

**IDEOLOGY OF FAR-RIGHT AND WHITE SUPREMACIST VIOLENCE:
DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF CONSPIRACIES, NARRATIVES AND
DIGITAL SPACES SUSTAINING THE FAR-RIGHT**

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Abstract

In recent years we have witnessed a phenomenon that has not only altered the mainstream political landscape of various countries including US and other European states but has been potent enough in triggering political violence. The reason for using the term political violence here is to acknowledge that these instances of violence are not isolated events but are ideologically driven. The phenomenon I want to bring fore here is rise of far-right politics which is often tied with white supremacist political thought. The election of Trump, the growing popularity of far-right parties in continental Europe, and acts of terrorism such as Christchurch Shootings of 2019, all often go back to the same internet spaces such as 4chan, 8chan and Reddit. My research will focus on the various far-right discourses being propagated, in order to make sense of this movement.

The purpose of this project is to understand and elaborate on the resurgence of far-right during 2010's and the role online communities play in sustaining these movements. I will be looking at certain primary texts, which will include manifestos published by various far right extremists who went onto engage in mass killings. Firstly the Christchurch shooter Brenton Tarrant's, manifesto titled "The Great Replacement". Second a 1500-page manifesto published online by 2011 Norway Shootings perpetrator Andres Behring Breivik titled "2083 - A European Declaration of Independence". I will be analyzing this new transnational movement which claims the demographics and integrity of the lands which belong to Europeans is under threat due to conspiracies of global elites.

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This thesis is dedicated to my mother and my late father. Saleem.

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Introduction

In recent years we have witnessed a phenomenon that has not only altered the mainstream political landscape of various countries including US and other European states but has been potent enough in triggering political violence. The reason for using the term political violence here is to acknowledge that these instances of violence are not isolated events but are ideologically driven. The phenomenon I want to bring fore here is rise of far-right politics which is often tied with white supremacist political thought. The election of Trump, the growing popularity of far-right parties in continental Europe, and acts of terrorism such as Christchurch Shootings of 2019, all often go back to the same internet spaces such as 4chan, 8chan and Reddit. The members of these communities use these spaces to further propagate their agenda and moreover even celebrate each other's achievements, which in turn has given this movement the ability to become a transnational movement.¹ My research will focus on the main white supremacist terrorist attacks that have taken place in this past decade. The Norway shootings conducted by Andre Breivik, Christchurch shooting perpetrated by Brenton Tarrant, and El Paso shooting by Patrick Crusius. All these shootings and shooters had a lot in common. From their method of conducting violence to the manifestos and ideologies they adhered to.

It is a phenomenon that is defining the contours of politics in real time. Furthermore this is also an opportunity to weigh up various alternate explanations for the rise of far right, which commonly include a lash against globalization and the rapidly rising inequality under neo-liberalism. However the main purpose would be to conduct a discourse analysis of the ideas that are expressed by these white supremacists and what factors provide a conducive environment that leads to replication and acceptance of these idea. The shock value of some of

¹ Hutchinson, Jade. "Far-Right Terrorism: The Christchurch Attack and Potential Implications on the Asia Pacific Landscape." Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses 11, no. 6 (2019), Pg 19

these opinions and their proposed solutions to political problems is vital in making this subject an extremely interesting area of research.

At the heart of their rhetoric, is a binding issue that is almost universally accepted by the far-right groups, namely changing demographics. The notion of white genocide through replacement is what lies at the heart of modern far right movements. The idea of white genocide was first popularized by US domestic terrorist and white supremacist David Lane. He published a text titled 'The White Genocide Manifesto' in which he also popularized the 14-word white nationalist slogan, which is also the inspiration behind famous white supremacist hate symbol 1488.² In contemporary time the most famous discourse that has come to be associated with the white genocide theory is, The Great Replacement theory that was popularized by French author Renaud Camus. Camus claims an active replacement of native French and European population by non-Europeans immigrants is in process. Similar theories have been in conversation for a long time, with an anti-Semitic root. The successful re-packaging of replacement theory from an anti-Semite conspiracy to fit within a context of globalization, which made it popular again. According to Renaud the "replacist elites" are conspiring to substitute white populations, since it aligns with their interests for getting cheaper labor and is generally more profitable for their empires.³ It's mostly centrist liberal politicians like Emmanuel Macron, that he considers to be the biggest culprit or traitors for pursuing globalist agendas in politics which essentially hurt the French people.⁴ In its most simplest explanation Renaud put's it as, "The change of people and civilization, via mass migration."⁵

² Bridge Initiative Team, "Factsheet: White Genocide Conspiracy Theory," February 3, 2020, <https://bridge.georgetown.edu/research/factsheet-white-genocide-conspiracy-theory/>.

³ Camus. Renaud, "The Great Replacement." (2011)

⁴ Thomas Chatterton Williams, "The French Origins of 'You Will Not Replace Us,'" December 4, 2017, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/12/04/the-french-origins-of-you-will-not-replace-us>.

⁵ Camus. Renaud, "You Will Not Replace Us." (2018) <https://www.great-replacement.com/>

The replacement theory is often co-opted by far-right extremists, with the most famous example of Brantan Tarrant's manifesto, which was titled *The Great Replacement* as well. The obsession with demographics is at the heart of this theory, as the most significant chunk of Tarrant's manifesto is dedicated to discussing the declining birth rates in Europe and arguing that white race is a target of a systematic genocide.

Literature Review

Currently there is abundance of literature on far-right movements. But most of it deals with the issue in either historical context or focusing on the issue from a social movement's perspective (Switzer 2019). This new wave of far-right politics which started spreading exponentially in the decade of 2010 has generated heated discussion around the nature of these movements. And have been the subject of books like 'Kill all Normies' (Nagle) and 'Alt:Right: From 4Chan to White House' (Wendling). The primary question whether it is possible to define the new far-right movements as a coherent social group or not. Another example of social movements frames can be seen as Stern's book 'Proud Boys and the White Ethno State', which focuses on another American far-right movement called Proud Boys. In comparison the work specifically focusing on white supremacist terror attacks is limited to terrorism-based research which usually results in publishing of papers in the immediate aftermath of the terror attack focusing on that particular case. Hence there seems to be a missing link between white supremacist radical violence and how they are tied to the larger debates of social movements and meta-politics.

Methodology:

The methodology employed here is mostly discourse analysis, which I will be using to primarily analyze four texts or manifestos by white Supremacist terrorists. Some ways to look at discursive perspectives include various approaches such as “a) An emphasis on talk as action, b) An emphasis on talk as an event in history.”⁶ Given the nature of texts I will be dealing with, namely terrorist manifestos it makes sense to go with category a) here, which treats talk as action. The category b) which treats the contents of a text or speech as an event in history is more suitable for grand historical events such as declarations or addresses made by key political figures, such as Trump or Erdogan.

The texts I will be dealing with being the following, *2083: A European Declaration of Independence* (2011) by Andre Breivik, *The Great Replacement* (2019) by Brenton Tarrant, *An Inconvenient Truth* (2019), by Patrick Crusius, and *A Message to The German People* (2020) by Mathjis Rathjen. All four of these violent extremists engaged in similar kind of terrorist activities, adhered to similar ideologies which they expressed in their manifestos and had similar psychological traits.

Another key aspect of discourse analysis is to uncover how essentially language is intertwined with power.⁷ This is critical since white Supremacists have often been accused of intellectualizing their rhetoric and trying to pass it under the garb of theoretical models. Hence one of the objectives during my analysis would be to break down some of the theoretical models found in these manifestos. Especially the ones of Breivik and Tarrant, such as their discourses on Eurabia and The Great Replacement. Finally it is important to note as Ruth Wodak puts it,

⁶ Wood, Linda A. and Rolf O. Kroger. "Varieties of Discourse Analysis." In *Doing Discourse Analysis: Methods for Studying Action in Talk and Text*. Pg. 16

⁷ Fairclough, Norman. 2010. *Critical discourse analysis: the critical study of language*. Harlow, England: Longman. Pg 25

“Readers are not passive recipients in their relationship with the text.”⁸ This statement carries a lot of weight when we are specifically dealing with literature that has the potential to lead to radicalization or has already caused others to take radical action. We have to look into the surrounding socio-political factors that can make individuals resonate with such texts. And also analyze whether these texts have proved to carry the potency to successfully radicalize and recruit other individuals.

When it comes to spatial boundaries the reason for not limiting my scope to a single country is fluidity of white supremacist ideas across different regions. From an ideological framework, the white supremacists also view themselves as a singular social group, which is fighting a crusade against invaders taking over the lands they consider to people who are European by ethnicity. All this being done by the support of an insidious global elite.

Furthermore apart from focusing on the manifestos of these extremists. I would also be looking at two other factors which feeds into the loop of far-right violent extremism. These two factors being the emergence of far-right online propaganda news publications and the rhetoric of populist leaders and how are they connected to extreme far-right violence. It is important to note that way too often it is assumed that far-right extremists consider right wing populist leaders as a figure of inspiration. However if one was to look deep into the manifestos of these people that preposition can be challenged. Hence the two variables of far-right propaganda news and rhetoric of populist leaders is put in the section of meta-politics, which will be studied in relation to the primary focus of interest namely the fringe group of violent far-right extremists.

