
Research Notes

Fabricated Martyrs: The Warrior-Saint Icons of Far-Right Terrorism

by Ari Ben Am and Gabriel Weimann

Martyrdom does not end something, it is only a beginning.

Indira Gandhi

Abstract

Martyrdom has historically been an important part of underground movements. Martyrs have been utilized as such in propaganda and messaging campaigns in a variety of fashions. This began by expressing one's willingness to sacrifice him or herself for one's faith, and eventually began to be associated with death on the battlefield. The global Far-Right extremist movement has, akin to global Salafi Jihad, adopted martyrdom as well as a tool to encourage members to carry out lone-wolf attacks. In the case of the Far-Right, carrying out a terror attack (and accepting the risk of getting arrested or killed while doing so) is enough for the decentralized Far-Right propaganda machine to create a living "martyr" of the movement by reframing the terrorist as a "holy warrior" of sorts. This article examines three prominent Far-Right terrorists: Anders Breivik, Robert Bowers and Brenton Tarrant as examples, exploring their relevant iconography and imagery to show that their image has been purposed by the Far-Right to inspire lone wolves to carry out attacks.

Keywords: Far-Right, martyrs, propaganda, terrorism

Introduction

In modern times Martyrdom is associated with one's willing to sacrifice himself/herself for the sake of faith, religion, values, ideology or political views. However, in its original meaning, the word martyr, meaning witness or testimony in Greek, was first used in the Bible and the New Testament. A martyr was then a person who was killed because of his/her testimony of God or Jesus. In the early years of martyrdom the death was by sawing, stoning, crucifixion, burning at the stake or other forms of torture and capital punishment.

Religious martyrdom emerged during the conflict between the Greek King Antiochus Epiphanes IV and the Jewish rebels. The books of Maccabees recount numerous martyrdoms suffered by Jews resisting the Hellenizing of the Jewish colony. These martyrs were executed for such 'crimes' as observing the Sabbath, circumcising their children or refusing to eat pork or meat sacrificed to foreign gods. Later, Christian martyrdom followed: some scholars like Frend argue that "Jewish psychology of martyrdom" inspired Christian martyrdom. Frend writes, "In the first two centuries AD, there was a living pagan tradition of self-sacrifice for a cause, a preparedness if necessary to defy an unjust ruler that existed alongside the developing Christian concept of martyrdom inherited from Judaism." [1] The early Christians who first began to use the term *martyr* in its new sense saw Jesus as the first and greatest martyr, on account of his crucifixion.

Jesus' image as a martyr is particularly important to the concept of martyrdom as explored in this Research Note in regard to the Far-Right. Jesus' success at drawing mass crowds and leaving an impact on the world beyond his comparatively short life can be attributed to several factors: his charisma and message, and his rejection of the modern world in favor of a better alternative. Moskalenko and McCauley describe this in their book, "The Marvel of Martyrdom." [2] Jesus' message of self-sacrifice in the name of a larger cause inspired others to later do the same, with self-sacrifice also serving as a vehicle to "transform one's worldview, and ultimately one's life." [3]

In the Islamic terminology the title *Shahid* originated from the Quranic Arabic word meaning "witness" and is

also used to denote a martyr. *Shahid* appear frequently in the Quran but only once in the sense “martyr; one who dies for his faith”; this latter sense acquires wider use in the *hadiths*. Islam views a martyr as a man or woman who dies while conducting *jihad*, whether on or off the battlefield. The concept of the martyr in Islam had been made prominent during the Islamic revolution (1978–79) in Iran and the subsequent Iran-Iraq war, so that the cult of the martyr had a lasting impact on the course of revolution and war. Like the English word *martyr*, in the 20th century, the word *shahid* has come to have both religious and nonreligious connotations, and has often been used to describe those who have died for political or ideological causes.

Shahids: Martyrs of Jihad

The understanding of *jihad* as primarily “armed combat” (*qital*) took perhaps about a century to develop. The Quran attests to multiple meanings of *jihad* that range from noncombative to combative. Furthermore, the Quran does not have a single word for “martyr” or “martyrdom,” concepts that became intrinsically linked to the concept of *jihad* as armed combat against the enemies of Islam. One of the Quranic verses (3:169) that refers to the special status of the martyr declares: “Do not think that those who were slain in the path of God are dead. They are alive and well provided for by their Lord.” However, later *hadith* texts, make clear that the phrase “slain in the path of God,” are suggesting various forms of martyrdom. Moreover, the term *shahid* in the sense of martyr appeared only in the *hadith* literature but not in the Quran. During the Islamic Revolution (1978–79) and the subsequent Iran-Iraq war (1980–1988) the cult of the *Shahids* in Iran has had a lasting impact on the dynamics of revolution and war. The soldiers, clergy, and other individuals who died during the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran were regarded as martyrs and have often been buried in special martyrs’ cemeteries. In the 1980–88 Iran–Iraq War, thousands of Iranian youths—many motivated by the religiously based ideas of Ayatollah Khomeini and the Islamic Revolution—volunteered to serve in the armed forces during the conflict, sometimes participating in human wave attacks against the Iraqis. Those who died in battle were considered martyrs.

