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Research Paper

A New Generation of Neo-Nazis:

Mobilizations Against German Pride Events in 2024 by Online Far-Right Youth Movements

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Central Findings

- CeMAS identified far-right protests against Christopher Street Day (CSD)
 events in 28 German cities during the summer of 2024. The protests were
 characterized by large, aggressive crowds of neo-Nazis from a variety of
 groups, with several new right-wing extremist youth groups gaining publicity
 and followers in large part as a result of their participation in the anti-CSD
 demonstrations.
- The identified far-right youth groups primarily use public social media platforms like Instagram, WhatsApp, and TikTok to recruit and organize.
- Right-wing extremist groups appeared to be emboldened by a climate of normalized far-right extremist rhetoric, often openly showing their faces and group affiliations online and in person.
- Large-scale demonstrations against CSD events, with several hundred rightwing extremist participants, took place in several cities. In Bautzen, around 700 extremists mobilized against a CSD event with 1,000 attendees.
- Right-wing extremists attempted to intimidate, harassed, and in one case, planned a violent attack on CSD participants. Significant numbers of police officers were deployed at nearly every CSD event to prevent violence and had to intervene on multiple occasions to protect CSD attendees.
- Although social media platforms have removed some of the accounts associated with these groups, most are still online.
- This new generation of neo-Nazi youth groups poses a potential threat to marginalized groups in both the short and long term.



Introduction

From June to September 2024, CeMAS recorded far-right mobilizations against Pride and Christopher Street Day (CSD) events in 28 cities across Germany, some of which included attempted attacks and violence. The Federal Ministry of the Interior counted 22 protests directed against CSD events during this period, according to a report from the ministry to Green Party member of parliament Misbah Khan (Tagesspiegel, 2024).

Counter-demonstrations by far-right groups against CSD events are by no means a new phenomenon. Members of the right-wing extremist fringe party *Der III. Weg (the Third Way)* disrupted and attacked multiple Pride events in 2023, injuring several participants (Berliner Register, 2023; Schubert, 2024). The recent wave of anti-CSD demonstrations across Germany marks a shift in the country's neo-Nazi scene. The neo-Nazis of this new generation, many of whom belong to groups that have only gained traction in recent months through their participation in anti-CSD demonstrations, are increasingly young, online, and more focused on violence in their rhetoric than other far-right groups.

The anti-CSD demonstrations took place throughout Germany, targeting both small and large events with intimidation, harassment, and in some cases, violence. The mobilizations varied in size from seven participants in Ketsch, Baden-Württemberg to almost 700 in Bautzen, Saxony.

By and large, the violence perpetrated by extremists at CSD events was sporadic rather than coordinated. Right-wing extremists reportedly attacked several participants at Pride events or while arriving or departing. Only one CSD event, in Berlin, appears to have been targeted by a pre-planned coordinated attack. Police detained the right-wing extremists, preventing the attack.

While most of the CSD events were able to continue with minimal disruption, the pervasive presence of established as well as new far-right groups illustrates the far right's continued targeting of the LGBTQI+ community. This research paper examines the groups involved in the recent spate of mobilizations against Pride events, with a focus on the relatively new groups that gained prominence in part through these demonstrations.

Information on these groups and demonstrations was collected through qualitative analysis of news reports, social media, and police reports. Pride events targeted by neo-Nazis were identified through news media and social media posts from far-right accounts. Attendance by groups was determined by displays of extremist group logos on flags and clothing from press photos of the events, as well as social media posts by group members. A glossary at the end of the report describes the relevant groups in detail.



The focus of this analysis is on neo-Nazi groups that have an extensive online presence. Although members of the hooligan scene appeared to be present at some of the anti-CSD demonstrations, they were excluded from the analysis because of their relatively minimal online activity. Anti-CSD demonstrations that were not organized or attended by neo-Nazis were not included, for example, the demonstration by the farright group *Lukreta* or Christian fundamentalist protests against Pride events.