⁸ Wodak, Ruth and Michael Meyer, eds. *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2001. Pg 6

Chapter 1: Internet Landscape and White Nationalism

1.1) History of White Nationalism in Cyber Space: Storm Front

The first known major website devoted to white supremacist and nationalist ideas that still survives is known as the Storm Front (www.stormfront.org).⁹ It was founded in 1996 and remains online. The website is solely dedicated to the cause of white nationalism and describes itself as a community for ‘race realists and race idealists.’ Race realism is a popular term and theoretical concept that even manages to creep into academic journals. A paper published in a top journal by a couple academics who identify as race realists took a scientific route to prove how the Africans on average have lower IQ’s as compared to Europeans, who in turn have lower IQ’s than in Asians.¹⁰ The notion of race realism is based on two main assumptions. Firstly that there exists gradations and hierarchies among races and secondly the races are involved in a zero-sum game for dominance. Implying that one race cannot really prosper without inflicting a cost on another. These two assumptions play a major role in defining the state of contemporary racism. The voices that raise alarm at the prospect of white people losing majority within countries such as United States, is mostly rooted in the believe that minority are eventually bound to be subservient to the majority.

Even though Storm Front is far from being the most influential outlet within contemporary discourse on online racism. Its brief overview enlightens us from the fact that the online vitriol of racial hatred is not entirely a novel phenomenon. These are not discourses that have appeared out of thin air simply due to landscape of internet as is present now, but are

⁹ Stephanie L. Hartzell (2020) Whiteness feels good here: Interrogating white nationalist rhetoric on Stormfront, *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, Pg. 131

¹⁰ J. Philippe Rushton, Arthur R. Jensen, James Watson’s most inconvenient truth: Race realism and the moralistic fallacy, *Medical Hypotheses*, Volume 71, Issue 5, 2008, Pg. 630

a mixture of old and new ideas, stemming from a process of evolution. The changes in landscape of internet have played a major role in dissemination of these ideas, doubling down of rhetoric due to the echo-chamber effect, leading to radicalization and even terrorism. But it will also be juvenile to move forward with the assumption that there is something so inherently insidious about the nature of platforms like 4chan or 8chan that they are generating racist, misogynist or other hateful discourses in a vacuum.

1.2) Present internet landscape and white supremacy:

In order to make sense of contemporary racial discourse on internet, one can divide the such platforms into two major categories. Category 1) Publications and Online Media, Category 2) Internet Boards. The first category is operating within the mainstream realm, with various media outlets broadcasting directly on platforms such as Facebook, YouTube and twitter. The second and more occult cyberspace that has become a hotbed for far more radicalized white supremacists is that of boards on internet. The mainstream platforms do their job as raising the propaganda in general consciousness. Whereas the boards have become an interacting playground for more radicalized actors who go to the extent of carrying out violent and terroristic activities. This violent radicalization is not limited to racial violence but has also been considered to be the breeding ground for INCELS community (Involuntary Celibates) who propagate violence against women, based on their misogynist worldview.

The onset of new social media paradigm has also seen the rise of conspiracy journalism. With the era being described as the era of fake news and information warfare, the line between news and conspiracies has continued to blur. This conspiracy-based journalism is often rooted in the anti-establishment garb and lends its support to the populist leaders across the world.

While talking about the mainstream publications I will be focusing on the websites and news broadcasters such as “Daily Stormer” and “Infowars”.

1.2.1) Daily Stormer: Neo-Nazi Publication

“23 years 93 Days 6 Hours”.

This what the current timer on famous far-right website reads as of this moment. The time indicates the countdown to when the white population will stop being a majority in United States of America (Less than 50 percent: Still single dominant race). Some of the common themes that can be seen on Daily Stormer are derived totally from conspiracy theories. The most prime one being a global Jewish elite controlling the media discourse in order to manipulate population for their own personal gains. The Jewish conspiracy is further elaborated upon with the corrupt elites who work in collaboration with the Jews. Mostly identified as the liberals and Democrats. This is a recurring theme in most modern far-right discourse.

The Daily Stormer also uses interesting phrases to describe itself. On the websites front page one can see phrases like “The End Times Tribune”, and “The Most Censored Publication” in History to describe itself. It provides us an insight to the self-perception of this web publication. In a later part I will also show how some of the troupes used by conspiracy theorist or sensationalist publications are almost universal, by comparing the similarities between right wing conspiracy publications in the West with those in Global South, especially the ones coming from an Islamist background.

The Daily Stormer comes with a brand of white supremacy that is laced with anti-Semitism. It also provides a vantage point for us to compare the different brands of white supremacy that are present in United States and those in Europe. It is not to imply that anti-Semitism is not found within European White Supremacist discourse, but it is much more

prevalent within US discourse. On the main page of Daily Stormer one can find phrases like, “shekels plz goyim”. Which clearly invoke anti-Semite references. Words like shekels and goyim have strong anti-Semitic underpinnings. Goyim is another key word commonly thrown around, which is word for non-Jewish person, and is used ironically by right wing memers to reinforce the conspiracy that the Jews view the others as lesser human beings and aspire for world domination. Shekels is a derogatory term that is used by white supremacists to perpetuate the idea that Jews only care about money.¹¹ It is one of the oldest and one of the most common troupes used against Jews, which finds its origins in the European anti-Semitic movement of the inter-war period. According to which the Jews were responsible for the economic downturn of European states, with Germany in specific. It was further tied to the idea that the Jews were responsible for perpetuating wars among European states since it was highly profitable for them to finance these wars. Another window into Daily Stormer’s blatant anti-Semitism can be seen as the fact even though the publication openly supports Donald Trump, it strongly denounces Trump’s Jewish son in law, Jared Kushner.¹² Which it believes to be a promoter of Jewish interests and harmful for America and Trump regime.

1.2.2 Infowars: Conspiracy Theories Network

The second media base I would discuss would be Infowars. It is another far-right conspiracy publication, headed by the conspiracy theorist Alex Jones. Despite being banned on several platforms such as Facebook and YouTube for spreading fake news the Infowars website continues to flourish with almost 10 million monthly views, which is far greater than many

¹¹ Griffiths, B., 2020. Trump’s Son Eric Accused of Anti-Semitism After ‘Shekels’ Remark. [online] POLITICO. Available at: <<https://www.politico.eu/article/eric-trump-shekels-accused-of-anti-semitism-after-remark>>

¹² “Explosive Growth of Hateful Memes and Anti-Semitic Conspiracy Theories Against Jared Kushner,” April 10, 2017, <https://www.adl.org/blog/explosive-growth-of-hateful-memes-and-anti-semitic-conspiracy-theories-against-jared-kushner>.

esteemed news outlets.¹³ Alex Jones continues to make appearances on some of the most popular YouTube channels with his most recent one being his interview on Joe Rogan podcast, which is world's most watched podcast.

Infowars follows a pattern that is not uncommon from most conspiracy sensationalist news outlets. It aligns itself with a certain political discourse in which it depicts the world to be under control of demonic global elites. Infowars conspiracies are usually more outlandish than most fake news outlets, which ranges from claims like the government possessing weather controlling weapons, to Hillary Clinton running a child sex ring at a pizza place.¹⁴ Alex Jones himself can be seen in various videos making claims that likes of Clinton Family, Obama, members of Democratic party and Hollywood elites are members of satanic cults who indulge in satanic rituals such as drinking blood of children.¹⁵ His banning from most social media platforms came after one of his most controversial statements during which he claimed that the Sandy Hooks Massacre was a false flag operation conducted by the US government itself in order to ban gun ownership in United States.

In order to understand how all these platforms act like an echo chamber for recruiting other members one can look at the example of Andrew Anglin who is the founder of Daily Stormer. In one of his interviews he revealed that he was inspired by Alex Jones to start his own hate site.

“Anglin wasn’t always a neo-Nazi. He used to be hippie vegan who would wear a hoodie with a ‘Fuck racism’ patch on the back. What changed? In a 2015 interview on the white

¹³ Data collected from Site Traffic Tacking Database
(<https://www.similarweb.com/website/infowars.com/#overview>)

¹⁴ Tucker Higgins, “Alex Jones’ 5 Most Disturbing and Ridiculous Conspiracy Theories,” CNBC (CNBC, September 15, 2018), <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/09/14/alex-jones-5-most-disturbing-ridiculous-conspiracy-theories.html>.