It was Sheikh Abdullah Azzam who laid the foundations of al Qaeda that connected the Holy War of Jihad with martyrdom. Azzam, the spiritual mentor of Osama Bin Laden, wrote in 1988 the guidelines for al Qaeda and argued that in order to instill the vanguard with the desire for *istishhad* (martyrdom),

The *shahids* (martyrs) are those who write the history of nations, because the history of nations is written only in sweat and blood. They are the ones who build the palace of glory, because palaces of glory are built only by skulls and limbs severed from the body. They are the ones who keep the tree of this religion from wilting and drying up, because the tree of this religion is watered only with blood. They are the wise ones, because they found their way to Allah, while the others either mourn them or mock their thinking. They are the ones who love death so that they will earn life (after death).[4]

In the al Qaeda video from January 18, 2002, titled “19 martyrs”, the hijackers in the September 11 attacks justify their beliefs and profess their desire to sacrifice themselves. So do Palestinian militants involved in anti-Israel terrorist attacks who have referred to their suicide bombers as martyrs. In the early 1990s the Hamas bestowed its greatest honor on Azzam by naming its military wing in the West Bank for him—the Abdullah Azzam Martyrs Brigades. Some years later, the names of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip military wings were combined and the united outfit became known as the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Martyrs Brigade.[5]

Dying to Kill: Suicide Terrorism

The globalization of “new martyrdom”, described by several scholars (e.g., Pedahzur, Moghadam[6]) refers to the merging of terrorism and martyrdom in the form of suicide terrorism. Suicide attacks have become one of the most important and emblematic forms of terrorism today. These acts of self-sacrifice are often

constructed as forms of religious martyrdom. Suicide attacks are acts of organized violence in which the perpetrators *deliberately sacrifice* their own lives. The willingness to die is combined with the willingness to kill simultaneously in the same act: the goal is therefore “dying to kill.” Moreover, in suicide attacks, the martyr’s death is a necessary requisite of the mission because it is self-inflicted, frequently by means of explosive devices or suicidal missions.

Despite recurrent references to the past and a return to the ‘true’ fundamentals of religion, genuine suicide terrorism is a recent phenomenon which emerged only in the early 1980s. After its debut in the early 1980s in Lebanon, suicide attacks spread to Sri Lanka in 1987, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in 1993, India in 1995, Turkey in 1996, and Chechnya in 2000. The diffusion of this method was facilitated by processes of imitation and learning, as well as by opportunities for inter-organizational cooperation. However, as Marone argues, the notion of combative or offensive martyrdom date back to the time of the 1979 Islamic Revolution led by Khomeini in Iran.[7] Some Iranian religious and intellectual figures promoted an effective re-interpretation of the notion of martyrdom, crucial in the Shi’a doctrine. During the Iran-Iraq war (1980–1988) thousands of young Iranian volunteers blew themselves up to clear Iraqi minefields, wearing a key around their neck in order to open the doors of Paradise.[8]

Martyrdom in the Theater of Terror

From its early days till today, martyrdom fulfilled important functions. The primary function of the readiness to die is symbolic and even mythical, in terms of propaganda, publicity and recruitment. The act of self-sacrifice permits to: (i) draw more media attention and publicize the cause; (ii) promote the legitimacy of the cause, by highlighting through this extreme commitment and devotion the seriousness of the situation or of the motive; and (iii) encourage others to follow and be rewarded forever as martyrs. As O’Shaughnessy (2004) in his *Politics and Propaganda: Weapons of Mass Seduction* argues, “Deaths and martyrdom have always been fecund sources of myth making.... Martyrdom is a particularly persuasive way of inflating a sense of moral grandeur.”[9] Thus, all political or ideological actors, from nations to terrorist groups and extremists, seek and attain their martyrs. They don’t even have to die though death is of course desirable. Myths and martyrdom are well connected in propaganda and so is symbolism. A key function of propaganda is to manufacture symbols and present them as persuasive mental heuristics. Consequently, propaganda like commercial advertising is very symbol-rich.

When it comes to terrorism, several communication and terrorism scholars reconceptualized modern terrorism within the framework of symbolic communication theory. Already in the 1970s, academic observers remarked increasingly on the theatrical proficiency with which terrorists conducted their operations. As Brian M. Jenkins concluded in his analysis of international terrorism: “Terrorist attacks are often carefully choreographed to attract the attention of the electronic media and the international press. Taking and holding hostages increases the drama. The hostages themselves often mean nothing to the terrorists. Terrorism is aimed at the people watching, not at the actual victims. Terrorism is a theater.”[10] Modern terrorism can be understood in terms of the production requirements of theatrical engagements. Terrorists pay attention to script preparation, cast selection, sets, props, role-playing, and minute-by-minute stage management.[11] Within the Theater of Terror conceptualization, a special role is played by the martyrs, the most heroic role in the terrorist cast. In the theater of terror production, the perpetrating organization or group is able to capitalize on widespread media coverage that the martyrs attract. The fate of the martyr is part of the plot, and with a large number of victims, media attention is secured. The media coverage of terrorist martyrdom conveys an image of extreme discipline, dedication, and skill in carrying out such an audacious and incomprehensible act.

In recent years martyrdom videos posted online have become a major instrument in terrorist and extremist propaganda. It serves two propaganda purposes; externally (the enemy) and internally (their own community). The videos are intended to preserve the memory of their subjects, and to justify and glorify their actions. They may also serve the function of committing their makers to their actions, by making a public statement of commitment that they feel they cannot go back on.

