and formats and not only to be fixed or glued. The already mentioned design group and art collective The 62 describes some of their actions with posters, stating that, “the notion of making posters and playing in the street also involves participating in demonstrations.”⁴⁴⁸ This meaning, that these posters do not have a static life, but an (inter)active public role (reminiscent even of the different movements of the 60s and 70’s, like *Atelier Populaire*). Adding to that, when participating in a manifestation or public demonstration, the group says that people usually gather around to help post and carry the posters which, in this sense, the poster becomes a trigger or a character involved in public intervention and dialogue. Margaret Timmers supports this vision: “Posters are not limited to the static walls of architecture and fixed constructions; they are also to be seen on surfaces that move – lorries; trains, buses and cabs; on human beings (demonstrators, sandwich-board men); even on animals (for example the beef cattle during the UK 1996 ‘mad cow disease’). They are part of the street theatre: the very action of posting up posters is an event, and hoardings can create a dramatic setting for stunts.”⁴⁴⁹ This public involvement exists and has an impact in a physical way that a poster in the Internet or in television will never have and as old as it is, it maintains its *activeness* in public alongside new forms of public manifestations like graffiti or stencils. Robbie Conal, an American guerrilla poster artist, uses a “volunteer guerilla postering army” for his overnight action, and so “feeding more care and

would get its bottom pinched” was completed by a graffiti by the group saying, “If this lady was a car she’d run you down.” in *Graphic Agitation...*, 162.

444. Seidman, *Posters, Propaganda and Persuasion in Election Campaigns...*, 205.

445. Moles, *O Cartaz*, 28.

446. Timmers, “Introduction”, 6, that highlights the importance of collectors to save posters from a given historical period.

447. Moles, *O Cartaz*, 28.

448. McGuinness, *Fresh Dialogue Six...*, 42.

449. Timmers, “Introduction”, 10.

attention into his guerilla tactics than most official bodies would lend to an average media campaign, because he knows that he must get maximum effect from economy of means. He may not match the ‘reach’ of a televised campaign, but his effectiveness per square of inch image is probably just as high, if not higher.”⁴⁵⁰ In all marches, manifestations or demonstrations carrying posters is more than usual, there is a presence attached to it then, our body is there side-by-side with the poster, conscious of (re)acting. The posters in Fig. 36 and 37 (present in Liz McQuiston’s⁴⁵¹ work) are of these demonstrations; the first, from 1990 shows a poster that combined the faces of Adolf Hitler and Jean-Marie Le Pen, the second intended to react against anti-immigration laws in Paris in 1997.

The poster is “more public” not only when compared to other media, but also other art forms, Adelaida de Juan is quoted by John Barnicoat referring to the 1969 International Cuba exhibition that united graphic arts and fine arts, she compares the cultivated audience of the latter, as opposed to the usually ignorant audience of the first, the intimacy of one in opposition to the other. Finally, she remarks that “Moreover, there exists the idea that the painting is of the painter (his/hers ideas, problems or happiness) while the graphic work (billboards, posters, book covers, magazines) is informative, so, it is at the same level as films, theater, and is charged by a thematic that never is attributed to the artist: it is executed by order. In all of this we should add the personal touch of the making of the painting, and the collective work of the graphic production.”⁴⁵² All in all, graphic design, or poster making is assigned the role of popular art, and in everything is more plural than the so called fine arts (“eminently collectible, cheaper and less-intimidating to buy than fine art”⁴⁵³ are some of the differences, as mentioned by Lewis). In any case, it does not invalidate its existence in the visual world and in its public influence. Not only that, but the making of a poster, will be all-in-all, a collective response from the society, if the graphic artist, like Alexander Segert is assigned to do a work, it was the SVP that hired him to follow their ideology, if Gato Fedorento felt the need to answer to the PNR message, it was part of the ill-symptom that they felt from society. However, in the same way the poster’s voice

450. McQuiston, *Graphic Agitation...*, 30.

451. McQuiston, *Graphic Agitation II...*, 224-7.

452. Barnicoat, *Los Carteles...*, 352.

453. Lewis, *The Rise and Fall...*, 17.

might be “ordered” by others, Jean Meylan⁴⁵⁴ states that we have replaced dialogue by the statement, or news. It might have a passive characteristic, but yet it is in the public sphere, does it create a dialogue by itself? Not by itself, but it is still able to create interaction. We should not forget that the poster in its whole, is an image, and images as mentioned by Peter Burke “[...] are designed to communicate. In another sense they tell us nothing. Images are irredeemably mute.”⁴⁵⁵

The fact that a poster is placed in a city space also seems that to enhance a quality of “anonymous public”, not only the public seems anonymous, but also the author. Thus, the poster carries a charge of non-responsibility; they are usually posted during night time (even if placed during daytime no one would attribute responsibilities to the man posting them), being that only a given logo of the party, or a face of the politician.⁴⁵⁶ It’s this quality of “anonymous public” that makes it tempting to use aggressive messages. However, even if apparently anonymous, a “target public” exists (as it was already mentioned by Alexander Segert in his quotation), for the far-right, this would be as Banks reveals, “not so much the unemployed as the precariously employed”⁴⁵⁷, in this way these posters call for the public that is unhappy with its professional and personal situation, that has had to conform and is unsatisfied with the ‘new liberal economy’ and wishes a drastic change. It is also said that the far-right and their emotional campaigns tend to catch young voters, the abstention or ex-members of other parties, in a way, those that will possibly vote in these parties for a short term, what Perrineau refers to as “an electorate of rejection and despair”⁴⁵⁸ that vote based on immediate impulses. This target audience is usually located in urban grounds or in cities where immigration is growing and social problems are augmenting. Two of the PNR outdoors were located in one of the most known locations in Lisbon, Marquês de Pombal (having a main roundabout also helps their visibility by cars), however, stickers and posters have been seen in Martim Moniz (one of the most famous neighbourhoods for immigrants and

454. Meylan, *Aux Urnes, Citoyens!...*, 9.

455. Burke, *Eyewitnessing...*, 34.

456. The Swiss company APG responsible for putting the SVP posters up said to be only “fulfilling a contract” justifying the existence of the posters by democracy shaping opinions Swiss Info, “Provocative Posters” [Video] http://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/multimedia/video/Provocative_posters.html?cid=1301740 (accessed May 5, 2010).

457. Banks and Gingrich, “Introduction”, 15

458. Perrineau, “Le Front National...”, 262, for more on the target public see Gerald Gaillard Starzmann, “Regarding the Front National”, 183

minorities) and construction places as well. The SVP posters and billboards have been located in undergrounds, or billboards near highways.

Curiously, the criticism towards some billboards or posters and their public placement⁴⁵⁹, not respecting certain areas and being put near monuments, churches, parks, or “national heritage” landmarks, is nearly the same that is given to the minaret case or to the usage of a veil or *burqa* in public space. The construction of minarets, an architectural pinnacle, that may or not be, part of a mosque, is nowadays being strongly criticized for its implementation in cities around Europe; it’s this overtly public announcement that disturbs the citizens. We are tolerant to them as long as they are discreet, low profile. Over Switzerland, parties and citizens united themselves to answer the minaret-ban poster, *Print* magazine chose 6 of those and had them analysed graphically by Bettina Richter, curator of the poster collection at the Museum für Gestaltung in Zurich. From posters that substitute the minarets by rockets (Swiss left-wing party Alternative List), given that at the same time a referendum was being voted to ban the export on war materials, to a minimalist poster having a fork with one of its teeth cut off, and the slogan “Equal rights to all”, which according to her “attracts attention [...] but, in my opinion, this poster is a typical example of poster design for an intellectual minority.”⁴⁶⁰ At the same time, some seem to have worked right on the target, like in Fig. 38 created by the Swiss designer Frank Bodin, “The photo is original, compared with the banal photographic aesthetic in commercial posters. So it attracts attention in a public space.”⁴⁶¹ Is it then possible to apply to this method of communication to what W.J.T. Mitchell calls the “ideological template” of Habermas (the emphasis of visual representation and uncoerced discussion); “The public sphere, in short, is a kind of utopian counterpart to the pictures of power [...] It imagines a place outside the realms of power and special interests, a place of freedom from power.”⁴⁶²

Cyber Culture vs. Physical Culture

459. Charles Newton describes how in early 20th century Paris and London hoardings with billboards occupied construction spaces massively, in “How Posters have Changed the Landscape” in *The Power of the Poster*, ed. Margaret Timmers, 232-42.