¹⁵ Liam Stack, “He Calls Hillary Clinton a ‘Demon.’ Who Is Alex Jones?” October 13, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/14/us/politics/alex-jones.html>.

supremacist radio show 'Stormfront,' Anglin laid out his own radicalization process. It all started at an unexpected gateway: Alex Jones' conspiracy hub, Infowars."¹⁶

(Sankin et al., 2020)

What this insight shows is that the online white supremacist discourse is not as disconnected from one another, but it is more of an organized order. The ideologues and proponents of these ideology are in constant conversation with one another. Hence the ideology of white supremacism can be viewed as a converging phenomenon rather than a diverging one, which gets further intensified by the algorithmic logic which is designed to create an echo chamber of ideas around online users. Implying that it continues to show you perspectives towards which you are already inclined eventually resulting in one-dimensional views due to the confirmation bias or radicalization on a certain line of ideas.

1.2.3) The Boards of Hatred: 4Chan and 8chan

Perhaps the single most important phenomenon in defining the modern landscape of online white supremacist movements has been that of internet boards such as 4chan and 8chan. In the following section I will show how these boards have contributed in inspiring a transnational white supremacist movement, which has a violent terroristic element. These boards have become a breeding ground for white supremacist propaganda and have been co-opted by the far-right groups. In her paper 'Algorithms of Alt-Right' Jessie Daniels argues how the landscape of internet which is driven by algorithms is far from the initially conceived notions regarding internet being a space which will be beyond the prejudices of our natural world. According to her the current 'White Lash' is amplified by the algorithms which in turn

¹⁶ SANKIN, A., CARLESS, W., SANKIN, A., CARLESS, W., SANKIN, A. AND CARLESS, W. The Hate Report: Infowars is the gateway drug for white supremacists | Reveal

bring us to the question that whether the highly racialized landscape of internet is merely a ‘bug’ or a ‘feature’ of the system.¹⁷

Secondly there comes the argument for the cynical co-optation of innovation by the white supremacists for their own gains.¹⁸ The modern cases of white supremacist terrorism which has sent shockwaves through the world can be seen as following certain patterns, and not as nihilistic outbursts of violence as they were previously perceived.

¹⁷ Daniels, J. (2018). The Algorithmic Rise of the “Alt-Right.” Pg 64

¹⁸ Ibid, Pg 63

Chapter 2: First Case Study: Breton Tarrant (The Great Replacement)

Tarrant's manifesto *The Great Replacement*, has already gained a cult following within the extremist White Supremacist groups. The primary reason for this being the specific and precise nature of the text. It has all the elements required to create a text that is ideal for the purposes of radicalization. It is not merely a personal manifesto, but moreover a call to action. *The Great Replacement* is a theory that was first espoused by the French thinker and White Nationalist Camus Renaud. The theory since then has amassed a cult following within the White Nationalist online subcultures and has become the "central part of ideology and campaigns of identarian political groups in Europe."¹⁹ And ever since formed a major crux of the identarian politics, in white nationalist social movements. The theory espouses that the white people are being systematically erased and are being replaced by people being brought in from other continents, the Asians, Arabs and Africans to be precise.

The manifesto also touches upon a lot of theoretical frameworks some of them are listed as following:

- Accelerationism
- Global Capitalism
- Demographic Anxieties
- Eco-Fascism
- Anti-Feminism/Liberalism

¹⁹ Davey J, Ebner J (2019) 'The Great Replacement': The Violent Consequences of Mainstreamed Extremism. ISD Global. doi: <https://www.isdglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/The-Great-Replacement-The-Violent-Consequences-of-Mainstreamed-Extremism-by-ISD.pdf>. Pg. 7

To start with the demographic anxiety, it is clear at this point that the demographic anxiety is one of most common troupes employed by the white supremacists. But it is tied in with other sophisticated explanations to give it more weight. For instance some white conspiracy supremacists may come from the position, that whites are being simply as result of their identity. This discourse is commonly employed by conspiracy theorists like Alex Jones. However within the more radical circles that call for action, by engaging in terroristic action there exist much more nuanced explanations for this. For them this so-called ‘replacement’ is within the interest of global capitalists, who want to bring in more and more migrant labor which they can use to reduce their cost of production.

2.1) Anti-Islamism within the Tarrant’s manifesto:

Tarrant’s manifesto takes an approach of white supremacy that is mostly based on anti-Islamic sentiment. The most common manifestation of this anti-Islamic sentiment is found within the discourse on ‘Eurabia’. The common conspiracy espouses that Europe is being taken over by immigrants from the Arab region. The 2015 migration crises have led to a major spike in the sentiments that espouse such sentiments. This sentiment however is not limited to conspiracy networks alone but is deployed in metapolitical narratives as well. Right wing politicians across Europe and US, ranging from Donald Trump to Marine Le Penn have commonly criticized the takeover of European cities by the immigrants and their Islamization. In order to prove their point they often point towards cities like Brussels, where currently the 25 percent of the population is Muslim now. Other outlandish theories are ascribed to solidify their cause. Within his manifesto Tarrant shared a link to a Facebook video, which has since

been removed. However the video can still be found on YouTube, titled “Only for Muslims, please do not redistribute.”²⁰

According to Tarrant the video is a proof that the Muslims are consciously waging a war against Europe and trying to replace the white population by invading their lands. The video according to Tarrant was being spread by Islamic Centers within New Zealand. A claim that cannot be substantiated. However on closer inspection one can clearly process that the video does not seem to be the creation of Islamic fundamentalists, but clearly to invoke the anti-Islamic sentiment. A strategy that is commonly employed in flaring up the sentiments against a certain community. Almost all the demographic figures given within the video are highly inflated or flat out inaccurate, with the clear intention to create an insecurity regarding the increasing Muslim population within Europe. The propaganda video claims Muslims form 25 percent of the Belgian population. Which is incorrect, as according to estimates it is only 5 percent. The 25 percent number only holds true for the city of Brussels. It also attributes a statement to the German Federal Statistics Office, according to which by 2050 Germany would become a Muslim state. This statement was also misquoted, since the official report only talks about growing Muslim population in Germany but the statement about Germany turning into a Muslim state is not mentioned. The video is debunked in detail on the fact checking website Snopes.²¹ Including the claims regarding how the Muslims are going to become the dominant demography in Europe by 2050, which is almost impossible if the current trends do not change drastically.

²⁰ Link to the Conspiracy Video Shared in Tarrant’s Manifesto
(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-8xV34Gq0UU>)

²¹ Further information debunking the conspiracy video can be found on the use the following link
(<https://www.snopes.com/fact-check/muslim-demographics>).

Surprisingly enough the portrayal of Muslims as terrorists, which according to scholars has been the leading cause of Islamophobia within Western societies,²² does not take a lot of mention within Tarrant's manifesto. He does talk in detail about the horrific crimes committed in detail by the Muslim immigrants but does not engage in detail with the threat of Jihad or Islamic terrorist organizations as his predecessor Andre Breivik.

2.2) Demographic Anxieties:

The other aspect of Tarrant's manifesto is based on the demographic anxiety which is often seen to be heart of most major white supremacist conspiracy theories. Commonly referred to as 'white genocide' within the far-right extremist groups. The following are the opening lines of Tarrant's manifesto:

"It's the birth rates

It's the birth rates

It's the birth rates"²³

These opening words of Tarrant also provide key insights into his other socio-political views, which he believes are necessary in order to save the white people in West. Tarrant emphasizes that even deporting all the migrants will not resolve the issue of survival of white people until or unless the birth rates do not change.²⁴ The demographic anxiety for which the far-right conspiracy theorists attribute heavily on the declining birth rates within the Western societies comes in many shapes and forms. There are as many explanations for the declining birth rates, as much as there are conspiracy theorists. For instance conspiracy theorists like

²² McDonnell, Mary-Hunter. "Christopher Bail: Terrified: How Anti-Muslim Fringe Organizations Became Mainstream." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 61, no. 1 (March 2016):

²³ Tarrant. Brenton, "The Great Replacement" (2019), Pg. 4

²⁴ Ibid, Pg. 68

Alex Jones attributed the declining birth rates to deliberate dietary manipulation by the global elites. In one of his viral segments Alex Jones talked about how the drinking water that is contaminated with chemicals that reduces testosterone levels. Furthermore there are plenty of other causes that are attributed to declining birth rates within Western societies, which include explanations like lack of traditional values due to hyper-modernization and Post-Modern Marxists and Feminist agendas.

In order to make sense of these conspiracies one has to first think about the causal explanations that have led to declining birth rates in Western societies. Most commonly cited explanation being increasing female education, in turn leading to increased female participation in labor force. As women become more integrated within the markets and have their own careers, a decrease in number of the kids they have is the next logical step. Many theorists even claim the declining birth rates to be a marker of success, which needs to be replicated within the developing countries as well.²⁵ However the conspiracy theorists mostly link it to the infamous ‘Agenda 21’ conspiracy theory. According to which there is consensus among the global elite to depopulate.²⁶ For which they use insidious weapons like vaccines, radiations from telecommunication services (5G Conspiracies), and even by pushing rhetorical discourses such as feminism.

These conspiracies also help the rise of right-wing populist leaders across the Western countries. Populist leaders who base their entire persona on dismantling the established nexuses of ‘corrupt political elites’. Hence these theories are becoming a hotbed for right wing politics that relies on calls for traditionalism as opposed modernity.