Rising Far-Right Extremism

Far-right violence and terrorism are a growing threat to Western societies.[12] Far-right terrorist attacks increased by 320 percent between 2014 and 2019 according to the 2019 Global Terrorism Index.[13] In 2018 alone, far-right terrorist attacks made up 17.2% of all terrorist incidents in the West, compared to Islamic groups which made up 6.28% of all attacks.[14] In January 2019, the Anti-Defamation League's Centre on Extremism reported that every extremist killing in the US in 2018 was linked to far-right individuals or organizations.[15] German authorities registered 8,605 right-wing extremist offenses, including 363 violent crimes in the first half of 2019. Compared to the first half of 2018, an increase of 900 far-right crimes was recorded during the same period. Far-right terrorism is on average five times deadlier than far-left terrorism, with an average of 0.92 deaths per attack compared to far-left terrorism with 0.17 deaths.[16] Nineteen countries across North America, Western Europe and Oceania have been targeted by far-right attackers. This trend in far-right attacks has led some observers to state that far-right domestic terrorism has not been treated seriously enough in the West and that security and intelligence services should pay closer attention to this emerging threat.[17]

“Far-Right” refers to a political ideology that centers on one or more of the following elements: strident nationalism (usually racial or exclusivist in some fashion), fascism, racism, anti-Semitism, anti-immigration, chauvinism, nativism, anti-LGBTQ, and xenophobia. There is also some overlap between far-right groups and Incel movements due to their shared beliefs of hatred and intolerance.[18] Incel is short for ‘involuntary celibate’ and refers to online groups of men who feel that they cannot enter sexual relationships and express hatred toward women accusing them of sexually manipulating or humiliating men. Other far-right groups enforce traditional gender roles and oppose abortion. Far-right groups are usually strongly authoritarian, but often with populist elements and have historically been anti-Communist, although this characteristic has become less prominent since the end of the Cold War. Not all groups or organizations with any one of these characteristics can be considered far-right and not all far-right groups are automatically violent or terroristic. However, terrorist groups with these characteristics and individuals sympathetic to these ideals have been classified as “far-right terrorism.”

Far-Right terrorists have a strong inclination to change the established order, favor the hegemony of traditional elites (typically white, heterosexual and Christian) and advocate the forced establishment of authoritarian order. Far-right attacks are also less predictable as perpetrators are typically unaffiliated with a terrorist group, making them harder to detect. Far-right extremists have also shown a long-term interest in acquiring Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN) weapons, resulting in several CBRN far-right terrorist plots in Western countries (mostly in the US) which fortunately did not come to fruition.[19] Another development is the phenomenon of individuals taking part in a group of extremists performing terrorist acts without previous contacts to the extremist environment, sometimes described as “Hive Terrorism”: terrorist acts or violent hate crimes committed by a spontaneously formed crowd that quickly disbands after the incident.[20] All the above appears to show a significant terrorist threat posed by extreme right-wing activists and groups.

The Propaganda of Far-Right Terrorism

Like many other modern extremists, jihadists and terrorists, the far-right relies on a massive and wide-ranging propaganda machine. The propaganda campaigns allow the far-right to maximize media and online attention while limiting the risk of individual exposure, negative media coverage, arrests and public backlash. The barrage of propaganda attempts to normalize extremist messages and bolster recruitment efforts while targeting minority groups including Jews, Blacks, Muslims, nonwhite immigrants and the LGBTQ community. Extreme right activists and their ilk have long used propaganda as a tool to spread their message. Long before the Internet, they distributed hateful flyers or drove from town to town, leaving their hateful papers, brochures and manifestos on front steps and in driveways. Today, the rise of digital platforms has changed this and now fringe groups, malevolent actors and extremists have access to platforms that can proliferate disinformation and stir resentments of all kinds. A new development in the propaganda campaigns launched by the far-right was

the adaption and use of new media: the rise of online media has created new opportunities for communication, organization and mobilization by far-right-wing extremist and right-wing radical political groups. Whilst right-wing extremists exploit online platforms and social media for political purposes, the extent to which they have abused online communication is far less certain.

The growing presence of extremist groups in cyberspace is at the nexus of two key trends: the democratization of communications driven by user-generated content on the Internet, and the growing awareness of modern vigilantes of the potential of the Internet for their aims. Terrorists and extremists have used the Internet, as several studies have revealed, for numerous purposes.[21] They use the Net to launch psychological campaigns, recruit and direct volunteers, raise funds, incite violence and provide training. They also use it to plan, network, and coordinate attacks. Thus, not only has the number of terrorist online platforms increased but also the ways in which terrorists use the Internet have diversified.

These potential uses have not gone unnoticed by far-right groups, who moved their communications, propaganda, instruction and training to the cyberspace. As Hoffman and Ware concluded, “today’s far-right extremists, like predecessors from previous generations, are employing cutting-edge technologies for terrorist purposes.”[22] The far-right online presence is not restricted to a single online platform or space but is instead a patchwork of various types of platforms and spaces, from websites to social media and even the Dark Net. Far-right extremists are generating their content on a variety of online platforms and increasingly also utilizing a wider range of new media technologies for their purposes. A range of relatively new and highly accessible communication ‘applications’ is another component of this trend. Many of these newer technologies fit into the category of so-called ‘dark social’, which refers not to the ‘dark’ nature of the content but to the difficulties of tracking content and communicators.[23]

The Specter of Far-Right Martyrization

The widespread acceptance of the Internet and social media among various streams of Far-Right movements and extremists has led to numerous changes in their organizational structure and propaganda efforts. These propaganda campaigns, initiated and managed by either lone actors empowered by the Internet or by more formal and traditional Far-Right organizations, have changed their messaging in accordance with their new capabilities and external factors. One of the many examples of this is the general shift from leader and hero-worship (generally among historic political figures) among members of the Far-Right to the martyrization and adulation of individual, lone-wolf attackers. These lone wolves take their hatred and terror from the realm of cyberspace to the physical world by carrying out terror attacks, primarily mass shootings.