460. Geeta Dayal. “6 Posters on the Swiss minaret vote” *PRINT* Magazine (accessed 28 April, 2010).

461. Dayal, “6 Posters on the Swiss...”.

462. W.J.T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory...*, 364.

Even taking into account all the emphasis laid on the importance of public space and the legacy that the posters carries, we should also look upon its efficiency today in contrast to other media. The media started to change during World War II especially regarding propaganda, radio and cinema started to be the main sources of communication, a little after it was television to take the big step. The media has certainly changed in more than one way political communication and the way campaigns are presented. It had already been referred, in the sub-chapter regarding *Image and Text...* (Chapter 3, “Poster Analysis”), how Charteris-Black referred to sound bites and their importance in political speeches, however, this notion of ‘sound bites’, could only be possible with the appearance of television, that, has referred by Pfau and Parrott, has affected traditional speech-making. At the same time, the focus of television on the politician's image and behaviour has also made them more present in posters, as it was the case in France, where before the 60s posters focused more on the candidate's views⁴⁶³. In this way, it is not the poster that has come to simplify politics, has we have seen in Chapter 2, posters, in one format or the other, have always been present along history. Modernity and the development of media have enabled political apathy, some of the characteristics attributed by Pfau and Parrott⁴⁶⁴ to television in political campaigns are the more casual and intimate communication, nonverbal cues, emphasis on problems that can be depicted visually, and finally, its interest for the dramatic, presenting more of the “horse race” than the content. As mentioned in the Chapter regarding poster analysis, concentration is one of propaganda rules, taking this into account, which media can do it better than television? Gathering in its sphere soap operas, war, contests, natural disasters, alas, everything in the same source, how is it possible then, to make them mean something and be relevant? It is also interesting to mention how Pfau and Parrott attribute to “other communication modalities”⁴⁶⁵, like the poster, the role of reinforcement and nothing else (it should not be discarded that the reinforcement can still be as ‘chaotic’ and that an information bombardment still exists). Abraham Moles⁴⁶⁶ refers that 80% of the posters that are presented in the public sphere are not looked at, obviously he suggests the usage of visual games or metaphors to call

463. Seidman, *Posters, Propaganda and Persuasion in Election Campaigns...*, 115, given by a study of Philip Williams in *French Politicians and Elections*.

464. Pfau and Parrott, *Persuasive Communication Campaigns*, 334.

465. Pfau and Parrott, *Persuasive Communication Campaigns*, 334.

466. Moles, *O Cartaz*, 112.

more attention, however this percentage seems significant for politicians and advertisers to change the method of announcement. Still, John Barnicoat tells us that posters can still be an important means of information, especially in its primitive form, when the “mass communication” instruments cannot cover a certain message⁴⁶⁷. Obviously, according to defenders of the poster medium, like David Crowley, despite all the new media the power of the poster remains, “A speech is one way of delivering a political message through the television screen, but a speech delivered in front of a graphic symbol and slogan is more likely to register in the mind of the inattentive viewer.”⁴⁶⁸ The sameness of television, radio and newspapers has also made that some posters might call our attention more rapidly by its distinctiveness. Using Castells’ theory of information and communication as a power tool⁴⁶⁹, we might say that the web did not nullify the poster’s strength, but it only came to develop it into new media, not only in the composition of its message, but in its format and in its public.

As every communication system, the web as the power to unite people and bring them together in sharing communities, the same applies to far-right parties. From the four parties analyzed all of them possess a very complete website (with the exception of *Lega Nord*, we might say that the web-designs are quite clear, attractive and in SVP’s case even original), a Facebook page, and sometimes even twitter (case of PNR and FN). If posters officialise the image of a party or a politician, the job of the web seems to have been making them closer to us, being figures we constantly see and closely monitor, this way, it becomes easier to distort their image in our own personal representation. It is interesting that the web can work so well as an international network, McQuiston⁴⁷⁰ tells the case of racist and neo-Nazi websites in the US and Germany, and how they interact with each other, not only that, but since the United States has the First Amendment of Freedom of Speech Nazi-inspired books, memorabilia and propaganda has been shipped to Germany through the US, and even, that many of these German websites have a US server and internet providers to publish their information, or even just passing the information they want to publicize to a US website. Their message is certainly well-built and spread, but, at the same time,

467. Barnicoat, *Los carteles...*, 244.

468. Crowley, “Protest and Propaganda”, 144

469. Castells, *Communication Power*, 3

470. McQuiston, *Graphic Agitation II...*, 198.

answering boards to these messages are also built around the world. Technological developments like Photoshop, Adobe or even the World Wide Web might have propelled a less physical existence for the political poster, however it also allowed for a more rapid propagation of the images and even helped their alteration. Obviously, this has made life more difficult for designers, as it was referred in the previous chapter, many of the responses to the far-right have not been from “elites” like artists, writers or designers, but from the citizen. Nowadays, the common citizen has the technological or web tools at his service to design a political poster as much as anyone else, but as Charlotte and Peter Fiell mention, “This do-it-yourself ability has also eroded the line between homage and plagiarism, with the result that designers in professional practice really have to be on the creative ball to stay ahead of the digital game.”⁴⁷¹ On the other hand, the internet and different cyberspaces have also helped to create and shape identity in different forms, giving the possibility, for example in the case of far-right groups, for people to say more freely what they want, as highlighted by Stuart Hall, these new constructions of identity should be understood as part of a broader context, “That context is the story of eroding boundaries between the real and the virtual, the animate and the inanimate, the unitary and the multiple [...]”⁴⁷²

How effective is the poster in the street nowadays? We usually truly notice it and understand its impact after being filtered through some other media like TV or the Internet, or even recognize its relevance through museum exhibition, all in all, these characteristics truly seem to be the opposite of what a political poster should be. Charlotte Fiell and Peter Fiell refer that, “[...] No picture on a site will ever be as impressive as a print out of the same design on A0. It’s movement, interaction, the idea of being connected and sound that make the web special.”⁴⁷³ Possibly it was when this transfer started to happen, from a public to a private sphere that the poster started losing its original strength or meaning and gaining another. Nevertheless, it should be noted that, at least in France’s case, “the government does not allow paid political advertisements on television or radio.”⁴⁷⁴

471. Fiell and Fiell, “Introduction” in *Contemporary Graphic Design*, 7.

472. Hall, “Diaspora and the Detours of Identity”, 323.

473. Fiell and Fiell, *Graphic Design...*, 280.

474. Seidman, *Posters, Propaganda and Persuasion in Election Campaigns...*, 121.

In his blog, Steve Seidman⁴⁷⁵ tells how in the 2008 Obama campaign a paraphernalia of social media were used; desktop wallpaper, blogs, Facebook and Myspace, posters, logos, badges, IM buddy icon, mobile ring tones, or even one of the first iPhone applications. It seems wide-reaching, but at the same time, what it did, was to call the attention for a younger generation that is not politically active. The problem of survival of the poster seems to be the challenge that these new media represent for the public characteristic and physical display, nowadays “poster designs are often meant to be downloaded from Web sites, and electronic billboards are becoming more commonplace.”⁴⁷⁶ We might suppose that because a poster is usually within the public sphere it might be more policed than other media such as TV or the Internet, or that cyberspace, for its ‘invisibility’ characteristic would be uncontrollable, however this does not seem to be true, especially when mentioning counter-propaganda, this was as much valid for the ex-communist bloc with television and radio⁴⁷⁷, as it is nowadays in different contexts with television, or with cyberspace. The recent conflicts in Egypt and Tunisia showed the control of the government over the Internet⁴⁷⁸, in Europe, the case of Belarus shows how the government constantly erases Twitter pages or Blogs⁴⁷⁹. However, these are the most extreme cases, where regimes are not democratic, lately complaints have come from Western Europe regarding Facebook’s policies. In Portugal, an Anti-NATO group was recently erased or even profile pages associated to anti-war movements. The latest “not so exposed” news over the supposed “similar” case of Libya seem to show controversial usage of media such as photography or the internet. In one

475. Seidman, “Will Social Media...” (February 23, 2010), http://www.ithaca.edu/rhp/depts/stratcomm/blogs/posters_and_election_propaganda/will_social_media_kill_the_poster_in_election_camp/ (accessed 21 April, 2011).