²⁵ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/dec/26/falling-total-fertility-rate-should-be-welcomed-population-expert-says>

²⁶ “Agenda 21: The UN, Sustainability and Right-Wing Conspiracy Theory,” Southern Poverty Law Center, April 1, 2014, <https://www.splcenter.org/20140331/agenda-21-un-sustainability-and-right-wing-conspiracy-theory>.

This is also seen as merging point between conspiracy theorists and meta-politics. Many politicians mostly hailing from right-wing and conservative groups engage with such discourses and use them as political dog whistles in order to gain prominence among such movements. A classic example of such a phenomenon is seen as Donald Trump and the Alt-Right in United States of America. It provides a space to political voices that rely on dangerous ideals, which can come at very high costs. An easy example of this can be seen in the form of anti-vaxxers in US. A politician trying to win support from such a group, may have to engage in behavior that inadvertently puts the masses at a great risk.

2.3) Accelerationism:

One of the more dangerous ideas that has been becoming more and more popular within white supremacist online discourses is that of accelerationism. The modern origins of accelerationism can be traced to British philosopher Nick Land. Land who was career academic at Warwick University, was mostly interested in occult theoretical subjects. Initially a Marxist philosopher mostly interested in decoding the underpinnings of techno-capitalism, who later went unhinged and become a highly popular figure among white supremacist groups. Accelerationism is an idea that can take many forms and has morphed into different categories such as right-accelerationism, left-accelerationism, gender accelerationism and finally far-right accelerationism.

The primary idea behind the concept is to aggravate a conflict to such an extreme that it eventually leads to a structural collapse. Hence within a corrupt society the accelerationist theory would follow the logic that if the corruption levels are allowed to keep increasing at unchecked rates, it might have a positive outcome since there will come a point where organized levels of corruption can no longer be sustained and the system itself will collapse.

The co-optation of accelerationism by the White Supremacists as a phenomenon, needs careful consideration. If we go through Tarrant's manifesto there seems to be a miserable hopelessness within the current political system of Western societies. Hence calls for terroristic action assume that political solutions are no longer possible, and it is best to try to derail the system altogether, rather than trying take control through electoral means.²⁷ Tarrant fully endorses accelerationist tactics in order to destabilize the political system to create chaos and mayhem.

Following are some instances of Tarrant talking about accelerationist tactics in order to achieve the goals of his agenda:

He mentions one of his purposes of the attack was to aggravate the debate on gun control in United States.²⁸ He also expresses his belief for a need of civil war within United States between patriotic right-wingers and liberal left. An idea that was first popularized by White Supremacist David Lane. Who considered the existence of United States as a threat to the survival of White Race since it was not formed on the principles of an ethno-state. This issue will later be discussed in greater detail while talking about the White Supremacists concept of European Ethno-States. For now to understand this need to aggravate the conflict within United States, one needs to look back the idea of Western States being under the control of 'Cultural-Marxists', who are working against white people. Hence by aggravating the discourse on issues like Gun Control Debate, an opportunity for White Ethno-Nationalists can be created to take back control, from the alleged cultural Marxists.

²⁷ Beauchamp, Z., 2020. Accelerationism: The Extremist Philosophy That's More Violent Than the Alt-Right and Growing In Popularity. [online] Vox. Available at: <<https://www.vox.com/the-highlight/2019/11/11/20882005/accelerationism-white-supremacy-christchurch>>

²⁸ Tarrant. Brenton, "The Great Replacement" (2019), Pg. 15

“KILL ANGELA MERKEL, KILL ERDOGAN, KILL SADIQ KHAN”²⁹

The second aspect of accelerationism in Tarrant’s manifesto, his call to target high profile politicians. He makes explicit calls for people to assassinate three specific politicians, London’s Mayor Sadiq Khan, German Chancellor Angela Merkel and Turkish President Erdogan. All three leaders have symbolic importance for why they are mentioned. Sadiq Khan is a visible eye sore for White Supremacists, a London mayor from Pakistani descent plays right into the narrative of takeover of European cities by non-white immigrants. The second target Angela Merkel is the perfect archetype of ‘cultural Marxist’ or white political leaders who have betrayed their own people in the pursuit of interests of global capitalists. Her stance on migration policies which the white supremacists consider to be way to generous fits into the idea of replacement of white people by a cultural elite under the umbrella of supranational organizations such as European Union. Finally the Erdogan is seen as target since he is seen as someone who comes directly into confrontation with Europe. More symbolically he is seen as relic of Ottoman empire in present days. His moves to put pressure on Europe to take in more and more refugees and migrants has been seen as a direct attack by the White Supremacists, who believe him to be a direct opponent of Europe.

2.4) Tarrant and Eco-Fascism:

Tarrant’s manifesto once again brought back into discussion one of the less talked about causes that is being co-opted by the white supremacists, namely the discourse on climate change and environmentalism.

²⁹ Ibid, Pg. 49

“There is no Conservatism without nature, there is no nationalism without environmentalism.”³⁰

To put it simply, the shock value of such a discourse being incorporated into white supremacist terrorist agenda arises from the commonly held notion of climate causes being mainly a left-wing liberal project. Despite this being a commonly held position in contemporary political thought, the link between ecologists and fascists ideologies is not a novel phenomenon and has a rich history. Grounded in Hitler’s idea of Lebensraum, the philosophy that propelled the idea of Germans having a symbiotic relationship with nature in comparison to other races, whose existence is considered to be harmful for the nature. Similar ideas are expressed by Tarrant in his manifesto. In a section, where Tarrant is answering questions for his future audience, one of the questions is,

“Why focus on immigration and birth rates, when Climate Change is a much bigger issue?” “Because they are the same issue, the environment is being destroyed by over-population, we Europeans are one of the groups that are not over-populating the world. The invaders are the ones over-populating the world. Kill the invaders, kill the overpopulation, and by doing so save the environment.”³¹

When read in its entirety the piece outlines two main causes for the climate crises. First being the capitalist system of production, which is only concerned with maximizing the profit at whatever cost it comes, which includes supporting immigration which translates into cheap labor.

Secondly the way of living of immigrant itself is seen as a threat to the climate. This idea tying back to the notion of Lebensraum. This notion is not unique to White Supremacists

³⁰ Ibid, Pg. 48

³¹ Ibid, Pg. 29

but is a common part of racism and race supremacists in various other contexts. For instance within Pakistan similar stereotypes are perpetuated against Pashtoon's for being beastly and reproducing at very high rates. Within India such prejudices are commonly found against Muslims. With the same idea being pushed of Muslims not having a symbiotic relationship with the land of India. And reproducing at very high rates creating problems such as resource dearth poverty, environmental degradation and even disease. During the ongoing pandemic the Muslims in India were used as scapegoats for the spread of disease.

To sum it up, far-right eco-fascist discourse accepts the existence of climate catastrophe being a real threat in comparison to conventional or moderate conservatives. While coming up with solutions to this problem they invoke the idea of the corruption of Western societies which are plagued by consumerism, hence to some extent they denounce capitalism as well. One of the primary figures in such thinking is Theodore J. Kaczynski commonly known as Unabomber, an American domestic terrorist in the 80's and author of the multiple texts including Technological Slavery, Anti-Tech Revolution and the most popular one, his own manifesto titled 'Industrial Revolution and It's Future'. Theodore in his manifesto much like Tarrant expresses a deep resentment towards the modern consumerist and industrialist society. This is an important insight which differentiates the hardened far-right extremist thinkers from the mainstream right wing, which considers the industrial society or simply put capitalism one of the most virtuous values of Western societies that needs to be defended. One can speculate many theories regarding the disillusionment of white supremacists from capitalism, but in conclusion we can detract that white supremacist terrorists are becoming increasingly disillusioned with consumerism and global capitalism.

Chapter 3: Second Case Study Andre Breivik (2083: A European Declaration of Independence)

Andre Breivik's attack in Norway and the manifesto that came along with it has been considered to be the critical juncture in white supremacist terror attacks. Even though Breivik was not the first person to conduct an attack in this manner while leaving a manifesto behind. The pioneer in this method of conducting terrorism was Ted Kaczynski also known as the UnaBomber.³² Breivik's attack was critical due to the operational reasons. Firstly it was one of the single most lethal white supremacist terror attacks in history. And secondly in hindsight it proved to be a success in inspiring, recruiting and triggering a movement of violent extremism due to his actions and manifesto. It turned attention towards the 'digital ecology' within which the new white supremacist terrorism is operating.³³ Even though the initial critiques of Breivik's like Van Buuren on his thought have emphasized upon the anti-Islamist and anti-Leftist elements of Breivik's thought. I would like to extend that argument to incorporate a third element in it which much like Tarrant, happens to be the disgust towards status quo. It is not only an attempt of takeover by the 'Cultural Marxists' which these white Supremacists consider to be the primary enemy of Western societies, but they also believe that current conservatives are compromised and cowardly to make any real change. Primarily having conceded the interest of their people in support of the interest of the Global Capitalists. Even right-wing politicians such as Marine Le Penn and Trump are not seen as solution to the problem, since they would never be radical enough to go against the rules set by shadowy global elites.