The Far-Right, like any ideological movement extremist or otherwise, competes with other ideologies among both its adherents and the general public. Martyrdom is a key component of the promulgation of any given ideology; the martyr serves as a symbol for a movement or ideology, as a source of encouragement for action and unity due to the sacrifice of the individual, as well as serving as a figure to be idealized by encapsulating the ideals of the ideology or movement and “humanizing” them. This provides adherents of an extremist movement both a symbol and figurehead to refer to and justify the rightness of their ideology or movement both in the eyes of adherents and parts of a wider public.

The diverse nature of the Far-Right as an umbrella ideology with an increasingly large amount of sub-ideologies and organizations makes it difficult to discuss “martyrdom” as a universal and standard term for the movement. Despite this inherent difficulty, martyrdom and the glorification of martyrs has existed since the inception of modern Far-Right movements in the late 19th century and the early 20th century. An example of early martyrdom in post-WWI Germany would be Horst Wessel, an avowed Nazi whose death at the hands of Communists in 1930 was memorialized in the song “Horst Wessel Lied”, a later anthem of Nazi Germany.[24] Martyrization of individual members killed prior to World War II was common to many movements, but the trend changed for the Far-Right post-World War II.

Following World War II, the global Far-Right which had only recently come to power in numerous states (primarily Axis powers such as Germany, Italy and Japan) had been relegated to the fringes of mainstream discourse. Following their defeat, Nazism, Fascism and other Far-Right ideologies and movements soon found themselves outside of the political mainstream. Worship of prominent leaders and ideological figures such as Hitler, Mussolini, Mosley, Powell (and others) and their martyrization in the eyes of many Far-Right extremists became commonplace—and with the addition of a few other iconic, ideological figures such as William Luther Pierce, continues until this very day. In fact, many of these ideologies have even converged. Arguably, the importance of maintaining adherence to traditional propaganda focusing on ideological thinkers and leaders was apparent to Far-Right extremist organizations that needed to maintain an ideological core and goal around which to organize members.

In recent years, beginning in the early 1990s in earnest, the Far-Right, which typically was comprised of organizations (with varying levels of public visibility), began to change. Individual Far-Right extremists, who had often undergone radicalization alone and through the Internet and social media platforms, began to carry out mass-terror attacks that prior to the advent of the Internet had been stifled by intelligence and law enforcement agencies (primarily by sting operations). The advent of the Internet enabled the creation of the “lone wolf”—arguably a misnomer. These lone-threat actors never truly acted alone—having undergone radicalization in the Internet and often conversed with extremists online—but in contrast to organized Far-Right activity carried out their attacks individually.

The transition from organized formal and semi-formal movements and organizations to lone wolves (initiated due to the Internet and social media) necessitated a change in Far-Right propaganda efforts. The need for a powerful authority figure, often with a political background, around which organizations could rally members began to subside in the face of the need for symbols of action that could serve as a source of inspiration for other lone wolves. This by no means indicates that general awe and admiration of larger-than-life historical figures in the Far-Right has disappeared, but simply has been superseded by martyr-worship of Far-Right terrorists that carry out mass shootings. These mass-shooter terrorists often are placed upon a pedestal as martyrs for the movement and sometimes even depicted as religious or supernatural figures. The ability to canonize oneself by “deciding to become a saint” is expressed in one’s willingness to carry out a terror attack and sacrifice oneself.

The rise of mass-shooters as martyr figures in the Far-Right has occurred thus as the result of changing organizational structures and internal dynamics inside of the Far-Right. Examining relevant Far-Right content on various social media platforms and websites displays this trend well across several different “martyrs”: Anders Breivik, Robert Bowers and Brenton Tarrant.

The authors of this Research Note used Cobwebs Technologies’ Web Intelligence platform to identify and analyze relevant social media and Internet chatter both qualitatively and quantitatively, some results of which are presented in the following.[25]