| Date (dd/mm 2024) | Location | Approximate Number of CSD Participants | Approximate Number of Right-Wing Extremists | |
|----------------------|-------------------|--|---|--|
| 01/06 | Dresden | 10,000 | 90 | |
| 06/07 | Schwerin | 2,400 | 38 | |
| 13/07 | Gera | 500 | <80 | |
| 20/07 | Altenburg | 350 | 10 | |
| 21/07 | Cologne | 65,000 | 13 | |
| 27/07 | Berlin | 250,000 | 28 | |
| 27/07 | Duisburg | 800 | 20 | |
| 03/08 | Essen | 6,000 | 20 | |
| 10/08 | Bautzen | 1,000 | 700 | |
| 17/08 | Leipzig | 20,000 | 400 | |
| 24/08 | Magdeburg | 2,600 | 400 | |
| 24/08 | Plauen 430 | | 75 | |
| 31/08 | Zeitz | 680 | 20 | |
| 31/08 | Zwickau | 800 | 400 | |
| 06/09 | Albstadt | 400 | 60 | |
| 07/09 | Freiberg | 540 | 200 | |
| 07/09 | Ketsch 850 | | 7 | |
| 08/09 | Winsen | 600 | 30 | |
| 14/09 | Dortmund | Dortmund 2,500 | | |
| 14/09 | Eisenach | 650 | 90 | |
| 14/09 | Halle 3,400 | | 100 | |
| 14/09 | Wismar 2,100 | | 200 | |
| 14/09 | Wolfsburg 500 | | 19 | |
| 21/09 | Döbeln 650 | | 200 | |
| 21/09 | Oranienburg 1,000 | | 40 | |
| 21/09 | Remscheid 800 | | 70 | |
| 28/09 | Görlitz | 700 | 460 | |
| 28/09 | Landshut | 1,000 | 50 | |

Table 1: Overview of the dates and locations of identified far-right anti-CSD protests, including the approximate number of CSD participants and right-wing extremist demonstrators.

A detailed analysis of online mobilization efforts was not possible, as many mobilization posts were no longer accessible at the time of our investigation – either because groups mobilized via temporary formats such as Instagram stories or because accounts were deplatformed and their content lost. Access to several groups' WhatsApp groups, likely one of their most important forms of communication, was not possible because of the vetting process for potential new members by group admins.



Young, Online, Far-Right: New Neo-Nazi Youth Groups

Anti-Pride demonstrations in 2024 included both stalwarts of the German neo-Nazi scene as well as a large contingent of members of new right-wing extremist youth movements. As mentioned above, some of the groups present, such as Der III. Weg, have attempted to disrupt Pride events in the past, but the scale of mobilization in 2024 far exceeded previous years.

Supporters of long-established right-wing extremist political parties were present at many of the protests. These groups often had the most visible presence, with flags and banners emblazoned with slogans like "Homeland, Youth and Nation! Down with the perversion!" (Heimat, Jugend und Nation! Nieder mit der Perversion!). These groups, in particular *Junge Nationalisten (Young Nationalists, or JN)*, the youth wing of *Die Heimat (The Homeland)*, formerly called *National Democratic Party (NPD)*, were instrumental in disseminating logistical details of the protests, and some members served as leaders at the demonstrations.

Many of the relatively new neo-Nazi youth movements became active in late spring or early summer of this year. Some of these groups have links to more established neo-Nazi movements, such as *Elbland Revolte's* links to *JN*. Others, like *Deutsche Jugend Voran (German Youth Forward, or DJV)*, *Der Störtrupp (The Disturbance Squad, or DST)*, and *Jung & Stark (Young and Strong, or JS)* organize primarily online, rather than through existing party structures.

Many demonstrators from the newer far-right youth groups were minors or young adults, though some older, more experienced right-wing extremists are reportedly assisting in organizing and recruitment (Geiler, 2024). Unlike many extremist groups which typically use Telegram as their main mode of communication, these movements instead use Meta's platforms Instagram and WhatsApp to disseminate propaganda and communicate with one another. The youth movements also use TikTok, but to a lesser extent. One notable exception is *Elbland Revolte*, which has nearly 3,000 subscribers on its public Telegram channel. Unlike many of the other neo-Nazi youth groups, *Elbland Revolte* and its leader have had multiple accounts deplatformed on mainstream social media sites.

DJV, DST, and Deutsche Mädels Voran (German Girls Forward, or DMV) all have their largest followings on Instagram as well as significant followings on TikTok. DJV, DST, and JS, have national channels and several accounts for regional chapters. Elbland Revolte and DJV have the largest Instagram followings of these groups with around 3,000 followers. JN is the only organization with an account on X.