476. Seidman, “Will Social Media...”, 2010

477. Aulich and Sylvestrová, *Political Posters...*, 60.

478. James Cowie, “Egypt leaves the Internet”. Renesis Blog. (Posted 27, January, 2011), <http://www.renesys.com/blog/2011/01/egypt-leaves-the-internet.shtml> (accessed 28 January, 2011).

479. Viasna, Human Rights Cener, “Viasna condemns criminal prosecution of Andrzej Poczobut” (11 April, 2011) <http://spring96.org/en/news/42552> (accessed 20 April, 2011) where a journalist was detained and faces charges for insulting the President and the Republic in publications in the weekly Polish Gazeta Wyborcza, a post in a blog and one article on an online journal. or “Prosecutor’s Office restricts access to independent news websites” (12 April, 2011) <http://baj.by/m-p-viewpub-tid-1-pid-10411.html> (accessed 20 April, 2011) regarding the restrict access to websites (like Charter’97 or Belarusian Partisan) where sanctions could be applied to independent publications.

investigation⁴⁸⁰ given by an online video it shows how since the start of the conflict only western journalists were on the ground highlight the situation from the rebel standpoint only, the pictures reveal much more than they probably seem to, where new weapons, uniforms and even outside help seems to be evident. On another case, social network usage comes to the forum, a recent investigation denounces “a fake Twitter ID explosion”, where a campaign was sponsored and created by the USA “training anti-government activists on the Middle-East and North Africa on how to spread democracy with the help of technology.”⁴⁸¹ This would have seen very pro-democratic, however in the Libya situation it seems that fake users in Twitter may have been used. In February a surge of Libyan Twitter accounts appeared, “begging for intervention”, most of them in English. Taking into account that since the conflict began almost anyone had access to the Internet and according to the video the users of Twitter in the country were so small that analysts could not even calculate it, it seemed rather suspicious that all these calls came from Libyan citizens. The video adds, how foreign interference does not need to be a bombing or an invasion but can also be the training and funding of political support given to individuals that promote foreign interest (at the same time, the US provides Saudi Arabia or Kuwait with the technology to block certain websites). The poster strength of visibility remains as a contrast to today’s capacity of invisibility by the media. If Orwell and Huxley were alive today, they would probably be claiming the role of prophets for themselves.

CHAPTER 7 - CONCLUSION

With this work a stress of far-right political posters in European society has been put. The poster, as a means of persuasion and political rhetoric and propaganda was historically explained in Chapter 2, giving us a better background to work on. The decoding of these messages, through their images and text, was given on Chapter 3, where, in through visual culture and semiotic means far-right posters were analysed. Chapter 4 tried to justify politically and socially the presence of these images by

480. Russia Today, “Libya fake Twitter ID explosion part of 'cyber war for democracy'?” Youtube. (14 April, 2011) <http://youtu.be/YJrteELDLkU>, 14 April, 2011 (accessed on 18 April, 2011).

481. “Libya Photo-Investigation” (7 April, 2011) <http://youtu.be/zxlixI6jJEs> (accessed on 18 April, 2011).

understanding the far-right parties history in each country, how the posters polemics created a discussion over democracy and freedom of speech and how their validity was justified through a legislation or through a smart design. The responses to some of the far-right messages were taken into account in Chapter 5, while Chapter 6 looked at the relevance the poster still has today taking into account all that had been previously said. To go around the conclusions taken from this analysis they will be presented numerically by a logical order. Firstly, it was noticed an attempt to give an apolitical or anti-political characteristic through these posters. Obviously, far-right posters make usage of a common political discourse, propaganda rules and a visual rhetoric that resembles past myths. However, the fact that it were these posters' messages that made these parties popular, and not otherwise. There seems to be almost an allergy in modern society (the "West" here is not even applied, since many countries might not be considered "West", but they do face the same situations, a "capitalist society" would probably come closer to what is intended) to everything that is considered openly political. The big popularity of TV shows (and reality shows), football, pop or rock music concerts, fashion seems to have replaced and turned numb any political feeling. Even when there is one, it should always be non-institutional. It seems that an approach to the type of American political and visual rhetoric is taking place, Seidman tells how during the 2004 elections, one of George W. Bush's posters only contained his photograph and "W" next to the year "2004" . This, was then associated to logos like Mercedes or Nike, Seidman quotes Scott Dadich in an article for the NY Times mentions that, "Americans are conditioned to equate visual brevity with success and power."⁴⁸² Their posters, like advertising, invaded the public's feeling of enchantment. They are not PNR, FN, LN or SVP anymore, but a brand that is advertised through posters. We are sold a world, an identity, or a salvation, clear and pure (or original and primitive) that we even might acknowledge that does not exist. However, like the models in a shop window, they make us desire and crave it. At the same time, the desires are a reduced and biased vision of our cultural memory to a de Gaulle, or the other as a black sheep. Not only that, but as if watching some television serials, we will be waiting for the next episode (poster) to come. The media in general, has turned their heads each time a new controversial image is put in public. And it is here where an

482. Seidman, *Posters, Propaganda and Persuasion in Election Campaigns...*, 99.

invisible and apparent naïve or innocent manipulation occurs (they are just cartoons in a poster, what power could they have?) They seem to have been particularly smart in building a narration around them, there is a story with more than one chapter that we can follow. On this post-modern 21st century where identities are usually and mostly individualized, it is interesting how much they can be collectively manipulated, controlled and politicized. The posters then come close to the ones teenagers usually hang on their walls to admire their idols. It is no wonder that most of these parties' posters are then made by designers connected to advertising companies or the youth sections of their parties shown through the irreverent provocation or "political incorrectness" that they bear. This political incorrectness seems to help validating the messages, it seems to be more than what other parties do, and since some change is evidently needed, this is better than apathy. At the beginning of the year, the PNR has even asked in their website for the public to sponsor their "political incorrectness" in a new outdoor⁴⁸³. Obviously, all of this is understood in a "modern persuasion" context, which as referred by Anthony Pratkanis are "the message-dense environment, the thirty-second ad, the immediacy of persuasion"⁴⁸⁴, which at the same time, "make it increasingly difficult to think deeply about important issues and decisions."⁴⁸⁵

Adding-up to this "apolitical" characteristic, is the fact that these parties have actually become closer to other parties in the more moderate right-left spectrum. But, at the same time other parties from the moderate-right have also seemed to have been building up similar messages, leaving far-right parties to claim that they are imitating and copying their messages. Not only through posters like the FN one (Fig. 11), but also through their speeches and statements far-right parties attempt to be outside a right-left wing spectrum, which in fact, seems to help their popularity. Gaillard-Starzmann mentions that "FN stresses that whether right or left: 'they are both rotten'⁴⁸⁶. PNR calls "Beasts" to the parties "from the extreme-left to the extreme-center"⁴⁸⁷, where

483. PNR – Partido Nacional Renovador "Mais um "outdoor"", PNR, (31 January, 2011) <http://www.pnr.pt/2011/01/31/mais-um-outdoor-ha-que-fazer-chegar-aos-portugueses-a-nossa-mensagem/> (accessed 14 April, 2011).

484. Pratkanis, *Age of Propaganda...*, 31.

485. Pratkanis, *Age of Propaganda...*, 31.

486. Gaillard-Starzmann, "Regarding the Front National," 185

487. José Pinto Coelho, "Do Presidente aos Nacionalistas", PNR – Partido Nacional Renovador (18 October, 2010) <http://www.pnr.pt/2010/10/19/do-presidente-aos-nacionalistas-outubro-de-2010-ii/> (accessed 26 March, 2011).