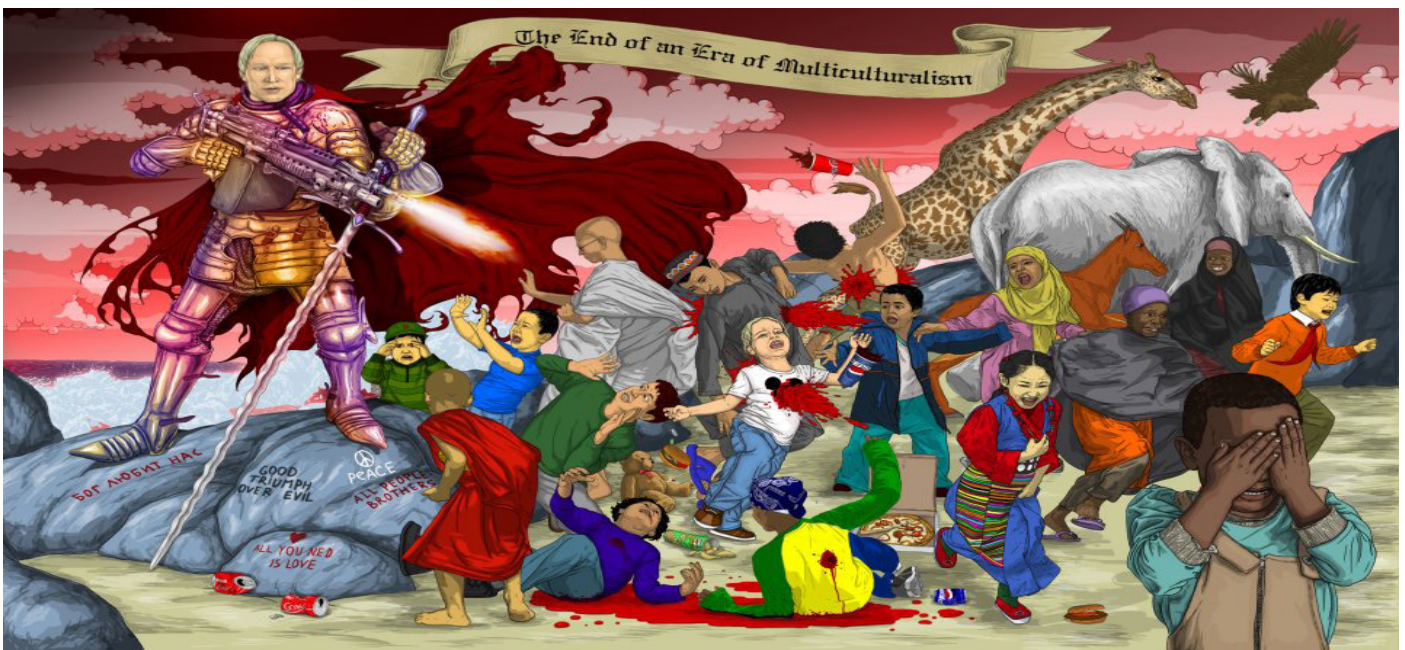
Anders Breivik: The Knight Justiciar

Anders Breivik was by no means the first lone-wolf Far-Right terrorist but was arguably the first since the American Unabomber to ignite public discourse globally regarding the Far-Right. Breivik’s attack, in which Breivik killed 77 people and injured many more, occurred in two locations in Norway on the 22nd of July 2011. It was meant to prevent the supposed Islamification of Europe as allegedly enabled by Norway’s government. Breivik himself was later diagnosed by Norwegian psychiatrists as mentally ill although others challenged that assessment.

Breivik himself was strongly influenced by al Qaeda’s terror and guerrilla warfare tactics and strategy, in particular their emphasis on martyrdom, and had been active on several anti-Islamic Norwegian and European blogs.[26][27] Breivik’s ideology as outlined in his manifesto and pre-attack YouTube video focuses on “Eurabia”, an Arabized and Islamized Europe supposedly being catalyzed by the European Union and socialists.[28]

Breivik's massacre was a watershed moment in the world of Far-Right extremism but he himself only utilized social media to a small extent: YouTube, as mentioned earlier, and the dissemination of his manifesto on numerous extremist forums. Breivik also has had comparatively less propaganda content generated about him on Far-Right-affiliated message boards and social media platforms such as 4chan, VK, Gab and others. This may be due to the fact that some of these platforms only rose to prominence years after Breivik's attack.

Breivik's digital footprints are quantitatively comparatively low in both mainstream and Far-Right social media (including VKontakte, a platform that is well known for being open to hosting Far-Right content). A particularly interesting propaganda painting of Breivik was identified on 4chan (by researching via 4plebs, a 4chan archiving site).[29] The image below, uploaded by an anonymous user and titled "The End of an Era of Multiculturalism", presents Breivik as he saw himself—a knight crusader acting as a bulwark, protecting Europe's shores from an invading wave of immigrant children by shooting them with a machine gun. These children are primarily Muslim in appearance but include at least one child dressed in Buddhist garb and children of Asian and African descent. The picture also depicts the ills of economic globalism—the children carry with them fast-food pizza, burgers, Pringles and Pepsi and Coca-Cola cans.



This picture, one of comparatively few for Breivik in contrast to other Far-Right terrorists, is unique in its style, reminiscent of Renaissance paintings if not in quality. In addition, the above picture was last shared on 4chan on 27/03/2020 but having originally been uploaded to 4chan and shared on Reddit on October 31, 2011.[30] The photo is arguably a reference to Breivik's membership in a Christian "military order" as a Knight Justiciar, a rank that he bestowed upon himself.[31]

Breivik's comparatively low profile in terms of propaganda iconography is very much contrasted by his perception among Far-Right extremists on 4chan and other social media platforms. Breivik is worshipped as a saint and martyr by many (and disparaged by some for initially having held comparatively hawkish views on Israel) and is one of the few Far-Right terrorists to be unofficially "canonized" as a saint alongside Brenton Tarrant. This "canonization" is very much thanks to his "high score", meaning high kill count, which he and Tarrant share. The use of religious iconography, in particular the term "saint", carries heavy connotations of martyrdom and, perhaps more importantly, as a form of encouragement for any potential lone-wolf terrorist. In addition, categorizing the terrorist as a martyr or "saint" seeks to provide moral justification to the Far-Right movement in a fashion similar to early Christianity—the "martyr" or "saint" is unappreciated in his lifetime for his sacrifice by the masses but is later revered.