Much of these groups' recruitment efforts appear to occur online, rather than through in-person meetings. Some of these groups reportedly even reach out proactively to young people whose social media profiles simply exhibit right-leaning content to recruit them (Geiler, 2024). Mobilizing young people on social media to offline demonstrations such as the anti-CSD protests may assist these groups in recruiting young people and drawing new members firmly into the right-wing extremist scene.

| Group | Instagram | TikTok | Telegram | X |
|------------------------------------|-----------|--------|----------|-------|
| Deutsche Jugend Voran (DJV) | 2,984 | 660 | N/A | N/A |
| Der Störtrupp (DST) | 1,325 | N/A | N/A | N/A |
| Jung & Stark (JS) | 842 | 883 | N/A | N/A |
| Deutsche Mädels Voran (DMV) | 471 | 129 | 128 | N/A |
| Elbland-Revolte | 3,243 | N/A | 2,977 | N/A |
| Active Club Germania | N/A | N/A | 2,779 | N/A |
| Junge Nationalisten (JN) | N/A | N/A | 10,547 | 7.849 |
| Nationalrevolutionäre Jugend (NRJ) | N/A | N/A | 3,941 | N/A |

All data comes from groups' national channels and was recorded on October 8, 2024. Since that date, some groups have been deplatformed or have increased their online followings. N/A means either that no account was found on the platform or that the accounts found could not be attributed to the respective group with certainty. Due to vetting processes for WhatsApp groups, researchers were unable to verify official national groups and their number of members.

Table 2: Number of followers of right-wing extremist groups on various social media platforms.

An inquiry from Martina Renner, a Die Linke member of the Bundestag, disclosed that the groups or individual members of *Deutsche Jugend Voran*, *Jung und Stark*, *Elbland Revolte*, *Junge Nationalisten* and *Nationalrevolutionäre Jugend* were discussed 30 times in the Joint Counterextremism and Counterterrorism Center's rightwing division (GETZ-R) between September 20, 2023 and September 20, 2024 (Deutscher Bundestag, 2024). Through GETZ-R, state and federal authorities, as well as intelligence agencies, exchange information on politically motivated crimes, including right-wing extremism.

Anti-CSD Protests with Right-Wing Extremist Participants

Existing LGBTQ Hostility Emboldens Far-Right Youth Groups

Even before the 2024 spate of anti-CSD demonstrations, both the LSVD (the largest queer rights organization in Germany) and government officials spoke out about rising levels of hate crimes against LGBTQI+ individuals (Rydlink, 2024). A 2023 opinion poll of citizens of Saxony, the federal state with the highest number of far-right anti-CSD demonstrations, found that 30% of the population considers same-sex relationships unnatural, a 7% increase from the year before (Sächsische Staatskanzlei, 2023).



Notably, the far-right party Alternative für Deutschland (Alternative for Germany, or AfD) has repeatedly made homophobic statements and promoted policies restricting LGBTQI+ rights (LSVD, n.d.; ILGA Europe, 2024).

The extremist groups demonstrating against Pride events seem to have taken this political shift as permission to express hatred even more openly. The number of people



Figure 1: A person holds an Imperial Flag (commonly used as an extremist symbol in Germany) out of their window during the Bautzen anti-CSD demonstration (Presseservice Rathenow, 2024)

mobilized to the demonstrations, their public displays of extremist symbols, and lack of anonymity indicate that the groups assume an increased level of societal support, or at least less backlash. While most reactions of residents to CSD parades were positive, in some cases, locals showed support for the ring-wing extremist demonstrators (see Figure 1).

Most participants did not attempt to maintain anonymity and openly

showed their faces while chanting homophobic, racist, and, in some cases, legally prohibited slogans. This behavior is common among participants not only at offline gatherings, but also on social media. Members of this new type of far-right youth movements like *DJV*, *DST*, and *JS* frequently display their affiliation with their group on social media, incorporating the name of the group in their username, listing it in their profile description, or using the logo as their profile picture.

The usage of less privacy-focused platforms also highlights the brazenness of these groups. Unlike groups that predominantly use the messenger services Telegram or Signal, these youth groups seem to be less concerned about their digital security. Telegram users typically conceal their identities through usernames and anonymous profile pictures. In contrast, many of these youth movements have somewhat paradoxical approaches to communication. Many use WhatsApp groups, a somewhat less secure platform, with public invite links. Potential members trying to join the groups are vetted, but within groups, members' faces, real names, and even personal phone numbers may be visible. Though these groups are clearly taking some steps to ensure their security, their choice of platforms seem to indicate that members may see less of a need to conceal their identities.



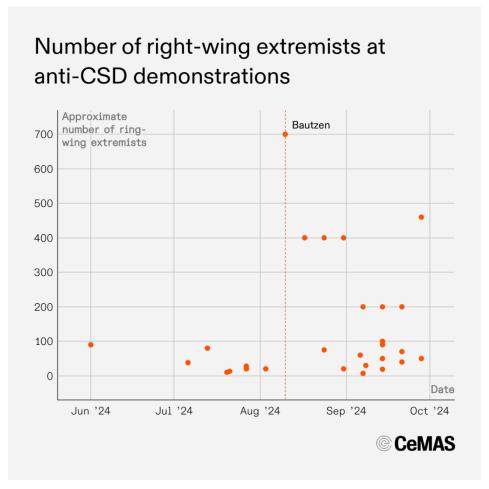


Figure 2: Scatterplot showing the approximate number of far-right participants at anti-CSD protests between June and September 2024.