Communism is “the evil of the evils”⁴⁸⁸, the SVP has a document of 55 pages called “If the left wins it’s a disaster for Switzerland”⁴⁸⁹ (their programme for 2011-2015 also includes a chapter dedicated to “Property – Protection against left-wing robbery”), presenting and predicting what would happen to taxes, EU accession, foreigners and immigration, drugs or energy. The only one that seems to reserve their reactions against or pro right or left is the *Lega Nord*, nevertheless, the party itself claims “not to be left or right”⁴⁹⁰, and even Giovanni Sartori, an Italian political scientist claims the same.⁴⁹¹ Possibly, that could be a reason why these posters seem to have become as popular as they did, like their parties, they attempt to fall out of the spectrum, and become closer to a tabloid magazine or an American serial. At the same time, continuing with the animal metaphors, it seems that European politicians have behaved as wolves in sheep's clothes approaching a very similar rhetoric and behaviour. At the end of April, France and Italy pressured the EU to bring back the control of borders and to review the Schengen treaty, posters like the one in Fig. 17 used by the SVP, might have been considered strange and unacceptable previously in an EU context, but could well be used now by an EU country. This behaviour by other parties helps to validate and approve themes like inequality or the question of a defined European culture that seem to be defended by the far-right⁴⁹². It could even be questioned if the threat or the willing to oppress some of these far-right parties is justified not because of the racist and xenophobe messages they

488. José Pinto Coelho, “Do Presidente aos Nacionalistas” (13 March, 2011) <http://www.pnr.pt/2011/03/13/do-presidente-aos-nacionalistas-marco-de-2011/> (accessed 26 March, 2011).

489. SVP, “Si la gauche gagne, c’est un désastre pour la Suisse” (April, 2007) <http://www.udc.ch/display.cfm/id/100835> (accessed 28 March, 2011).

490. Affaritaliani.it, “Ecco l’intervista integrale della Iena Enrico Lucci a Umberto Bossi. Leggila” (30 September, 2008) <http://affaritaliani.libero.it/politica/iene-bossi-intervista300908.html> (accessed 26 March, 2011). In the chapter “Italy: The Faded Beacon and the Populist Surge” in the book *Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe*, Ignazi refers how Bossi declared that Lega was “at the centre and above” avoiding any precise location in the political spectrum, 56. Also referred by Piero Ignazi is the claim that the end of a distinction between left-right or fascism-anti-fascism entered with Berlusconi’s appearance in the political scene, “La Recomposition de L’Extrême Droite en Italie”, *Pouvoirs*, 89.

491. Porta a Porta. “Sartori: La Lega non’è Destra o Sinistra” Youtube. (18 October 2008) <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RJN0rppoJwk> (accessed 26 March, 2011).

492. Gaillard-Starmann mentions that even if slogans or a similar rhetoric is copied “the legitimate right cannot integrate such a style, however it seems that “a style can be worked” and the measures of the FN could be slightly changed for the national acceptance, “Regarding the Front National”, 185-6. If the right “cannot integrate such style” the left even less, having always as its primordial ideological basis the idea of openness in opposition to the right that has worked on the levels of exclusivity. In Antonis Ellinas words this also justifies why the FN and not other party given that they were “well positioned to benefit from the turn to cultural politics”, in Ellinas, “Growth, Persistence...”, 174.

proclaim, but more for the competitiveness they represent. However, it is not certain if this brings more popularity to a Sarkozy or Berlusconi, or to the far-right parties themselves. It is then easy to understand, how the preference to include themselves *with* the population against *them* (politicians, immigrants, institutions) and defending a *we* (the people, victims of the system with a threatened identity, work, health care). Through their posters, they have certainly been able to identify what Charteris-Black, quoting Hawkins, a “Warrior Iconography”⁴⁹³ characterized by “the hero, the villain and the victim”.

As a second relevant conclusion, the posters revealed us main stereotypes for each party or country, the fears, the *othering*, the specificity of each party. If they do not exist so evidently in each country, they sure were able to shout it out loud and make it visible. Like Aesop’s fable “The Boy Who Cried Wolf” they obviously got the intended attention, justified by fear. Some might had already identified some “wolves”, however others would not even know how one looked like. Possibly, they had not even noticed a “wolf” was leaving next to them, so now they see a poster, and there he is, a “Paki”, a “Gipsy”, a “Chinese”, and so many unemployed, so much crime, and the government does not act, so we wait until the next elections for a change, relying on the singularity, uniqueness of the *vote*. So, we wait for a change. However, these posters have also shown us where their *sameness* (within themselves and possibly with other parties in the spectrum they seem to distance) lies and how “a far-right poster message” can be claimed, labelled and indentified. On the stereotypes side, obviously the poster on Fig. 1 with the figure in a *niqab* and the Swiss flag behind, the black sheep being kicked in Fig 4, or the ravens pecking on the Swiss map in Fig. 7, all used by the SVP; all the minorities on LN’s poster on Fig 3, or the supposed immigrants in a ship in Fig. 8; the catalogued pigs in Fig. 6 or the catalogued sheep in Fig. 24 used by the PNR, and, finally, the poster by the FN similar to the SVP one presenting a figure in a *niqab* with the Algerian flag behind, in Fig. 25. It is true that most of these parties have done it in their own particular style, whereas the SVP follows a more stylized and developed design, the PNR usually contains a more vulgar humorous imitation the FN seems to recur more often to photography, whereas the LN has been seen to use both. Through

493. Charteris-Black, *Politicians and Rhetoric...*, 42.

those styles they identified a type, a behaviour, a religion, a phenomena that should be feared or fought against, sometimes even putting them all together in the same poster, like the case of PNR, joining crime with state, immigration and low wages. So, the stereotypes relate us to something that we can blame our fears on, using the words of the political philosopher and critical theorist Michael J. Shapiro's, this seems only possible "because we live in a world in which danger is institutionalized, persons interested in relating their fears to situations of danger have to become consumers of representations from institutions that have legitimacy to produce interpretations of danger."⁴⁹⁴ Good, bad, or controversial, the posters are given a voice through recognized political parties with some history, not an unknown NGO. And it is here, that the sameness of these parties through their posters starts to appear. On one side, it seemed obvious that an "immigrant problem"⁴⁹⁵ was identified and augmented, so that not only the "natives" could see it, even if they don't know where the problem is or why this problem occurs (they surely know the consequences), but that the "immigrant" would acknowledge it as well. It is not then, that unemployment or crime are not real, but the way that they are presented by these parties does not promote thought of why they exist, or even the analysis of the message. Nevertheless, Manfred Kienpointner, in his research of right-wing populist discourses, stresses that most of the leaders (the exception goes to Le Pen) "acknowledge some positive effects of legal immigration"⁴⁹⁶, giving the example of Umberto Bossi and quoting him saying, "The arrival of a certain number of immigrants is considered, within industrial contexts, as the only possibility of finding a work force for the most menial jobs, which the Italians do not want anymore."⁴⁹⁷ Further ahead, he also explores the crime question and its attribution to

494. Michael J. Shapiro, "Textualizing Global Politics", in *International/Intertextual Relations: Postmodern Readings of World Politics* ed. James der Derian and Michael J. Shapiro (New York: Lexington Books, 1989), 20

495. In the FN website, while presenting a petition regarding the control of immigration, a question is asked if there would be an interest in becoming militants and for that two options are given, of receiving either leaflets or posters for affixation, in Front National. "Immigration: Exigeons un moratoire! Signez la pétition!" FN http://www.frontnational.com/?page_id=6494 (accessed 26 March, 2011).