³² J.M. Berger, "The Dangerous Spread of Extremist Manifestos," *Atlantic*, February 26, 2019.

³³ van Buuren, J. (2013). Spur to Violence? Anders Behring Breivik and the Eurabia conspiracy. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, 3(4), Pg. 205

3.1) Cultural Wars: Frankfurt School and Political Correctness

The main divergence that can be noted between Breivik and Tarrant is that of their primary obsession. For Tarrant the main point of obsession was the Replacement theories or what may be described as white genocide theories. However for Breivik the epistemological project is what is at the heart of the project. In this regard where Tarrant identifies multiple enemies trying to damage the Western society. For Breivik there is one main enemy alone, 'Cultural Marxists.' For Breivik the cultural Marxists have waged a war against Western civilization and their propaganda is everywhere. They are re-writing the western history and creating new mediums of obliterating the western values through the use of university and academia. According to Breivik the Cultural Marxists are complicit in the Islamic colonization of Europe.³⁴

Before moving further it is important to talk about what exactly Breivik mean when he uses the word Cultural Marxism. For people like Breivik Cultural Marxism is an epistemological process that has taken over Europe. For Breivik this process began with the foundation of Frankfurt School during the inter-war period in Europe. Breivik identifies the critical theory school that was spearheaded by some of the prime thinkers of their time such as Marcuse, Adorno and Horkheimer to have set the foundations of 'Political Correctness' in Europe. For Breivik political correctness is an 'ideology' instead of a phenomenon. In Breivik's view this ideology is born out of the systemized attempt to convert the Marxist philosophy which had a focus on materialism into a cultural philosophy.³⁵ Breivik explains the Marxist philosophy to be based on the idea of antagonistic relationships between two ideals. He argues that historically this conflict was between the bourgeoisie and working classes. However in current context this conflict has been flipped and is now based on identity instead of class. So

³⁴ Breivik. Andres Behring, "2083 - A European Declaration of Independence" (2011), Pg. 16

³⁵ Ibid, Pg. 20

the antagonism now is based on which social group you belong to and in his opinion it is the conservative white people who are depicted as oppressors or the evil force, meanwhile being associated to any sort of minority on the basis of gender, sexuality or race is associated with a characterization of virtue.³⁶

Furthermore Breivik continues to accuse the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory to have been cynically pushing this agenda. And casts the highest level of accusations against Herbert Marcuse, German theorist most famous for his critique of capitalism titled, 'One Dimensional Man.' The two main accusations that Breivik level up against Marcuse are seen as following. Firstly leading the cause of sexual liberation in his book titled Eros and Civilization. And secondly creating a discourse according to which the black revolutionaries, feminists and people from the Global South can replace the character of proletariat in the communist revolution. And challenge the power of white man who is the main oppressor.³⁷

Apart from Marcuse Breivik names the following philosophers as well for working for the cause of Cultural Marxism:

- 1) Gyorgy Lukacs (Hungarian Marxist Philosopher)
- 2) Antonio Gramsci (Italian Marxist Philosopher)
- 3) Wilhelm Reich (Austrian Psychoanalyst)
- 4) Eric Fromm (German Psychoanalyst)
- 5) Theodor Adorno (German Sociologist)

³⁶ Ibid, Pg. 21

³⁷ Ibid 24

The main objective or outcome of the work of these thinkers according to Brevik has had the following impact:

- Ending the gendered roles and along with it the institution of family
- Replace patriarchy with matriarchy
- Breakdown of cultural norms and social values
- Widespread sexual perversions
- Abandonment of conservative and Christian values
- Establishment of a totalitarian state ruled by the principles of political correctness

Breivik's critique of the intellectual discourse within West is not a fringe opinion, which is based on totally conspirational worldview. Some of his thought process essentially rings true for being totally based on conspiracy views such as the Islamic colonization of Europe and discourse on Eurabia which will be later discussed. But his critique of Cultural Marxism has gained a lot of traction within the mainstream right-wing discourse. It has surely not crept into the academic accounts but has been popularized by public intellectuals like Jordan Peterson and other conservative public figures like Candace Owens. They do not propagate the same xenophobic rhetoric of how migrants have undeniably destroyed the Western societies beyond redemption. But they surely express their utmost disdain at the same alleged Cultural Marxists taking over universities and social discourse. Building on it they mainly target the feminist movements and other racial movements such as Black Lives Matters within United States. Claiming them to be hoaxes perpetuated by the liberal elites in order to damage the fabric of Western societies and further sink them towards degeneracy and chaos.

3.2) Eurabia and Andre Breivik:

Since Breivik's manifesto has been published the Eurabia conspiracy theory has been the most discussed element of it. It has very strong Islamophobic character and provides a lot of historical context into why terrorists like Tarrant and Breivik consider Islam to be the main threat arising from the general migration. As discussed before Breivik considered his work not just a piece for radicalizing other people who may share similar ideas as him, but also an intellectual project to unmask the real history, which has been convoluted by the compromised western intellectuals. In doing so he sets out to expose Islam as the religion which has been always been in conflict with the Western world. An intellectual thought that takes some inspiration from the famed political theorist Samuel Huntington's seminal work 'Clash of Civilizations'. Breivik sets out to expose the nature of Political Islam, which has the idea of conquest rooted in its core ideology and cannot be separated from it. And secondly to outline the historical clash between Europe and Muslim invading forces characterized by Ottoman empire's expansionist plans within Europe.

In Breivik's analysis Islam has been in a constant state of Jihad (Holy War) against the rest of the world since its inception. The argument that is built here is that conflict with the non-Islamic world is something that exists within the core believes of Islam. It is built on the injunction that is invoked within Quran, which divides the world into Dar-ul-Islam (Land of Peace) and Dar-ul-Harb (Land of War). It is very commonly invoked by theorists when trying to make sense of the perpetual conflict between Western and Islamic world. This line of argument is also present in Patricia Crone's book on Political Islam 'God's Rule'. However critics have argued that this version of intellectual discourse is orientalist in nature and presents a polemical account which lacks significant nuance.³⁸

³⁸ Afsaruddin, Asma. (2010). Patricia Crone, *God's Rule: Government and Islam*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004. Pg. 1178

3.3) Knight Justicar Grandmaster: Breivik as a Pioneer of a Movement

If we were to divide the Andre Breivik's 1515 page long epic manifesto, it can be divided into three main categories. The first part being dedicated to exposing the intellectual set ups such as Frankfurt school which caused significant harm to Western societies. Approximately covering 50 pages. After this, almost the next 800 pages are dedicated solely to expose the 'real face' of Islam by using the most one-dimensional polemical narratives. The final part of 650 odd pages is dedicated to providing a comprehensive outline on how to defeat the nexus of cultural Marxists, Eurabian politicians and the Islamic forces trying to take over Europe.

Having discussed the first two parts it is now time to turn towards the third part of his manifesto, that can be seen as his strategizing. This section of Breivik's manifesto is extremely important and probably the one given least importance, as most of the work produced on it usually tends to focus on the first two parts, namely Islamophobia and his critique of left liberals. However from a radicalization perspective Breivik's attack holds a lot of significance. In many ways he can be seen as the person who inspired a new terrorist movement, which mostly found its recruits online.

It is a movement that so far has been hard to define. The major problem with defining this movement comes from defining the boundaries of the movement. The question of what qualifies and what does not qualify to be a part of this movement. Some critics bend towards the process tracing and associate these terror attacks mostly with the phenomenon at hand of internet echo chamber boards such as 4chan and 8chan. One outcome of this is that it reduces the focus from the ideological discourse and turns it into an issue of personal psychology.³⁹ It

³⁹ Refer to "*The Making of a Lone Wolf Killer*". Book by Unni Turrettini which investigates Breivik's case solely from a psychological perspective. Citing issues as childhood bullying and lack of compassion as the main reason why Breivik turned to violence.

tries to put the echo chamber at the cause of the problem and not as a mere facilitator. Furthermore it often tries to encapsulate various violent groups that emerge from these echo chamber as a monolith phenomenon. The INCEL (Involuntary Celibates) group being a prime example of this. The INCEL community which mainly targets women due to their misogynistic worldview preach violence against women, for not choosing to have sex with them. Furthermore hate groups exposed during gamergate scandal such as anti-LGBT groups further complicate this question. Whether it will be fair to lump all these under a same category of extremists only because their medium of radicalization was same.

The second approach is the one that ignores the process tracing and focuses on the ideological and discursive factors of the debate. In this category people like Breivik gain way more significance, since they elevate from the level of a cog in the digital ecology of racism. They are no longer just disenfranchised individuals who lack control over their circumstances and as a result are corrupted by the vitriol of the racist echo-chambers. But they become the creators of new discourses themselves. Under this framework the status of Andre Breivik almost becomes that of a figure who inspired a movement. His actions not only achieve most of the goals outlined within his manifesto, but his thinking inspired many others to take arms and engage in violent conflict.