Prior to the Bautzen anti-CSD demonstration, the 2024 protests were attended by fewer than 100 participants. The Bautzen demonstration, which had approximately 700 participants, garnered widespread press coverage from both the mainstream and far-right press. Following this demonstration, several anti-CSD demonstrations mobilized 200 to 460 participants.



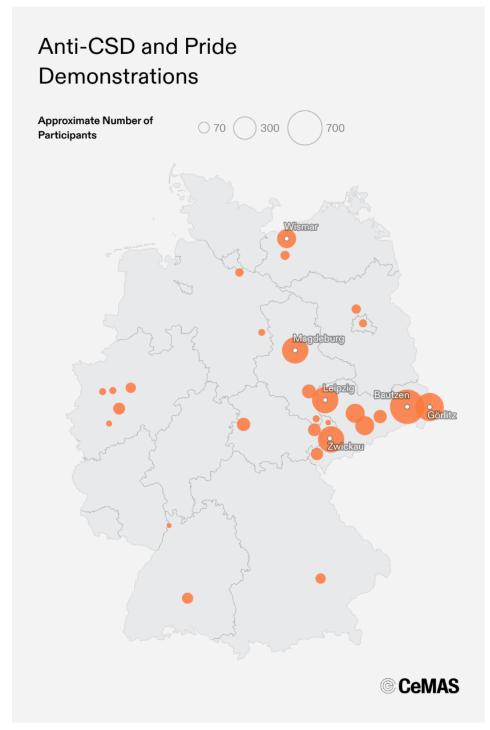


Figure 3: Map of 2024 anti-CSD protest locations and approximate number of far-right participants.

Mobilizations to Anti-CSD Protests and Recruiting

To reach a wider audience, far-right groups use large social media platforms, especially those used by younger people, such as Instagram or TikTok. Mobilization for the far-right anti-CSD protests, too, took place on these platforms, as well as Telegram. On social media, the far-right youth groups call on like-minded people to join their anti-CSD protests by railing against "degeneration" or "the gender craze" (Genderwahn). A *JN* mobilization post to the large far-right rally in Bautzen underlines the apparent



boldness of these right-wing extremist youth groups by proclaiming "Our Saxony - our rules!" ("Unser Sachsen - unsere Regeln!").

| Date (dd/mm 2024) | Location | DJV | JN | DST | NRJ / III. Weg | JS | Elbland Revolte | Other |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----|----|-----|-------------------|----|--------------------|---|
| 01/06 | Dresden | | Х | | | | Х | Freie Sachsen |
| 06/07 | Schwerin | | | | | Χ | | |
| 21/07 | Cologne | | | X | | | | |
| 27/07 | Berlin | X | X | | | | | |
| 27/07 | Duisburg | Х | | Х | | | | |
| 03/08 | Essen | Х | | Х | | | | |
| 10/08 | Bautzen | Х | Х | | | Х | Х | Freie Sachsen, Pforzheim Revolte |
| 17/08 | Leipzig | X | | Х | | X | | Active Club Leip- zig, Rechter Weg |
| 24/08 | Magdeburg | X | | X | | | | Pforzheim Revolte |
| 31/08 | Zeitz | | | | Х | | | |
| 31/08 | Zwickau | Х | Х | Х | Х | Х | | Vogtland Revolte |
| 06/09 | Albstadt | | Х | Х | | | | Die Heimat |
| 07/09 | Freiberg | Х | Х | Х | Х | | | Freie Sachsen |
| 07/09 | Ketsch | | | | Х | | | |
| 14/09 | Dortmund | Х | | | | | | |
| 14/09 | Eisenach | | Х | | Х | | | Knockout 51 |
| 14/09 | Halle | | Х | Х | | | | |
| 14/09 | Wismar | | | | | X | | Active Club Nie- dersachsen |
| 14/09 | Wolfsburg | | | | | | | Jugend Rechts Niedersachsen |
| 21/09 | Döbeln | | Х | | | | X | Freie Sachsen |
| 21/09 | Oranienburg | Х | | | | | | Rechter Weg |
| 21/09 | Remscheid | Х | | | | | | |
| 28/09 | Görlitz | | Х | | | | Х | |
| 28/09 | Landshut | | Х | Х | | | | Deutsche Jugend Bayern, Deutsche Mädels Voran |
| | Total: | 11 | 11 | 10 | 5 | 5 | 4 | |

Table 3: Anti-CSD protests at which right-wing extremist groups demonstrated. Gera (13/07), Altenburg (20/07), Plauen (24/08) und Winsen (08/09) are not included, as no information on participating groups is available.