496. Kienpointner, "Racist Manipulation within Austrian, German, Dutch, French and Italian Right-wing populism", 222

497. Kienpointner, "Racist Manipulation, 223. It is a fact that most of these countries hire immigrants to do work that citizens despise for the kind of work and for the payment, The Economist gives the example how "Catalonia's employment agency offered jobs picking fruit to 7,800 unemployed people. Less than 1,700 accepted. Many of those were thought to be of non-

immigrants⁴⁹⁸, mentioning that even if statistics present that the number of immigrants has risen, the numbers do not say it all; some crimes, like faking immigration documents, can only be committed by immigrants; most crimes in society are also perpetrated by males, or usually people from lower classes with lower educational backgrounds, which happens to be some of the characteristics of a good percentage of immigrants, especially when they are intended to do, as the leader of LN says, “menial jobs”. On the other hand, with the exception of the Portuguese case, posters by the SVP (Fig. 1), FN (Fig. 25) or LN (Fig. 3 and 8) seem to identify openly who these immigrants are or where they come from. Denouncing the difference and representing negative details in comparison to a supposed model (the East in the light of the West) can worsen the stereotype, racism or even radicalism scenario. Islam seems to be one of most often targeted in imagery or in discourse, after Islam, possibly African immigrants are the ones that come to the forum, even with the Portuguese PNR. Nevertheless, it becomes clearer who we should defend our identity, job, family, health systems from, who could threat and jeopardize our State and who would risk our national market (more in relation to the Swiss case). The relevance or legality of these posters comes not only for the future voters or target electorate but also to the public that it tends to attack. What benefit, for example, for immigrants “intended” integration or assimilation comes from these posters? Diverse studies⁴⁹⁹ have shown that people that are labeled in a certain way tend to behave and act as such, to what point will immigrants not react in the way they are labeled? To what point won’t our expectations created by all this imagery create reality? As referred previously with the FN’s case, the opposition towards immigration goes against the laws of the country and not against immigrants themselves. However, some of these posters seem to have shown that a clear dissatisfaction is also felt towards the immigrants that are living in the country and that they are not welcome or should be forced out, it might be hard for the public to differentiate which foreigners and immigrants in the street should be ‘thrown out’ and which ones should stay. Would this not lead to specific xenophobic or racist attitudes against immigrants and not “immigration”?

Spanish origin” “No boatloads but still trouble”,(14 August, 2010)
<http://www.economist.com/node/16797747> (accessed 3 May, 2011)

498. Ibid., 224

499. See Pratkanis, *Age of Propaganda...*, 47-50.

The sameness, as referred above, is not only shown through the apolitical characteristic that was firstly mentioned, or the non-“right-left” wing stances, the answer to this sameness might be more simply given by these posters. If these posters look the same, it is not only through and historical repetition of imagery, but also that the notion of the other is also unified in a European perspective, this sameness in the depiction shows how the target is not only the same, but depicted in a similar way. The characteristics that unite these parties or their willing to create a union in different organizations might help the public to recall them, being similar does not imply that they are “the same”, as with a campaign for a product, as referred by Pfau and Parrott⁵⁰⁰, the more competing brands there exist the less the audience will be able to retrieve specific information, it is not only the success characteristic of these messages that they should be clear or repeated, but that the parties themselves are well-defined, and, in a way, their similarity helps to define their uniqueness in the political scene. Their *sameness*, lies in the solution they give to solve the countries’ problems, which passes obviously by voting in them, by why them? What do these posters present and offer that are so different from other parties? As we have seen through the analysis on this research, not all the images or texts in these posters are new to each country. Obviously, the composition or design can help to achieve a renovated message, but de Gaulle will always be part of the French culture, as much as the Portuguese map, even the simple Swiss flag or the nostalgic idea of an identity that the population possessed. This demonstrates that certain symbols or issues are always there and do not disappear, in a way, the far-right just arranges them to make them noticeable to our eyes. Umut Özkırmılı quotes the work of British social psychologist Michael Billig *Banal Nationalism* (1995), mentioning how “Nationalism is a temporary mood in the West, only manifesting itself under certain ‘extraordinary’ conditions, that is, in times of crises, suddenly disappearing once normal conditions are restored. In that sense, crisis are like ‘infections’ causing fever in a ‘healthy’ body.”⁵⁰¹ And it seems to be this, that the far-right would be able to restore, a nation, together with an identity because they know at the same time, what are the country’s old myths and idols, and which are their new threats and fears. Nationalism as highlighted by Pickering behaves differently than other “particularistic identities such as those of gender, class, religion and locality [...]

500. Pfau and Parrot, *Persuasive Communication Campaigns*, 228.

501. Özkırmılı, “New Approaches to Nationalism”, 199- 200.

Nationalism draws parasitically on other forms of identity and belonging [...]”⁵⁰² At the same time the new symbols emerged helping to create the similar language. Like in movements of the 60s, where, as referred by McQuiston⁵⁰³, the female biological sign would stand for Feminism, black panthers would stand for Black Power and raised fists would stand for all causes, the far-right has made the sheep and the other animal usage, the “invasion” metaphor or the threat of identity, the figure in *niqab* their own graphic and social symbols.

Thirdly, it should be mentioned that it is obvious that some of these messages were openly xenophobic or discriminatory and that they passed through, but not without polemic. The question of the country’s legislation was referred in the sub-chapter *A Democratic and “Perelmanian” Issue*, however at a European level there are also policies and institutions that would have something to say. While referring racism in society Michel Wieviorka⁵⁰⁴ refers that if there is a part of society that can assume a role to sanction or correct something it should be Law and Justice Certainly. He then mentions the Convention of the United Nations on 7th of March 1966 and France’s laws from 13th of July of 1990, that includes the “revisionist crime”, and the law of press if 1881 where defamation and libel are repressed. Pratkanis also refers the regulation and legislation of persuasion⁵⁰⁵, mentioning, for example, forbidding tactics that take an advantage of special populations. It would be then relevant to mention where the European Union stands when it comes to these regulations. The EU possesses an Anti-Discrimination Policy: From Equal Opportunities Between Women and Men to Combating Racism⁵⁰⁶, but it was surely and long and hard task, as it is described by the founder document, to create such policy and other legislations, with a debate that started in the 80’s in the European Parliament, and where the advance of the far-right (particularly *Front National* that won 10 of the 80 seats available in 1984) contributed greatly for the awareness and the need for action. After a Consultative Commission of Racism and Xenophobia is created in 1994 that consisted of a representative from each

502. Pickering, *Stereotyping...*, 88.

503. McQuiston, *Graphic Agitation II...*, 136.

504. Wieviorka, *A Diferença*, 156.

505. Pratkanis, *Age of Propaganda...*, 211.

506. European Parliament, “European Union Anti-Discrimination Policy: From Equal Opportunities Between Women and Men to Combating Racism” (December 1997) http://www.europarl.europa.eu/workingpapers/libe/102/default_en.htm (accessed 28 March, 2011).

of the Member States, two MEP's, a representative from the Commission and an observer from the Council of Europe things started to officially change, by the suggestion of amendments on the Treaties (Article 6 of the EC Treaty should be extended to "prohibit all forms of discrimination"⁵⁰⁷), and with a new Article introduced by the Treaty of Amsterdam. Other relevant decision-making and discussion forums could be mentioned for the European arena, the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights⁵⁰⁸, the Council of Europe's European Commission against Racism and Intolerance⁵⁰⁹, or the proclamation of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union that entered into full legal effect with the Treaty of Lisbon on 1 December 2009. These might all have contributed for a better policing of discriminatory acts in each country, for an awareness of each situation enabling research and a work at uniform and more effective work in a wider arena. However, in regard to far-right posters' messages have these institutions and policies made themselves heard? Already in 2009, the European Council's Commission against Racism and Intolerance launched a report denouncing racial discrimination in Switzerland⁵¹⁰, particularly towards Muslims and originates from the Balkans, Turkey and Africa. More recently, the President of the European Commission came to public to criticize Italy for being more concerned with immigration than with human rights, claiming that "The question of migration of illegal migration, or even refugees, is used as a way not to support democracy"⁵¹¹. The question came to the forum regarding possible immigrants from Libya, to which Umberto Bossi claimed that if they would come to Italy, they would send them to Germany or France, at the same time the EU is already evaluating the possibility to apply restrictive measures against Libyans. However, as we have seen through the sub-chapter *A Democratic and "Perelmanian" Issue* and Havel's text, just

507. "From the Joint Declaration to the Treaty of Amsterdam" (December, 1997) European Union Anti-Discrimination Policy... http://www.europarl.europa.eu/workingpapers/libe/102/text1_en.htm (accessed 28 March, 2011).

508. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. 2011. http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/home/home_en.htm (accessed 14 April, 2011).

509. Council of Europe, "European Commission against Racism and Intolerance", (2011), http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/ecri/default_en.asp (accessed 15 April, 2011).

510. Jessica Dacey, "Council of Europe attacks racism in Switzerland" (16 September, 2009) Swissinfo.ch, http://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/politics/Council_of_Europe_attacks_racism_in_Switzerland.html?cid=9576 (accessed 28 March, 2011).