Achieving sainthood as a lone-wolf terrorist is arguably appealing to many potential terrorists in that it's a goal that can be feasibly achieved, in contrast to rising to the level of a "great" political leader or writer at the level of Hitler or Mosley. As such, the "canonization" of Far-Right terrorists may act as a form of encouragement for lone wolves to carry out attacks absent any form of formal reward, be it financial, political or religious in the case of Salafi Jihad, which promises religious rewards for martyrs in Jannah (heaven) and often material rewards and incentives for the relatives of those who carry out suicide attacks for formal organizations. The attribution of religious characteristics to martyrs is a fascinating development in the Far-Right that is reminiscent of similar activity in the Salafi Jihad movement. Azzam was known to attribute various types of miracles, such as "downing airplanes with pebbles" and miraculous attributes to the bodies of the fallen mujahideen, such as musk and delayed decomposition.[32] The importance of these attributes and miracles to the propaganda machine of both the Far-Right and Salafi Jihad movements is apparent, as these cases are capable of encouraging individuals to become martyrs themselves and take part in the rewards of doing so.

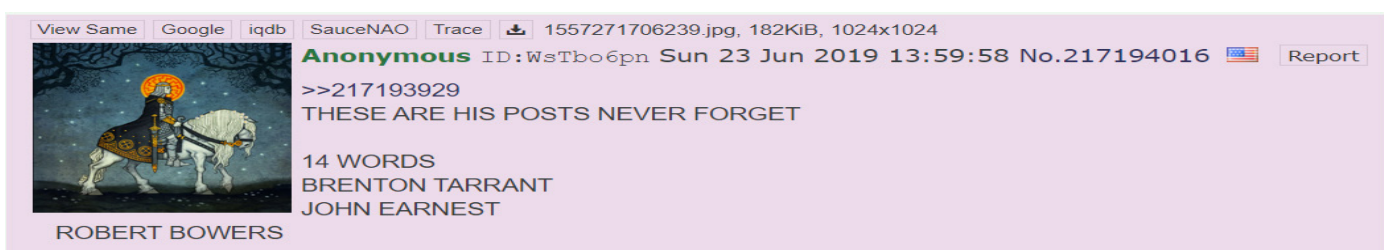
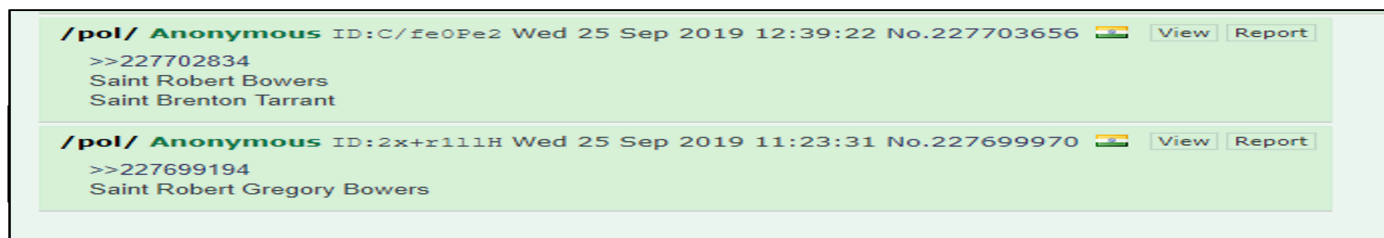
Anders Breivik and his massacre served as a watershed moment for the Far-Right's both in Europe and globally. Breivik's general influence and exposure, while great at the time, has waned drastically—arguably due to his comparatively light digital footprints. Following the Christchurch attacks, however, Breivik has recently resurged in Far-Right discourse as a fellow warrior "saint", paired with Tarrant, which will be further discussed in the portion of this Research Note focused on Tarrant.

Robert Bowers: The "Chad" Warrior-Saint

Far-Right terror attacks certainly did not subside following Breivik's attack in 2011, but attacks of that magnitude are comparatively rare. The next relevant case to be examined here is that of Robert Bowers. Bowers carried out a brutal attack on the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on October 27, 2018 in which he killed 11 Jews and injured 6 others, all the while espousing his genocidal hatred of Jews.[33] Bowers was arrested at the scene and is, at the time of this writing, awaiting trial after having been charged with a litany of crimes.

Bowers' massacre was the single most deadly attack on a Jewish institution in US history and as such was covered widely in mainstream media and on Far-Right social media platforms, media outlets and image boards. Bowers also was extremely active on the Far-Right social media platform "Gab". Gab, a new network founded in 2016 that purports to promulgate freedom of speech, has become notorious for hosting extremist content and profiles that have been forced to migrate from mainstream social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter following bans.[34] Bowers' activity on Gab was public, meaning that his account was listed under his own name, and he used it for signaling his own activity on it, famously posting:

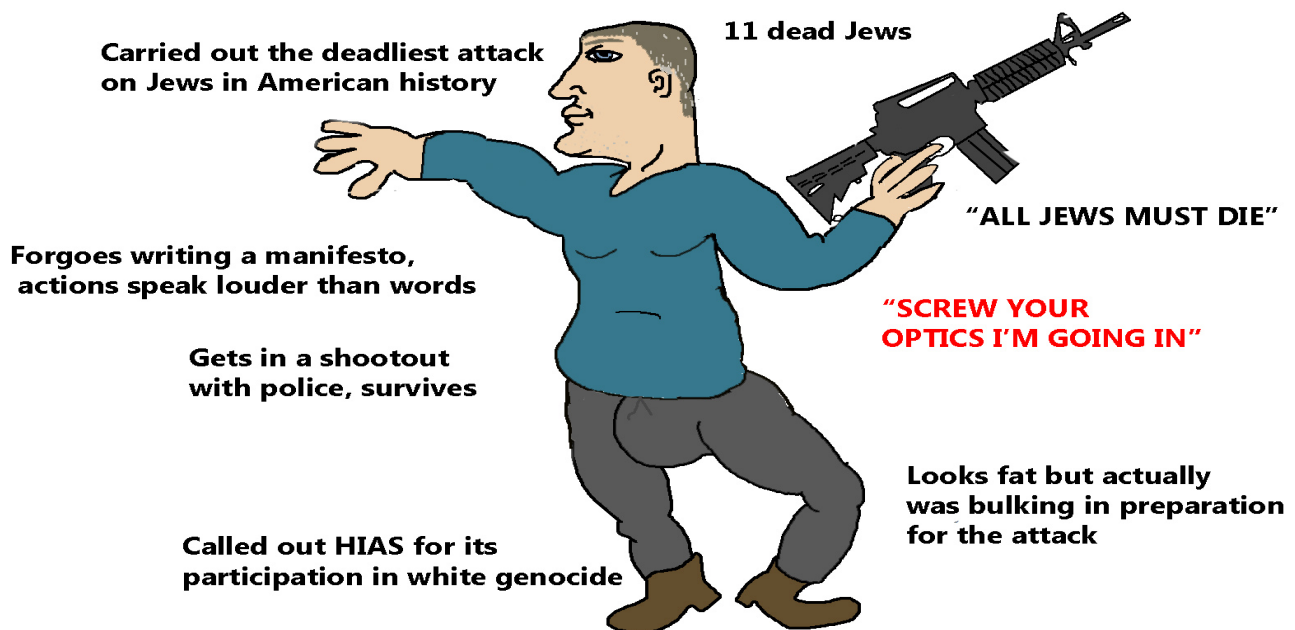
"HIAS likes to bring invaders in that kill our people. I can't sit by and watch my people get slaughtered. Screw your optics, I'm going in." [35]



Bowers first referred to HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society), an organization founded originally to provide aid to Jewish refugees fleeing Russia to the United States in the late 19th century, but has since expanded to offering aid to refugees of all backgrounds seeking to attain asylum in the US.[36] Then he mentioned the discussion about “optics”, or public opinion, vis-a-vis White Nationalism in which the value of carrying out mass shooting attacks was, and still is, a common subject of debate. Bowers received near-universal praise on Far-Right message boards and social media platforms thanks to his targeting of Jews, and his quantifiable success in killing Jews lead to his unofficial “canonization” among other prominent Far-Right terrorists such as Dylann Roof. It should be noted that John Earnest, a Far-Right terrorist who targeted Jews but failed in killing more than one, is often referred to as a “disciple” or receives an “honorable mention”.[37][38][39]

Bowers has achieved, as seen in the above posts and in others, the status of a “warrior”. Bowers is compared to James Bond and mentioned in a post in which a medieval painting of a warrior is uploaded alongside other prominent terrorists. Bowers has also had a unique style of propaganda imagery form around him as evident in some traditional propaganda content and Internet memes. This style focuses on Bowers’ comparatively unique modus operandi; carrying out a violent attack against Jews and even exchanging fire with the police despite his age. This style of meme is indicated below and in a series of memes inspired by Bowers: “Boomerwaffen”. In the below meme, Robert Bowers is presented as a “Chad”, a form of masculine archetype originating in the “incel”, or “involuntarily celibate” extremist movement which has since crossed into the Far-Right and certain other Internet-based communities. Chad is a term reserved for physically fit men who are worthy of adulation and admiration, primarily from their female counterpart, a “Stacy,” due to their resolve, strength and even enlarged genitalia which is often contrasted with a “Virgin” counterpart.[40]

The Chad Robert Bowers



[41]

Presenting Bowers, an older, overweight man as a “Chad” in spite of his physical attributes being unexceptional to say the least is an important element of promoting his image. Being a “Chad” as well as a “Saint” can be possible for any Far-Right activist, regardless of his actual physical fitness, if he carries out a terrorist attack is the implied message.

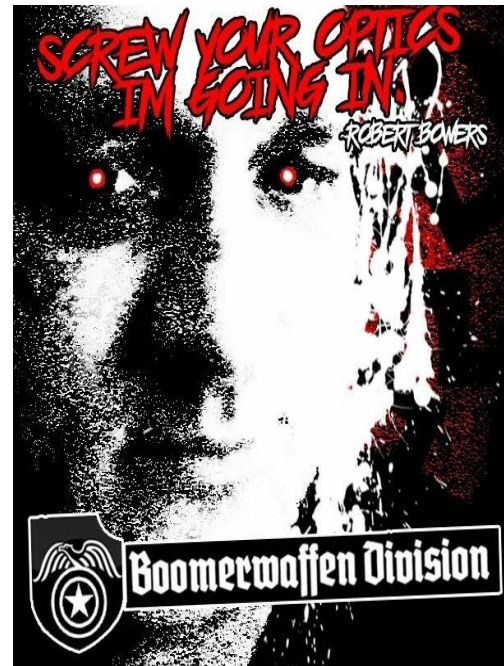
Bowers’ age is also a fascinating element of the Far-Right propaganda machine. Bowers’ advanced age and willingness to carry out an exceptionally violent attack has led to much adulation of him amongst Accelerationists. Accelerationism is a sub-ideology which seeks to hasten the end of modern society, insomuch as it is irredeemably corrupt. Numerous Accelerationist organizations exist and have carried out terror attacks,

such as Atomwaffen, Sonnenkrieg Division and others, albeit on a smaller scale than Bowers. Bowers' success and his post uploaded to Gab prior to carrying out his attack, "Screw your optics, I'm going in", have been immortalized in a series of images as seen below, including the formation of a new term on 4chan and 8chan: Boomerwaffen (a portmanteau of the terms "Boomer", meaning of the "Baby Boomer" generation, and "Waffen" meaning weapon, a term used for SS divisions in the Nazi military).