The youth groups' anti-CSD mobilization efforts also highlight their interconnectedness. They frequently share each other's social media posts about upcoming events,



anti-CSD protests or otherwise. At the end of July, *Junge Nationalisten* reportedly called for actions against the Berlin CSD in internal channels (Der Spiegel, 2024a). This call to action was circulated by *DJV* and both groups had arranged to meet in Berlin via internal channels, asking members to bring gloves and tube scarves to cover their faces (Fröhlich, 2024). Such coordination was evidently not exceptional, as different groups frequently took part in the same anti-CSD protests (see Table 3).

The far-right youth groups also used photos and videos from their anti-CSD protests in social media posts to promote themselves. Such posts are meant to convey camaraderie and project strength to the audience, thus functioning as further recruitment content. *Elbland Revolte's* participation at the anti-CSD rally in Dresden appears to have helped the growth of the group's Telegram channel: Three weeks after the protest, the number of followers on the *Elbland Revolte* Telegram channel went from around 150 to 650 subscribers.

Though the scale of demonstrations against Pride events varied greatly, the groups' tactics and aesthetics remained fairly consistent. Extremist accounts spreading mobilization information instructed attendees to wear all black. Many extremist group members sported clothing with their group's logo or brought flags. A few participants attempted to conceal their identity with tube scarves or masks. While police enforced restrictions on wearing face coverings at some protests, the vast majority of those demonstrating did not even attempt to cover their faces.

Countermeasures by CSD Organizers and Response by Law Enforcement

Nearly every CSD protest was accompanied by heavy police presence to prevent violence. Often, far-right counter-demonstrators marched in very close proximity to the



Figure 4: Police prevent right-wing extremists from disrupting the Görlitz CSD parade (Weber, 2024)

CSD parades, and in several instances, a police cordon was required to protect CSD participants from right-wing extremists attempting to disrupt the event. Queer groups have been critical of the authorities for allowing far-right demonstrations to march a short disbehind CSD tance events (Wasenmüller, 2024). Whenever the

far-right protestors were halted during their march, they chanted racist slogans, including "Deutschland den Deutschen, Ausländer Raus" (Germany for the Germans, immigrants get out) (Endstation Rechts, 2024).



The day before the planned CSD festival in Bautzen, far-right mobilization had gained such momentum that the CSD organizers canceled a planned closing party due to security concerns (MDR Sachsen, 2024b, 2024c). Police intervention was also needed at the Görlitz CSD event to prevent right-wing extremists from confronting CSD attendees (Baeck, 2024).

Not all of the far-right demonstrations were registered, and in many of these cases, law enforcement restricted the movement of the respective groups to a small area. In Leipzig, around 400 right-wing extremists were held on a train station platform to allow the CSD event to continue undisturbed.

The organizers of CSD events, too, had to take precautionary measures. At multiple CSD events, organizers warned CSD participants to stay in groups due to the threat posed by far-right demonstrators. At the CSD in Bautzen, the route of the march was not publicly announced beforehand for security reasons (Wasenmüller, 2024). In Magdeburg, a second CSD demonstration was registered to allow safe passage from the central station to the CSD march proper (LVZ, 2024).

Intimidation, Harassment and Attempted Violence

Despite the measures taken by CSD organizers and law enforcement, extremist participants harassed, intimidated, and even attempted to commit acts of violence, both at the events and on public transportation while arriving or departing.

Right-wing extremists, including members of DJV and JN, planned a violent attack on Berlin's CSD parade and its attendees (Fröhlich, 2024). However, before they reached the CSD event, the police arrested 28 men, including 14 minors, and found protective gear on them, including mouth guards and leather gloves, which presumably were meant to minimize impact injuries while fighting (Der Spiegel, 2024a). Similarly, the police confiscated weapons — a blank-firing gun and a butterfly knife — from two teenagers at the Wismar anti-CSD demonstration (NDR, 2024).

The propaganda publicizing the counter-demonstrations and the rhetoric used at the events exhibit aggressive language targeting members of the LGBTQI+ community and leftists. Extremist groups chanted homophobic slogans, calling on HIV to kill gay people. On social media, extremist accounts posted illustrations of group members appearing to physically assault LGBTQI+ people and propaganda materials including phrases like "Eliminate the left-wing plague" ("Linke Pest beseitigen").