511. *Público*, "Durão Barroso crítica Itália por se preocupar com Imigração...", *Público* (23 February, 2011) http://www.publico.pt/Mundo/durao-barroso-critica-a-italia-por-se-preocupar-com-a-imigracao-em-vez-dos-direitos-humanos_1481823 (accessed 23 February, 2011).

because policies and laws exist to regulate xenophobia, racism, inequality or discrimination it does not mean automatically they work, and also, if we do not need to consider every law or policy as good and fair just because it exists and it is there. They might and should be useful to man, however regarding the posters' issues, if their messages are violent and offensive, we should not automatically wait for a law to come and correct their "wrong-doing", secondly, even if they are accepted on the basis of freedom of speech and political right this should not make us think that it validates and makes their messages truthful (which seems to happen more than often).

With this, we reach to a final and relevant conclusion. Besides "law and justice", Pratkanis suggests two other strategies⁵¹² for the people to protect themselves from persuasion and propaganda. One of them, "is to play the devil's advocate"⁵¹³, and place ourselves defending the opposite cause and questioning the validity of the arguments presented. The other would be inoculation, not only making the public aware of the existence of persuasive messages, but also giving a two-sided presentation, knowing the pros and the cons of what is being propagated. These two seem in fact to have been quite present in the poster responses given by humourists, opposite parties, designers or the general population to the original messages. It were these "counter-propaganda" responses that have shown the democratic characteristic of society, not the media, not the laws, not waiting to vote on the next elections or referendum⁵¹⁴. These response posters showed that a public participation in public is still possible, that the people still have a voice and can cast it whenever and wherever they feel the most proper. It also showed the democratic characteristic of the posters, more than a TV or a radio (not diminishing the role of independent or underground ones), posters are not only easier to reach (not private or owned by some institution), but also they are, as we have seen, non-selective and pluralistic, they serve the purposes of the far-right, as much as the purposes of the opposition. They have shown that just because we live in a democratic

512. Pratkanis, *The Age of Propaganda...*, 212-13.

513. Pratkanis, *The Age of Propaganda...*, 212.

514. Even in this the far-right seems quite interventionist, Cas Mudde refers how the ex-leader of the party and current Vice-President Christoph Blocher "even founded a separate movement to mobilize around referendums, the Aktionsgemeinschaft für eine unabhängige und neutrale Schweiz (Action Society for an Independent and Neutral Switzerland, AUNS)", *Populist Radical Right Parties...*, 152. The Swiss system of popular initiative should be mentioned here where by a certain amount of signatures a proposition for the changing in a Constitutional text or a referendum could be voted.

society and we know it is there and it “exists”, it does not mean it is effective and that we shouldn’t see ourselves as responsible to make it work better. What should be regrettable is that, apart from the poster from the group Gato Fedorento, not many of these responses have been highlighted or encouraged, in fact, the opposite seems to have occurred. For any of these responses to have existed, especially if not affiliated to any institution or political party, a strong social conscience and criticism should exist. For this to be visible or for any of the “control techniques” shown above to be effective a past education plays a major role. It is true that, along history, propaganda and education have often walked side-by-side, not only that but the attempts of education towards a formatted and resigned or conformist attitude. Of the four countries presented we would wonder if the education system is really open to everyone, if it makes an immigrant child feel as an individual and able to socialize with “the others”, if it shows itself open to intercultural dialogue and discussion, how many of these really do this or would have classes dedicated to this theme? If the poster saw its voice stand for equality and human rights and if art and creativity have been proved to be effective for a debate over these issues, why not use this resource to provide an inter-dialogue discussion?

So, what have really been the real results and benefits that these posters images and posting might have brought to each of these parties? In Brigitta Orfali’s words, quoted by Gaillard-Starzmann, referring to the FN, “The influence of the FN is not measured by the two million voters it got, but by the progressive and imperceptible change which it makes in the mentality of the French.”⁵¹⁵ This seems to apply to the other parties and to the subsequent mentalities of each population, and its impact in Europe. Recently, articles and news have seemed to be rising about these parties; in March a poll showed that Marine Le Pen would be the most voted if the presidential elections scheduled for next year would occur by now⁵¹⁶, more recently the FN got 15% in the first round of cantonal elections, with a lower percentage in the second round. Since 1975 the SVP has tripled its parliamentary representation, an article by Louis Gerber analyses this

515. Gaillard-Starzmann, “Regarding the Front National”, 193.

516. Isabel Gorjão Santos. “Sondagem que dá vitória à extrema-direita está a chocar a França” (6 March, 2011), *Público*. http://www.publico.pt/Mundo/sondagem-que-da-vitoria-a-extremadireita-esta-a-chocar-a-franca_1483524 (accessed 6 March, 2011).

relation with their campaigns and strong poster messages⁵¹⁷. In Switzerland, in fact, one of the last initiatives of the SVP in November 2010 that would facilitate the expulsions of immigrants from the country was approved with 52,9%⁵¹⁸ in favour, (besides the posters of the white sheep kicking the black one, another one was used where the face of a man was partly covered by the title “Ivan S., rapist and soon Swiss?”) coming to add the already approved prohibition of the construction of minarets one year ago. In other countries of Europe Sweden, Denmark, Hungary, the Netherlands, Austria, and the latest case of Finland the growth of far-right parties seems visible, to what point their posters are effective we can but wonder.

The poster, in its different formats and aspects, has revealed its still present power. The power of the poster revealed itself becoming almost a media for dialogue that reminds us of the *polis* in Ancient Greece for discourses, with the diverse possibilities of the city space replacing the crowd and the audience, and a cyber world representing a more elitist characteristic. The poster, through its image-text combination has seemed to trigger a political game and theatre pulling strings from many origins and being manipulated by different interests. This research has shown how an element of propaganda can become a powerful metaphor. Surely, the poster has not yet fallen and many are the means keeping it alive.

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517. Louis Gerber, “Swiss Elections” (December 13, 2007), “Cosmopolis” http://www.cosmopolis.ch/english/politics/090/swiss_elections_e00090.htm (accessed 30 April 2010). In 2003 it also became the largest party in the Swiss Parliament with 26.6% of the vote, in Pippa Norris, *Radical Right, Parties and Voters in the Electoral Market*, 7.

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Fig. 20 - Gary Yanker, *PropArt, Over 1000 Contemporary Posters*. London: Littlehampton Book Services Ltd, 1972, 106.

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Fig. 27 - Jean Meylan, *Aux Urnes, Citoyens!...*, 129.

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Fig. 37 - McQuiston, *Graphic Agitation II...*, 224.

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APPENDICES



Fig. 1 – Slogan: STOP / Yes to the Minaret- Ban
Design: Alexander Segert, GOAL AG company (2009)



Fig. 2 – Slogan: They have suffered immigration / Now they live in a reservation!
Logo: Lega Nord and Umberto Bossi (below) Think. **Design:** LN, (2008)
The poster said not only to have been placed in Italian territory but also in Ticinesi, Italian portion of Switzerland



Fig. 3 – Slogan: Wake up Brescia! (on the wall) House / Work / Health (below) Guess who is the last.... **Design:** Lega Nord, 2007 The poster seems to have been used in different regional elections since 2005. Although this one calls “Bresciano Sveglia!”, the region of Italy in Lombardy, northern Italy, another version version claims “Sveglia Lucano!” (“Wake up Lucanians!”) referring to the region of Basilicata or Luciana in south of Italy. More recently, in 2011, the poster was also used for Bologna, where a red hair boy is added after the old man.



Fig. 4 – Slogan: For more security. **Design:** Alexander Segert, GOAL AG company. Regarding the 2007/08 campaign for national elections, has also been used in more recent campaigns.

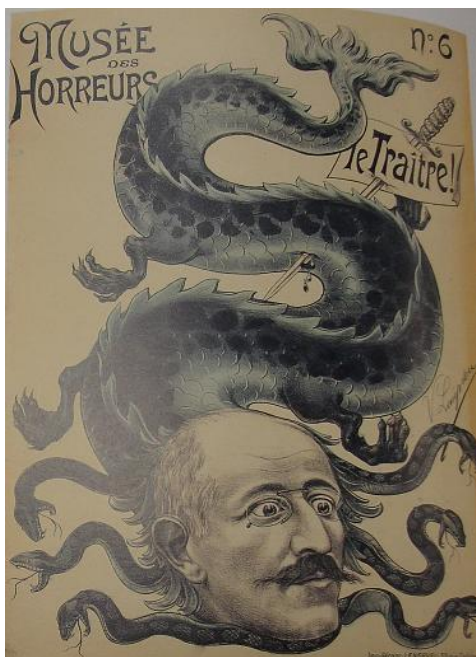


Fig. 5 – A sword piercing the Hydra with the note “The Traitor!”. Dreyfus, a Captain of the French artillery of Alsatian Jewish origin, had been wrongly convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment for treason to French, helping the German.