Where does it leave the lone wolf rhetoric of mass shooters? It becomes an impediment since the two approaches to studying terror attacks have totally different assumptions and will certainly come to different conclusions regarding whether what is actually causing these attacks and how their damage can be minimized depending on whether we treat the attacker as a lone wolf or part of a group. Even if Breivik was not part of organized violence when he carried out the attack, in later years the movement did pick up enough momentum to be categorized as an organized group. The later shooters did mention each other as figures of inspiration in their manifestos. Tarrant accrediting Breivik and Patrick Crusius (El Paso Shooter) mentioning

Tarrant as an inspiration in his manifesto. Furthermore Breivik later came to be commonly called the 'Knight Justicar Grandmaster' within the online communities. The name being a compound of two unique characteristics. Breivik believed himself to be a member of Knights Templar organization which he joined in London in 2002. Invoking a historical link to the crusades. Grandmaster used to be highest order in order of Knights Templar. And Justicar was the level his character had achieved in World of Warcraft, an online game he was believed to be playing 16 hours a day before carrying out the attacks. The question whether any such order like Knights Templar actually existed or was merely a figment of Breivik's schizophrenic mind has not been resolved. However in case any such order existed it becomes more and more evident that Breivik could be a representative of a larger community with similar ideas, rather than being a troubled individual who eventually went unhinged.

While outlining functioning of how Breivik plans to overthrow the existing status quo, he starts by defining the new Knights Organization he has envisioned for Europe. He draws the inspiration from the Old Knights Order that was involved in crusades against Salah ud Din's forces in Jerusalem. Another symbolic gesture of Breivik drawing inspiration from old Islamic-Christian conflicts. He also claims that in all these conflicts Muslims have always been the aggressive ones. Primarily the reason he considers the crusades and Battle of Vienna to be grand historical events. He declared Vlad the Impaler as one of his greatest heroes. And adored him to the extent that he broke down into tears when a video dedicated to him was played during his trial.⁴⁰ Other than crusades he also considered Battle of Vienna 1683 one of the most major event in history, in which the defeat of Ottomans at the hands of allied forces of Europe denied the Muslims the opportunity to gain control of European mainland. For this reason he titled his manifesto 2083, as both a tribute and a prediction of the year the Muslims

⁴⁰ Pidd, H. (2012, April 16). Anders Behring Breivik cries during own propaganda film. Retrieved July 21, 2020, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/apr/16/anders-behring-breivik-cries-own-propaganda-film>

will be expelled from Europe again, four hundred years after Battle of Vienna. Breivik marked his attack as the starting of new war which will last for 70 years. Which technically should end in 2081, but hence why he choose 2083 instead.

Chapter 4: Hanau and El Paso Shooting

In the past decade there have been many significant mass shooting terrorist events, from which I would further be discussing two major events. Namely the El Paso Shooting in US (2019), and Hanau Shooting in Germany (2020). Mainly because both these events can be viewed from the similar perspective. Both these shooters also left behind their manifestos namely ‘An Inconvenient Truth’ and ‘Message to the German People’.

4.1) Hanau Shooting: A Message to All German People

Talking about the Hanau shooter first, his manifesto and erratic behavior that preceded the terror attack, gives a lot of insight into the mind of Tobias Rathjen. Even a slight glance at his manifesto exposes the deep schizophrenic state of his mind. Apart from expressing xenophobic views he also made claims like being under surveillance from a very young age by intelligence agencies. The text of Tobias writings can be divided into two main components. Firstly his schizophrenic ramblings in which he talks about German people being under surveillance.⁴¹ And secondly his extremely racist view in which he labels most nations and ethnic groups from the Global South to be irredeemable. In the first step he calls for the complete expulsion of these people from Germany and secondly destruction of these nations in general.⁴²

Another interesting aspect regarding Rathjen’s manifesto is the view that almost all criminal activities in Germany are carried out by people from immigrant communities. He specifically singles out the Turks and Northern Africans for creating lawlessness within

⁴¹ Tobias Rathjen, A Message to the Entire German People, 2020, Pg. 1

⁴² Ibid. Pg. 6

Germany.⁴³ To back his claims he points towards two instances both related to his personal life. In the first incidence he narrates a bank robbery while he was working in a bank, carried out by people from immigrant backgrounds. In the second instance he only mentions a conversation he had with one of his colleagues, and both of them agreeing upon the notion that the Turks, North Africans and other immigrants in Germany were responsible for all the crimes committed within Germany. This again points towards Rathjen's psyche who was probably suffering from a psychotic episode under which he believed that there was a secret agency monitoring even his thoughts. To the extent that he genuinely believed that he influenced many major events. Since the agency was observing his thoughts, he claims that this secret agency has access to his thoughts they applied them to real world situations such as Hollywood movies and sporting events. He credits himself for having come up with script of Hollywood films and series such as 'Prison Break', 'The Call' 'Vikings', as well as affecting the German National Football team's strategies under Jurgen Klinsmann.⁴⁴

4.2) El Paso Shooting: An Inconvenient Truth

Moving onto the case of next shooter Patrick Crusius, who attacked the Hispanic community in Texas area. This attack also brought the rightful recognition of the chain reaction of far-right attacks that had been triggered during 2019 year in the counter terrorism think tanks. And also brought to light how these attackers were becoming increasingly a source of inspiration for one another.⁴⁵ Patrick wrote a short three-page manifesto, 'The Inconvenient Truth' and published it on 4chan before carrying out the attack. In the manifesto Patrick Crusius endorsed Tarrant's view. He also expressed his agreement with the Great Replacement theory

⁴³ Ibid, Pg. 5

⁴⁴ Ibid, Pg. 18

⁴⁵ Graham Macklin (2019), The El Paso Terrorist Attack: The Chain Reaction of Global Right-Wing Terror, CTC Sentinel, Volume 12, Issue 11

and Tarrant's Eco-Fascism. But he kept his mission precise to the context of United States of America. Probably the only major spin in his manifesto that was the replacement of Muslims with Hispanics and their alleged invasion of state of Texas. He accuses Hispanics of all the same crimes as committed by Muslims according to Tarrant, such as high birth-rates and cynically replacing the white race.⁴⁶

Patrick divides his manifesto into the Political and Economic reasons for carrying out the attack. Within the economic reasons he talks in same breath as Tarrant when explaining the corporate takeover of United States of America. Almost like all other white supremacist terrorists, Patrick also identifies that capitalism has not only been a force of freedom but one that has caused much harm as well. Specifically in terms of environmental degradation and disturbing the ethnic makeup of countries by importing labor from other countries.⁴⁷ Thus the corporate interests have come to supersede the patriotic interests and both the Democrats and Republicans are complicit in it. This is primarily the political reasons stated by Patrick in his manifesto. He believes that the Democrats and Republicans are both merely pawns to the corporate interests in America. However he accredits the Republicans with some patriotism, since they have still not fully sold out. Democrats on the other have somehow betrayed the white people and decided to become representatives of non-whites. Hence according to him Democrats plan a total capture of the political scene within United States. In this dystopic vision of Patrick Crusius United States will eventually become a one-party system. That party being The Democrats, which will be made possible by engineering unlimited immigration of non-white people. For this reason Crusius believes that the Democrats are the ultimate traitors of their people and a political party that cannot be salvaged. However this clearly seems like a highly misinformed opinion, since no political lobby in United States supports the notion of

⁴⁶ Crusius, P. (2019). The Inconvenient Truth. Pg. 1

⁴⁷ Ibid. Pg. 2

unlimited migration. Which does not even comply with the logic of corporate interests. Most migration to developed countries is based on the demand of corporate interests. Which would entail a controlled migration plan, with careful monitoring of the relevant and skilled people to fit certain roles in the economy. Hence Patrick's own view on whether Economic reasons are driving mass migration, or political reasons seems to be self-contradictory considering both of them do not comply with the idea of unlimited migration.

Chapter 5: Analysis

5.1) Lone Wolf Attackers vs Organized Violence:

Perhaps one of the seminal questions that remains to be studied within the context of white supremacist terror attacks is whether these attackers remain lone wolf attackers. Or should they be categorized under a more complex framework. Previously the works on White Supremacy mainly focus upon the social movements aspect of it and treat the terror attacks as merely a manifestation or secondary outcome of the white supremacist discourse. But if the events within the last decade are any sign it is clear that the terrorist element of white supremacist discourse has been picking up heat and is becoming increasingly popular globally. It is a network of well-connected tech-savvy people who are able to communicate information with one another with the ability to not come under the radars of authorities.