Both the rhetoric used in the propaganda materials promoting anti-CSD protests and the in-person actions of these groups make it clear that their protests opposed the visibility of the LGBTQI+ community in public life. The groups also used the scale of their mobilization to intimidate CSD participants. In some cases, the number of extremists demonstrating was nearly as high as the number of CSD attendees,



increasing the security threat and the extremists' ability to intimidate. In Bautzen, 700 people demonstrated against 1,000 CSD participants, and 460 right-wing extremists demonstrated in Görlitz against 700 CSD attendees. The far-right contingents in Zwickau, Döbeln, and Freiberg were close to half the size of the CSD participants.

| Date (dd/mm 2024) | Location | Approx. number of extremists | Participating extremist groups | Attempted or actual violence? |
|-------------------|----------|------------------------------------|---|--|
| 27/07 | Berlin | 28 | DJV, JN | Right-wing extremists planned an attack on the CSD parade but were taken into custody by police. |
| 10/08 | Bautzen | 700 | DJV, Der III. Weg, Elbland Revolte, Freie Sachsen, JS, JN, Pforzheim Revolte | Police initiated 14 criminal proceedings, including for incitement to hatred and assault. |
| 08/09 | Winsen | 30 | Unknown | Police filed charges of attempted grievous bodily harm. |
| 14/09 | Wismar | 200 | Active Club Niedersach- sen, JS | Police forces confiscated a blank-firing gun and a butterfly knife from two teenagers who, according to the police, were on their way to the far-right protest. |
| 21/09 | Döbeln | 200 | Elbland Re- volte, Freie Sachsen, JN | According to police, a city councilor from the Freie Sachsen (Free Saxony) party, who was the original leader of the counter-protest, sprayed butyric acid along the CSD route. A special commission is investigating. |

Table 4: Overview of the 2024 anti-CSD protests for which information on violence is available. 1

At six CSD events, the path of the far-right demonstrations came near the CSD attendees and required police intervention to prevent potentially violent clashes. In at least one of these cases, the demonstration in Winsen, law enforcement has initiated criminal proceedings for attempted grievous bodily harm (Lenthe, 2024).

The far-right groups did not only threaten the LGBTQI+ participants at CSD events. Both the propaganda posted online by these groups and their actions at the events combined their homophobic rhetoric with racist, anti-immigrant, and anti-left sentiments. Racist songs and slogans, including some from the Nazi era like "Wake up, Germany" ("Deutschland erwache"), were common features of the protests. The farright protestors also insulted and attempted to disrupt the work of journalists present.

¹ A violent incident in Gifhorn that was allegedly perpetrated by attendees of the Wolfsburg anti-CSD demonstration was not included in the report, as the motivations of the attack, beyond perhaps general far-right ideology, could not be determined and the incident occurred nearly five hours after the event. While the anti-CSD demonstration and the rhetoric used at it may have contributed to this attack, it was not directly related to the event and was thus excluded.



Perspectives from the LGBTQI+ Community

All of this has an impact on CSD events and the queer community. Even before the far-right protests against the 2024 Pride events, 36 groups expressed their frustration in an open letter to German Chancellor Olaf Scholz about the social backlash taking place against the LGBTQI+ community. Acceptance of sexual and gender diversity is declining for the first time in decades, and homophobic and transphobic violence is increasing measurably (LSVD, 2023). Large anti-CSD protests this summer also led to some potential CSD attendees staying away from events, according to Falko Jentsch, head of CSD Saxony-Anhalt (Queer.de, 2024d). Authorities or businesses that have hung rainbow flags in the past have become more cautious.

However, CSD organizers also reported an influx in support in the form of additional CSD attendees from surrounding areas as well as support from regional companies or civil society organizations (Michusch, 2024; Queer.de, 2024d). Some CSD organizers emphasize that far-right anti-CSD protests highlight the need for queer events now more than ever (Queer.de, 2024b; Queer.de, 2024c). The Federal Government Commissioner for the Acceptance of Sexual and Gender Diversity Sven Lehmann stressed the importance of CSD demonstrations for pluralistic societies: "Our democracy is also defended at CSDs" (Queer.de, 2024a).

Conclusion

The mobilizations against CSD events by right-wing extremists were a coordinated attempt to intimidate and harass the LGBTQI+ community, on a worrying scale. The 2024 Pride season was targeted by larger, aggressive groups of neo-Nazis, and several new extremist movements gained notoriety and followers in large part because of their participation in the anti-CSD demonstrations.