Design: V. Le Neveu. “Musée des Horreurs. Le Traître!”, France, (c. 1899-1900)



Fig. 6 – Text: (On the background) Thieves (Above the breast) Until when will we allow? (below) We want National Production / Work for the Portuguese” (on the suckling pigs) Immigration, State, Lobbies, Governors”

Design: PNR, 2010. Marquês de Pombal roundabout, Lisbon



Fig. 7 – Slogan: Free visas for everyone? No
Design: Alexander Serget, GOAL AG company (2009)

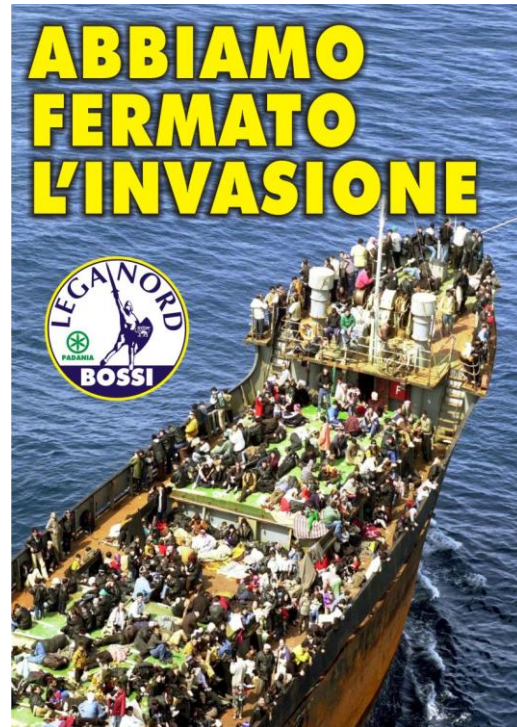


Fig. 8 – Slogan: We have Stopped the Invasion. **Logo:** Lega Nord and Umberto Bossi. **Design:** Lega Nord, 2002 (?).

In the LN's website the first of these posters comes from 2002, but with the Slogan "L'orda no!" ("The horde/mob no!"). In the same year a caricature-like ship was used, cutting strings to words like "European super-state" or "Death of the Family" with the slogan "We are turning the boat". In 2009 they seem to have changed the slogan to the current one.

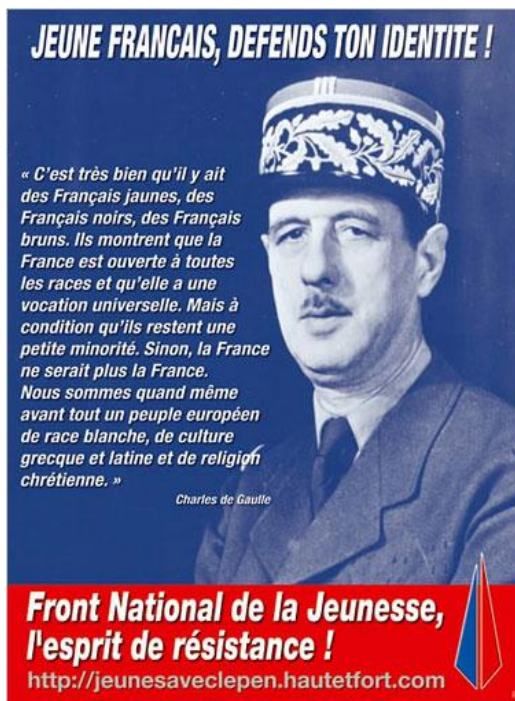


Fig. 9 – Title: French youngster, defend your identity! **Text:** It is quite well that there are yellow French, black French, brown French. They show that France is open to all races and has a universal vocation. But, with the condition that they remain a small minority. Otherwise, France would no longer be France. We are still primarily a European people, of white race, Latin and Greek culture and Christian religion. **Logo:** Youth of Front National, the spirit of resistance! **Design:** Front National de la Jeunesse, 2009.

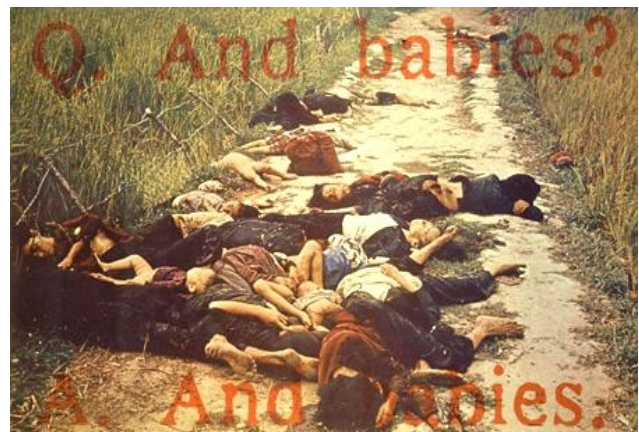


Fig. 10 - Design: Art Workers Coalition, Vietnam War protest poster, USA (1969).



Fig. 11 – Slogan: (left) Nationality / Assimilation / Social ladder / Secularism. / (in yellow) Right/Left They broke everything!
Responsible for the Electoral Campaign: Martial Bild (2006)



Fig. 12 – Slogan: With Le Pen / All together, we lift our France!
Responsible for the Electoral Campaign: Martial Bild (2006)



Fig. 13 – Design: Savile Lumley. Issued by the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, UK (1915)



Fig. 14 – Title: (above) Portugal is a catholic country / However the Demagogic Republic: (in the box) Did the separation law [...] Did the divorce law [...] Rationed the the ringing of the bells, limiting that to sunshine hours [...] Plundered the Church of all its goods [...] Forbid the use of cassocks to the Portuguese clergy and allowing it to the foreigner [...] Gave permission for any individual to arrest a clergyman that would wear cassocks in the street [...] Treated religious people like criminals [...] (below) Remember all this, Portuguese Catholic / And, how the hierarchy advises you / vote according to your concise / Vote in the best! **Design:** (attributed to) National Union, 1945, Portugal.

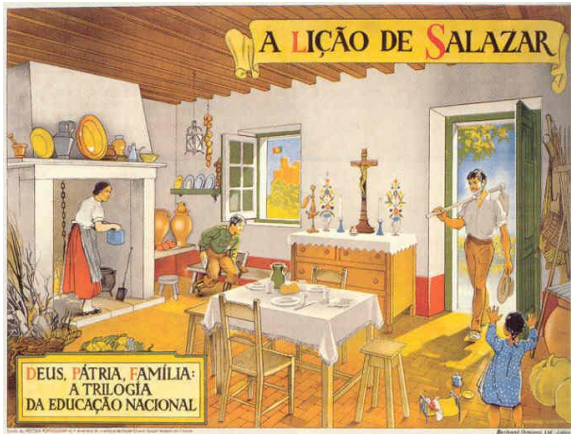


Fig. 15 – Title: The Lesson of Salazar. (Below, left) God, Nation, Family: The Trilogy of National Education. **Design:** A. Martins Barata (1938), Lisboa

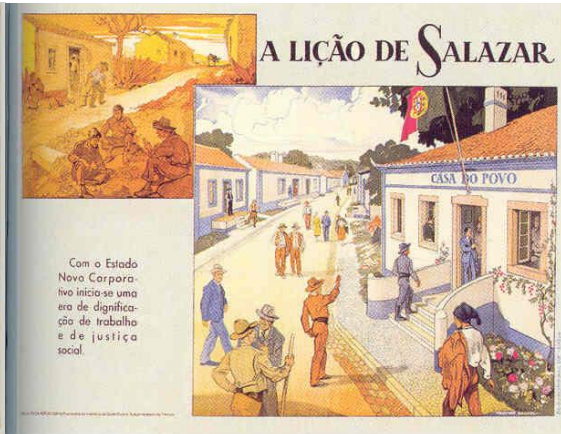


Fig. 16 – Title: The Lesson of Salazar (Below, left) With the Corporative New State a new era of dignifying work and social justice initiates. **Design:** A. Martins Barata (1938), Lisboa