One of the key characteristics of identifying a violent extremist as a lone wolf attacker is the portrayal of that particular person as a troubled individual, who might have been going through elongated episodes of alienation and social isolation. Other factors that are commonly associated with the lone wolf profile include being bullied as a child, or other traumatic experiences, such as sexual abuse or abuse at the hands of an authority figure. One of the widely held debates over the years in the media discourse has been why the psychological explanations for conducting an attack are sought if the attacker turns out to be ethnically white. On the flip side the conservatives have also been trying to push the agenda the liberal media tries to conceal the crimes committed by people from immigrant backgrounds. But focusing on the question of white violent extremism and in the light of 4 case studies discussed in this case. Some critical insights can be drawn on the issue of psychological state of these attackers. Among the four attackers discussed at least 2 showed signs of psychological state of schizophrenia. With one being an extreme case (Rathjen) and other one being milder in comparison (Breivik). But if we

were to ignore the case of Rathjen, the remaining three attackers clearly seem more ideologically driven than their psychological state. Some of the arguments they draw upon are extremely sophisticated and exhibits a very intelligent understanding of theoretical frameworks. From Tarrant's engagement with accelerationist tactics to Breivik's critique of Frankfurt School of Critical Theory, they all depict a nuanced understanding of the world. They simply do not call for blind massacre of people based on their ethnicities or religion, as is sometimes depicted in simpler versions. But they define their enemies after a long procedure of reasoning. Calling their violence as an impulsive act based on their psychological state does little to fully comprehend their discourse.

Furthermore their connections with one another also points towards the need to abandon the paradigm of lone wolf attackers. It was revealed that shortly before conducting the attack Tarrant was in contact with Breivik who apparently gave him his blessings. Breivik e-mailed his manifesto to a select thousand e-mail addresses which he considered to be the friends of his mission. An action which clearly points towards the existence of a thriving online community with similar ideas.

5.2) A Marxist Perspective:

Marxist perspectives usually tend to posit things in relation to material realities and have often been criticized for being reductionist in nature. Trying to understand these episodes of violent extremism is not possible through an entirely Marxist lens, however one must also be critical of not paying attention to such factors altogether. Within the manifestos of Tarrant, Breivik and Crusius their criticism of global capitalism is very significant. They vocally blame the capitalist forces to be responsible for a lot of things that are going wrong with their societies, including existential threat posed by environment degradation and mass immigration in search

of cheap labor. Even though they are brutally harsh in their criticism of Marxists and communists within their own society, and name them as their worst enemies. Their own criticism of capitalism does not escape the Marxist perspective. To the extent that Tarrant in his manifesto actually talks about the importance taking power away from capitalists and empowering the workers by giving them greater autonomy over the economic processes.

The task here is not to prove that these white supremacist terrorists are in some perverted sense confused Marxists who do not themselves know it yet. But the Marxist critics would argue that these individuals are actually alienated and disenfranchised from the status quo to the extent that it results in them resorting to creating enemies in order to make sense of their reality. Such argumentation has not been given a lot space in recent discourse where the debates are mostly concentrated around the identity or psychological explanations. However it is an important question nonetheless with the rise of more and more populist leaders, the question that the white lash could be directly linked with the disenfranchisement of the masses caused by neo-liberalism and global capitalism is more relevant than ever.

Another important key element is in some of these manifestos it is not the immigrants that are pointed out as the primary enemies. For instance Tarrant talks about how he views the immigrants merely a problem caused by much bigger systemic and institutional problems. Mainly blaming the capitalists and corporatists. A sentiment that goes back to Camus Renaud's original philosophy expressed in "The Great Replacement." Which makes repeated references to 'the great betrayal of white people by their own', pointing towards capitalists and politicians who have been compromised for pushing the interests of global capitalism.

5.3) Meta-political framing:

How does the problem of violent white supremacist's ties in with the politics on a larger scale? Within the discipline of political science various explanations have been sought to understand the political aspect of right-wing terrorism. For instance Sprinzak made the following claim regarding right-wing terrorism, "It argues that right-wing radicals usually reach terrorism through a trajectory of split delegitimization, which implies a primary conflict with an 'inferior' community and a secondary conflict with the government."⁴⁸ In the case of most of these terror attacks the process seems to be similar to this. Most of these attackers attacked specific 'unwanted' community, while they wanted to send out a message to their governments. In Breivik's case the government can be considered the primary target, since he targeted the youth workers of Labour Party in his country.

Another important linkage between politics and right-wing terrorism, arises due to the presence of populist leaders. An interesting explanation given in an increase in right-wing terrorism becoming more likely is the presence of prominent right-wing leaders, which have mutually beneficial relationship with each other's rhetoric.⁴⁹ In the aftermath of these attacks it is often invoked how the rhetoric of populist may embolden the violent extremists or be a source of ideological support by sharing similar opinions. Trump himself has called immigration as an invasion of United States.⁵⁰ One of the dominant political phenomena that has been witnessed within the recent past has been the rise of right-wing populist leaders. Leaders who are not afraid to play the race card and do divisive politics in order to make

⁴⁸ Ehud Sprinzak (1995) Right-wing terrorism in a comparative perspective: The case of split delegitimization, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 7:1, 17-43, DOI: 10.1080/09546559508427284

⁴⁹ Ravndal, Jacob & Bjørge, Tore. (2018). Investigating terrorism from the extreme right: A review of past and present research. *Perspectives on Terrorism*. Pg. 11

⁵⁰ [Philip Rucker, "'How do you stop these people?': Trump's anti-immigrant rhetoric looms over El Paso massacre," *Washington Post*, August 4, 2019](#)

electoral gains. A causal link between the emergence of populist leaders and increase in white supremacist violence cannot be drawn. Since we still do not have any conclusive answer to whether populist leaders' popularity can be explained in terms of a top-down or bottom-up discourse. Meaning whether the believes that populist leaders bring forth are always there in the masses or are they instilled from the top leadership ranks as political strategies.

But one claim that can be made is that the rhetoric of populist leaders fits well with the rhetoric of the radical white supremacists. It is enough to embolden and work as a confirmation of their conspirational believes. The presence of Donald Trump has certainly had this effect on the far-right movements within USA. When a divisive leader himself talks about a shadowy elite establishment that controls the political landscape it is definitely going to give fuel to people who already tempted to believe in conspiracy theories. Trump's support base does not only constitute of conventional right-wing conservatives. But he was able to tap into a new demography as well, precisely that of far-right and whose influence and power cannot be undermined.

The far-right movement has become way more organized since Trump's ascension to power within United States. The most commonly cited example being that of Alt-Right movement led by Neo-Nazi Richard Spencer. The Alt-Right movement has become a solid online base of support for Trump. Their online exchanges were first brought to light during 2016 presidential elections. It is also observed that after Trump came to power certain events have clearly indicated towards worsening race relations, such as the Charlottesville Rally organized by Alt-Right groups in 2017, to protest the removal of statue of a confederate General. The protestors displayed Neo-Nazi symbols and chanted slogans like, "You will not replace us."⁵¹ The online community of Alt-Right is notorious for ascribing to racist and

⁵¹ Alt-White: Conceptualizing the "Alt-Right" as a Rhetorical Bridge between White Nationalism and Mainstream Public Discourse. SL Hartzell - Journal of Contemporary Rhetoric, 2018, Pg 6

misogynist views and propagating them through the use of memes. 'Pepe the frog' memes played a crucial role in the formation and flourishing of this online community. Donald Trump who is known for his extremely active presence on social media was also called out for engaging with this movements online vitriol by retweeting some of their content.

Trump's presence on the political scene has triggered formation of online conspiracy movements that are precisely based around his personality. Among such cult of personality conspiracy theory groups QAnon has been the most visible of such conspiracy groups. The conspiracy puts Trump as a Messiah, who is fighting against an evil, corrupt and secretive political elite that runs pedophile rings and controls media and virtually everything.⁵² Originating from a 4chan thread the original poster QAnon popularized the conspiracy of their being a presence of a deep-state establishment within United States. Which wants to replace Trump from office by the use of either a military coupe or assassination.

Trump's strategy while dealing with the far-right groups has been a strategic one. He regurgitates some of the conspiracy associated views and will send soft signals to them showing them that he is their man. He endorsed Alex Jones as a patriotic journalist during 2016 election trail and enjoyed the full support of Infowars broadcast, as well as other far-right news outlets such as Breitbart and The Daily Stormer.⁵³ At the same time he avoids endorsing their problematic opinions in order to maintain plausible deniability and disassociate with any of the consequences that may occur as a result of these movements.

Political figures espousing to far-right views is not a new phenomenon and has been a common occurrence even within the European political scene. With far-right political parties

⁵² LaFrance, Adrienne. "The Prophecies of Q," June 22, 2020.

<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2020/06/qanon-nothing-can-stop-what-is-coming/610567/>.

⁵³ Saacks, Bradley. "A Day after Ranting about Social Media Censorship, Trump Retweets Conspiracy Site InfoWars and a Far-Right Personality 'at the Precipice of Outright White Nationalism'," May 4, 2019.