These new far-right youth groups pose a serious potential threat. Due to their mobilizations to anti-CSD demonstrations, significant security measures were taken to protect CSD parades, a peaceful celebration of diversity and tolerance. Large numbers of police officers were deployed at nearly every demonstration, sometimes requiring additional personnel from neighboring areas. CSD organizers warned CSD attendees to take precautions for their safety, such as traveling in groups. A pluralistic society must resolutely oppose such regressive trends.

Unchecked, these far-right youth movements have the potential to establish a cohort of young, violence-oriented neo-Nazis. Not only have they garnered thousands of followers online and hundreds of in-person supporters in a matter of mere months, these far-right youth groups are also highly interconnected and appear to coordinate their activities to some extent. Groups like *Deutsche Jugend Voran*, *Der Störtrupp* and *Jung & Stark* hold the potential for violence in both the short- and long-term.



Social media is a crucial tool for these groups' recruitment and mobilization efforts. Extremist groups used Instagram, WhatsApp, and TikTok to organize nearly every anti-CSD demonstration, and group members attempted violence at some of these events. While Meta and TikTok have started to deplatform some of the accounts associated with these groups, many have simply created new accounts. Most of the accounts are still active despite being associated with groups that could be classified as dangerous organizations by these platforms. More dedicated deplatforming efforts will hinder these groups' communication and recruiting efforts, hampering mobilization and preventing young people from encountering potentially radicalizing materials.

Since these groups are unlikely to disappear completely, steps should be taken to protect the marginalized groups targeted by the far right. The increased visibility and apparent boldness of these groups cannot be separated from the normalization of homophobic and broadly far-right rhetoric over the last several years. Hostility towards the LGBTQI+ community and support for far-right parties is growing, both in the general population and among young people. It is important to ensure the safety of CSD events and their participants. This includes securing both the event (for example, through a stronger police presence when far-right groups arrive and depart) as well as increased awareness about homophobia and possible far-right mobilizations. Training courses for law enforcement and local authorities would not only strengthen knowledge about and increase the ability to act against anti-queer hostility but would also increase authorities' sensitivity in dealing with those affected by homophobia. This heightened threat situation should also be countered by expanding counseling centers for those affected.

In 2023, the Junge Alternative (JA, or Young Alternative), the youth organization of the AfD, and some politicians of its parent organization were at the forefront of popularizing the anti-LGBTQI+ campaign "Stolzmonat" (the literal translation of "Pride month") during June (LGBTQI+ Pride Month) on social media. This campaign promoted German nationalism as an alleged antidote to so-called "gender madness" (Lanches, 2023) and was clearly directed against the celebration of Pride month. "Stolz statt Pride" ("pride instead of Pride") has remained a popular slogan of JA this year, reflecting the continued normalization of anti-LGBTQI+ rhetoric among German far-right (youth) groups. The growing popularity of far-right organizations such as JA in turn enables the spread of their ideology, including hostility against the LGBTQI+ community.

This normalization of right-wing extremist ideas enables the growth of new, more violence-oriented, extremist youth groups. Action must be taken to stop the unchecked growth of right-wing extremist youth movements online to prevent the next generation of neo-Nazi movements from gaining a foothold.



Group Glossary

Political Parties and their Youth Wings

Die Heimat (The Homeland), formerly *Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (National Democratic Party of Germany, or NPD) is a minor right-wing extremist political party that espouses a racist, nationalist platform. The Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution has designated the party as right-wing extremist and anti-democratic (Bundesministerium des Innern und für Heimat, 2024).

Junge Nationalisten (Young Nationalists, or JN) is the youth organization of *Die Heimat* (formerly *NPD*) and tailors its activities towards recruiting, engaging its young members through hiking, martial arts, and highly stylized *völkisch* events. *JN* is extremely well connected to right-wing extremist groups in Germany and the rest of Europe, and the group's promotional materials about anti-CSD demonstrations have been widely shared in German far-right circles. *Die Heimat* and *JN* members have been openly present during at least 11 anti-CSD demonstrations this year.

Freie Sachsen (Free Saxony) is a right-wing extremist fringe party based in Saxony. The group has ties to a variety of right-wing extremist individuals and movements. The Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution has designated *Freie Sachsen* as a right-wing extremist party and currently monitors the group (Thieme, 2024). Supporters of *Freie Sachsen* have attended at least five anti-CSD demonstrations.