Fig. 17 – Slogan: To lose security? To lose jobs? / Schengen No. **Design:** SVP (2005)



Fig. 18 –Slogan: Stop Foreign Overpopulation. Democratic Party. **Design:** Atelier Schumacker, Zurich Simmen, Rüschtliken. (1967)



Fig. 19 - Slogan: “500.000 expelled / Will you do their work? NO”. **Design:** Yvan Misteli, CAG, Neuchâtel (1974)

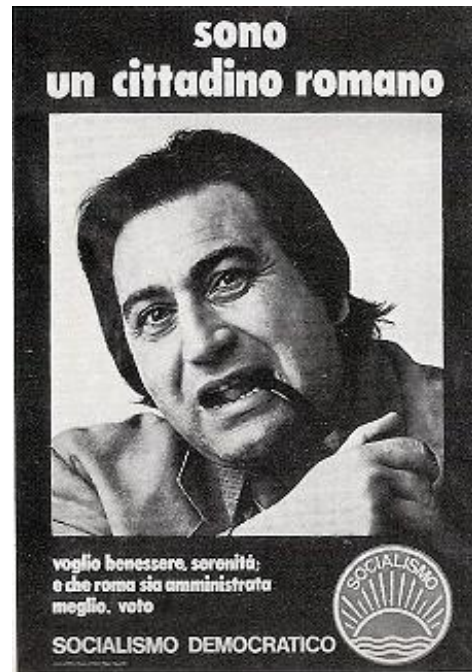


Fig. 20 – Slogan: I am a Roman citizen. I want prosperity and peace, and I want better government in Rome. I will vote Democratic Socialist. **Design:** Socialismo Democratico (1971)

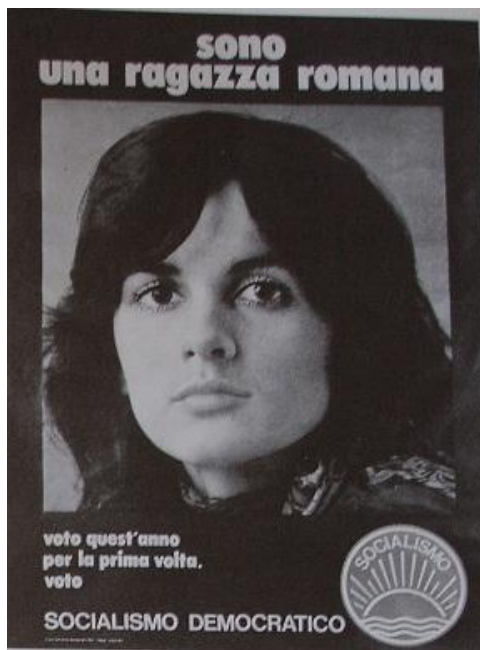


Fig. 21 – Slogan: I am a Roman girl. This year I will vote for the first time. I will vote Democratic Socialist. **Design:** Socialismo Democratico (1971)



Fig. 22: Text: Join Us Before It's Too Late **Design:** Movimento Sociale Italiano (1971)



Fig. 23: Text: Who Saved Italy? Bolshevism... / Fascism Did!! **Design:** Italian Fascist Party (1922)



Fig. 24 –Slogan: Immigration? We say no! (below) Enough of abuse (in each sheep) Open boards, Subsidy Dependency, Multiculturalism, Low Wages, Unemployment, Crime. (below right) Portugal to the Portuguese. **Design:** PNR (2008), Entrecampos roundabout, Lisbon.



Fig. 25 – Slogan: No to Islamism! / The youth with Le Pen **Design:** FN Jeunesse, 2010



Fig. 26 - Slogan: Popular Initiative against Foreign Overpopulation. Yes for Switzerland. **Design:** Aschmann & Scheller AG, Zurich (1970)



Fig. 27 - Slogan: We need these men and they need us. No to the Schwarzenbach initiative!
Design: Celestino Piatti, Karl Schwegler AG, Zurich (1970)



Fig. 28 – Texts: On the left (Gato-Fedorento’s outdoor): More Immigration! The best way to pester foreigners is to make them live in Portugal / Welcome / (below) With Portuguese we will not make it / Nationalism is nonsense” On the right (PNR’s outdoor): “Enough of Immigration! Nationalism is the Solution / (erased) Make a good journey **Design:** Gato Fedorento and PNR, respectively. (April, 2007) Lisbon, Marquês de Pombal roundabout.



Fig. 29 – Design: EMMA Trust (Team Saatchi), UK (2010)

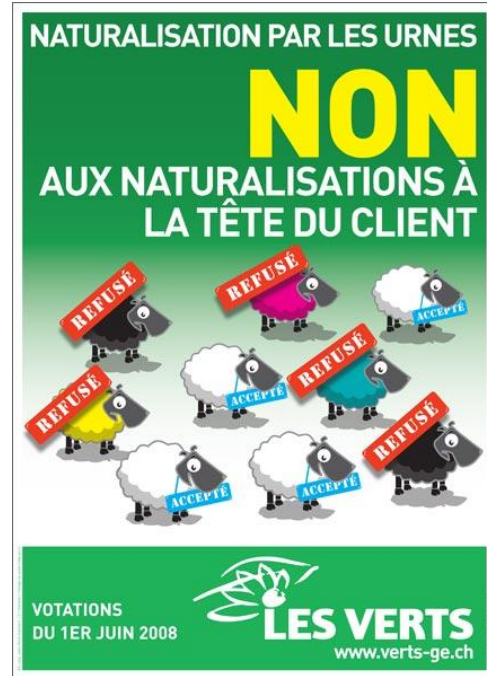


Fig. 30 – Slogan: Citizenship at the polls / NO to the citizenship to the client's head Design: Swiss Party *Les Verts* (2008)



Fig. 31 – Slogan: Equality now! Design: JUSO, Switzerland (2007)



Fig. 32 - Design: Protest Graphics.org Think Again, USA (2001)

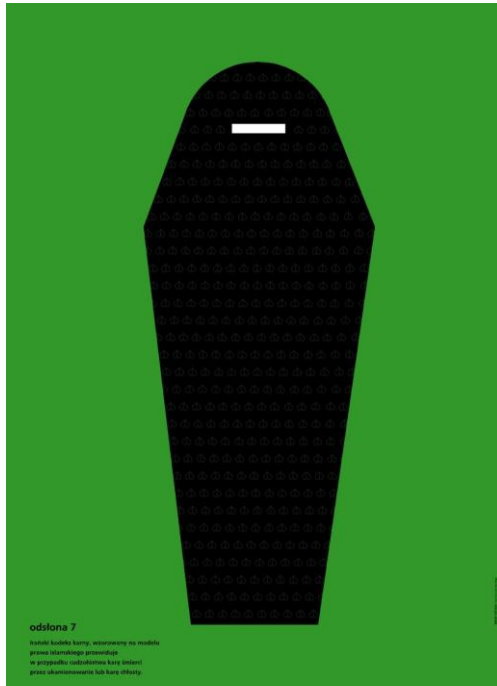


Fig. 33 – Text: (left, below): Scene 7 / Iran's penal code, based on the model of Islamic law provides the death penalty for adultery by stoning or flogging
Design: Maja Wolna, Poland (2010)



Fig. 34 - Text: From the occupation of the lands of emigration. 50 years after land reform in Italy / study conference. February 19, 2000 / St. Katharinesaal
 Title: *Emigrazione* **Designer:** Mauro Bubbico Client: *Associaz Emigrant Svizzera*, Italy (2000)



Fig. 35 –Slogan: Algeria, I love you. Solidarity, Democracy. **Designer:** Gérard Paris-Clavel, France (1998)



Fig. 36– Title: We don't need a Fuhrer. **Designer:** Vincent Perrottet with *Les Graphistes Associés*, France (1990)



Fig. 37 – Slogan: ‘French of All Countries’ **Design:** *Fabrique d’Images*. France (1996)



Fig. 38 – Slogan: The Sky above Switzerland is big enough. No to Intolerance. No to the Minaret-ban initiative. **Design:** Frank Bodin (2009)