<https://www.businessinsider.com/trump-retweets-infowars-and-a-far-right-personality-2019-5>.

staging a comeback at national level in 80's and 90's in Italy, France, Belgium, Germany, Austria and Scandinavian countries.⁵⁴ The same era which saw the emergence of Marine Le Penn on French political scene. The new right parties were characterized by the notion of saying things that conventional conservatives were afraid to say, for the fear of attracting labels such as xenophobic or racist. One such breakthrough success story was Austrian politician Jorg Haider, under whose leadership The Freedom Party, a far-right nationalist Austrian party broke into the mainstream and one who was not afraid to speak his mind against 'Rule of Brussels' and 'Eurocracy'.⁵⁵

Other examples of this phenomenon in Europe can be seen as the Dutch parliamentarian David Geertz, whose Islamophobic views have been subject of much debate since a decade now. Geertz has been a critic of Islamization of Europe, firm believer of clash between Islam and European values and been pretty vocal about these issues. The latest development of this has been formation of an interest group coalition within European Parliament, that includes him, French far-right politician Marine le Penn and Belgian far-right group called The Flemish Interest. Figures such as Marine le Penn and David Geertz enjoy a good reputation among the far-right groups. And have been dubbed as last few nationalist politicians within Europe, who care about the interests of Europeans. Although more radical voices do not care much about these politicians since they consider no viable political solution possible and believe these politicians will never be allowed to make much of a difference within the existing status quo.

Apart from the emergence of far-right leaders, other factors in Europe have also been considered to affect the xenophobic attitudes towards Muslims in general. These include social movements like PEGIDA (Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of West) and Stop

⁵⁴ Hockenos, Paul. "Jörg Haider: Austria's Far Right Wunderkind." World Policy Journal 12, no. 3 (1995), Pg. 75

⁵⁵ Ibid, Pg 77

Islamization of Europe.⁵⁶ Such movements show not only a fringe sentiment against the certain minorities in Europe but moreover a general discourse of otherization. Similarly moves by French and Belgian Governments like posing restrictions on female Islamic dress code, have also been considered to display a negative attitude towards Islam in Europe.⁵⁷ Finally the issue has also been exasperated by the discourse against illiberalism in Islam, which reached its peak in the 2000's with European filmmakers, artists and human rights defendants speaking out against Islam's inherent mistreatment of women and other minority groups such as LGBT community. Ex-Muslims like Ayyan Ali Hirsi became the key figures who exposed Islam's brutality from within.⁵⁸

5.4) Digital Ecology of Conspiracy Theories

The worldview driven by conspiracy theories is not limited to the sphere of white supremacy. It extends far and beyond to almost similar effect, namely support of populist leaders and strengthening of far-right discourses. This becomes pretty apparent if we were to look at the Islamist conspiracies discourse available. As an example we can turn to 'Haqeeqat TV' which is one of the most subscribed YouTube channels in Pakistan and the biggest channel dedicated to conspiracy theories. Some of the common rhetorical tools that are visible at work in this case are same use of anti-Semitic global conspiracies, including the Jewish control of media. Of an insidious global elite network controlling the international politics, with global organizations such as UN to further their agenda. Another common parallel can be seen that of distrust and paranoia. The most glaring example of this being the anti-vaccination sentiment.

⁵⁶ KALLIS, ARISTOTLE. "Islamophobia in Europe: The Radical Right and the Mainstream." *Insight Turkey* 17, no. 4 (2015), Pg. 34

⁵⁷ Ibid, Pg. 33

⁵⁸ LAITIN, DAVID. "Rational Islamophobia in Europe." *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes De Sociologie / Europäisches Archiv Für Soziologie* 51, no. 3 (2010). Pg 431

It is one of the most commonly believed conspiracy theories that is believed across the spectrum. Finally one can say that maybe it's the similar nature of the conspiracy theories which are rooted in schizophrenic paranoia that makes people from different political and social backgrounds believe in it. Since most conspiracy theories are based around the believe that there is an innocuous global elite that wants to hurt them or control them through use of means such as vaccines, technology or mass surveillance. But the role of internet in the explosion of conspiracy theories cannot be undermined. It has been proven on studies over fake news, that the internet incentivizes the production of such alternate discourses. Internet almost gives everyone the right to broadcast, but in order to gain traction it is impervious for anyone competing with established broadcasters to bring an alternative discourse, which is explosive or scandalous in nature. In turn promoting the click-bait culture, which starts with the process of sensationalizing news and eventually ending with resorting to publishing all out fake news or propaganda in order to maintain viewership and gain traction.

Chapter 6: Findings and Conclusion

The findings of this paper relate to two major dimensions. The first one being related to the far-right terrorism and the second one being how the digital landscape of internet is tied with the far-right.

To start with the analysis of the far-right terrorists discussed in this study, what is imperative is that these attackers show a lot of resonance among one another when it comes to ideological beliefs. Hence understanding the discourse they engage becomes even more important. Their discourse can be seen as a complicated mesh of ideas that borrows heavily from the mainstream conservative views and entangles them with conspiracy theories. It is important to mark this distinction since none of these attackers would not qualify as conventional conservatives. And it would be inaccurate to rubbish their beliefs as entirely based on conspiracies as has been the tendency in media narratives. The blending of conspiracy with conventional conservative discourse, does not merely amplify the right-wing rhetoric. But in many ways, it results in the emergence of entirely new discourses. For example the conventional way of looking at immigrants as an economic threat, turns into an existential threat built on the conspiracy of white genocide.

Like all radical discourses the extreme far-right discourse is also built upon the notion of 'us vs them'. Here it becomes important to note that it is not only thus the immigrants that they view as their enemy, but anyone who does not ascribe to their worldview becomes in some manner complicit in the white genocide and is therefore an enemy. For this reason the radicalized far-right extremists consider the liberals, capitalists, globalists as their sworn enemies. Which can prompt the question then why most of these attacks have been carried out against minority groups so far, with the exception of Andre Breivik's 2011 attack. The answer to this question can also be found within the texts of these attackers. Despite mentioning high

profile targets like Merkel, these individuals also emphasized on the importance of carrying out successful attacks. For this they argued that one should pick a target according to how much they can handle. When asked during his trial if he had any regrets over his actions Breivik responded by saying that he wishes he could have killed more people.⁵⁹ This is not merely an insight into the psychotic state of a cold-blooded terrorist's mind, but more of a strategic goal, outlined in Tarrant's accelerationist philosophy. Their main aim is to carry out attacks that carry maximum impact, and for that to happen the only marker is how much damage the attackers can inflict. Hence the current sampling of victims should not be viewed from the xenophobic frame alone but a strategic one as well. And given the opportunity there are various other groups or individuals that these extremists can potentially attack.

Regarding their discourse on xenophobia, it is pretty clear that these attackers consider the immigrants to be invaders and are all believers of the White Genocide conspiracy theory. The conspiracy stems from a demographic anxiety which cites the falling birth rates among white people coupled with mass immigration that will eventually lead to white people becoming small minorities within their own homelands. It is highly inspired from the work of French intellectual Camus Renaud and his 'Great Replacement Theory'. According to which the white people are being systematically replaced by the immigrants due to the interests of global capitalism and corporates. Thus they detest the immigrants, but also have an additional hatred towards Islamic immigration. Which they tie in with historical conflicts between Islam and West, and Islam's doctrine of invasion and conquering in the name of Jihad.

⁵⁹ Mark Lewis and David Jolly, "Norwegian Defends Shooting and Regrets Death Toll Wasn't Higher," April 19, 2012, <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/20/world/europe/norwegian-says-attack-was-in-the-works-for-years.html>.

These far-right extremists have successfully co-opted occult spaces on the internet, such as boards like 4chan and 8chan, which serves not only the purpose of dissemination of their propaganda but also the recruitment of new individuals to carry out violent attacks. The profile of the people mostly lurking on these shadowy places on the internet also fits the bill for becoming radicalized. Most of these are young men, who are either totally isolated or on the fringes of social groups. There is an entire discourse of self-loathing on these boards which is pretty visible. The engage in self-ridicule and often promote the idea that anyone lurking websites like 4chan is already lost cause and would nickname themselves as ‘Degenerates’. The reason why these boards attract a certain audience is because of two main reasons. First, they provide anonymity and secondly because the nature of content that is find on these sites. A lot of these sites are associated with venting out politically incorrect opinions for people who feel suffocated by the environment of political correctness. The anonymity gives them a sense of security to say things that they are not allowed to say on mainstream platforms due to what they perceive as the oppressive nature of political correctness that severely curtails the freedom of speech. Hence these politically incorrect boards which provide anonymity have been fast becoming breeding grounds for various extremist discourses.

In conclusion the contemporary far-right discourse rests on interaction between processes, which can be identified at a metapolitical level, far-right publications and broadcasters and radicalized violent extremists. The discourse of violent far-right extremists has been analyzed in this paper, with a specific focus on 4 major terrorist events that took place this past decade. The far-right conspiracy broadcasters and publications such as Breitbart, Infowars and Daily Stormer certainly have an influence on the way far-right extremists evolve through their production of wild conspiracy theories. It is also interesting to note that at times these conspiracy theories are much more bizarre than the views professed by far-right extremists. Finally the far-right discourses are also emboldened by the presence of right-wing

populist leaders, such as Donald Trump, David Geertz and Marine Le Penn, which works as a source of inspiration to promote the far-right discourses.

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