Der III. Weg (the Third Way) is a neo-Nazi fringe party headquartered in southern Germany with chapters across the country. The group regularly holds anti-immigration and homophobic demonstrations, and members have a history of violence against demonstrators, leftists, and marginalized communities.

Nationalrevolutionäre Jugend (National Revolutionary Youth, or NRJ), the youth wing of *Der III. Weg*, recruits young people through activities like combat sports and hiking. The youth groups' martial arts training extends beyond the gym: they are suspected of committing attacks, including a recent violent incident in Berlin (Lenze, 2024). Members and supporters of *Der III.Weg/NRJ* have been openly present at five anti-CSD demonstrations.

Far-Right Youth Groups Online

Deutsche Jugend Voran (German Youth Forward, or DJV) is a right-wing extremist youth movement with close ties to the far-right youth groups *Jung & Stark* and *Der Störtrupp*. DJV chapters frequently share posts on Instagram and TikTok with threats of violence towards the LGBTQI+ community, leftists/antifascists, and immigrants. Members of the Berlin/Brandenburg chapter were arrested in Berlin on July 27 for



planning to violently disrupt the city's CSD march and its attendees. Half of the 28 individuals arrested were minors, one of whom was under 14, indicating that the group is aiming to recruit teenagers. The group has continued to target CSD events, and members have been openly present at 11 anti-CSD demonstrations.

Elbland Revolte (Elbe region revolt), a semi-independent branch of *JN*, is a Dresden-based far-right youth group. *Ebland Revolte* has been linked to several violent incidents in 2024, including attacks on multiple political party campaign workers (Baumgärtner et al., 2024; MDR Sachsen, 2024a). In April 2024, three 17-year-old members allegedly attacked three passengers on a train after the passengers attempted to prevent the teenagers from putting up "Nazi zone" stickers (Der Spiegel, 2024b).

Elbland Revolte's leader openly shows his face and cultivates an online persona to recruit new followers. He has been a key figure at numerous Elbland Revolte and other far-right events, including the anti-CSD demonstrations in Dresden, Bautzen, and Görlitz. Members of the group have had a visible presence at a minimum of four anti-CSD demonstrations, typically alongside JN members.

Der Störtrupp (the Disturbance Squad, or DST) is a relatively new group in the farright scene, becoming active online in early Summer 2024. The group mainly operates online, with a national group and five regional chapters (North, West, East, South, und Bavaria). The group engages in martial arts training and associated accounts regularly post graphics advocating violence. The group has an alliance with *DJV*, and members of *DST* have attended at least ten anti-CSD demonstrations.

Jung & Stark (Young and Strong, or JS) is a far-right youth movement with chapters across Germany. The group appears to recruit teenagers and young adults online and uses WhatsApp groups for members of regional groups to coordinate. While JS is relatively active on social media, and has accounts for seven regional chapters, they had a smaller visible presence at anti-CSD demonstrations than DST and DJV. Members have openly attended at least five anti-CSD demonstrations.

Deutsche Mädels Voran (German Girls Forward, or DMV) is a new far-right group that recruits young women. Created in August 2024 in response to the wave of new online far-right youth movements, the group has close ties to *DST* as well as some links with *DJV*. While this year's anti-CSD protests have had a consistently small proportion of female attendees, *DMV* was visibly present at the anti-CSD protest in Landshut at the end of September.

Active Clubs

The German **Active Club** network, which is part of an international network of white supremacist groups that emphasize combat sport training and fitness, has also played



a role in the far-right mobilization against Pride events. *Active Club Leipzig* confirmed in their public Telegram channel that members attended the Leipzig anti-CSD demonstration, and members of *Active Club Niedersachsen* appear to have demonstrated in Wismar. Individuals wearing *Active Club* branded items have also been present at the anti-CSD protests in Bautzen and Magdeburg. Unlike many of the other right-wing extremist movements present at these events, *Active Clubs* have not had a strong visible presence through banners or a large bloc of individuals in branded clothing. However, several *Active Clubs* have posted promotional materials for anti-CSD demonstrations to encourage attendance.

Other Groups

Regional groups, like the Thuringia-based neo-Nazi group Knockout51, as well as smaller groups have also been present at CSD demonstrations. In the past, members of Knockout51, a neo-Nazi street fighting gang from Eisenach, have been sentenced for membership of a criminal organization (Hemkentokrax, 2024). In 2024, the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office also brought charges against Knockout 51 members for membership of or support for an extreme right-wing criminal and terrorist organization (Generalbundesanwalt, 2024; MDR Thüringen, 2024) Other members of the group were present at the CSD in Eisenach and may have played a role in organizing the event.



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