Bowers' immortalization among the Far-Right has included mentions of canonization due to his actions but has focused primarily on emphasizing Bowers' manliness and "Chad" status. Emphasizing these elements of Bowers' image serves to inspire two separate groups—the physically unfit by appealing to the ability to be immortalized as a "Chad", as well as older members of the Far-Right who may identify with Bowers and be inspired to become a member of the "Boomerwaffen Division".



[42]



[43]

Brenton Tarrant: 'Lord' and 'Savior'

Brenton Tarrant is one of the most discussed Far-Right terrorists on social media, image boards and public discourse about the Far-Right. This is due to his almost unprecedented 'success'—having killed 51 Muslims and wounded almost as many others in his bloody massacre in Christchurch, New Zealand, in an attempt to prevent "The Great Replacement", meaning the alleged replacement of European, White populations by nonwhite migrants (often said to be orchestrated by Jews), even naming his manifesto after it.[44]

Tarrant was later captured alive and is currently on trial. Tarrant's attack was well-planned and killed almost as many innocent people as Breivik in 2011 in Norway. Despite having murdered fewer people than Breivik, Tarrant's attack was arguably more influential in mass media and the Far-Right—and this is for several reasons. Firstly, Tarrant livestreamed his attack on Facebook and famously boasted about carrying it out on 4chan's /pol/ imageboard. Tarrant also provided a link to his personal Facebook profile to view the livestream of the attack, and links to the MediaFire hosting site to obtain copies of his manifesto.[45]

File (hide): 8b867149e7cb3a4...jpg (70.33 KB, 904x711, 904:711, [Screw your optics.jpg](#)) (b) (u)



[-] ▶ ***ahem* Anonymous** 03/15/19 (Fri) 00:28:41 ID: c800e3 No.12916717 >>12916719 >>12916726 >>12916730
>>12916748 >>12916763 >>12916770 >>12916773 >>12916784 >>12916807 >>12916835 >>12916870 >>12916924 >>12916954
>>12916981 >>12917041 >>12917103 [Watch Thread] [Show All Posts]

Well lads, it's time to stop shitposting and time to make a real life effort post.
I will carry out and attack against the invaders, and will even live stream the attack via facebook.
The facebook link is below, by the time you read this I should be going live.
[https:// www .face book . com/brenton.tarrant.9](https://www.facebook.com/brenton.tarrant.9)
It's been a long ride and despite all your rampant faggotry, fecklessness and degeneracy, you are all top blokes and the best bunch of coppers a man could ask for.
I have provided links to my my writings below, please do your part by spreading my message, making memes and shitposting as you usually do.
If I don't survive the attack, goodbye, godbless and I will see you all in Valhalla!
https://www.mediafire.com/file/3vcjr5ll3r6xte/The_Great_Replacement.docx/file
https://www.mediafire.com/file/u153u4aqviafb3y/The_Great_Replacement.pdf/file

<https://mega.nz/#!e0tQ2Y4K>

Tarrant was heavily influenced by manifestos of other Far-Right extremists. In his own manifesto, Tarrant claimed to have been influenced by “Knight Justiciar Breivik” as well as having read the manifestos of other shooters such as Dylann Roof.[46] The reference to Breivik as a “Knight Justiciar” ties in to Breivik’s element of holy knighthood being repeated by Tarrant, among other Far-Right activists and expands upon the concept of martyrdom as a noble end-goal for Far-Right terrorists. Martyrdom thus provides a religious element to Far-Right “Knights” by promising them both status and even the potential of holy redemption by their actions on behalf of Christendom.

Tarrant’s self-awareness and use of his attack as propaganda was received by the Far-Right in an unprecedented fashion. Tarrant has been canonized by a wide swathe of members of the Far-Right, including but not limited to accelerationists.[47] The Far-Right’s iconography of Tarrant is primarily Christian in orientation but includes also more general propaganda content, as well as combinations of the two. Tarrant’s popularity on the Far-Right has even led to the founding of unique sub-pages on imageboards (most interestingly “BTG”, or “Brenton Tarrant General” on Neinchan, a dark-web hosted imageboard).

The first example that we can see of propaganda content regarding Tarrant is the ubiquitous “Chad” meme. The below meme posted on 4chan presents the “Chad Saint Brenton” and his “loyal Chad Disciples John [Earnest] and Patrick [Crusius].”

The Chad Saint Brenton and his loyal Chad disciples John and Patrick



“Chad Saint Brenton” is a combination of both the “Chad” meme and canonization, and the text accompanying the section describing Tarrant even mentions that he was “Anointed Saint for his sacrifice.” Tarrant’s other achievements, such as “removing the most universally hated group of invaders [Muslims], racked up 50” and having “introduced millions to the accelerationist solution” are secondary to his canonization. Tarrant’s other contributions and canonization are similar to Breivik as well: both are recognized for their sacrifice but also presented as having taken the moral high-ground as per the Far-Right by acting to remove the “hated group of invaders”.

The accessibility of canonization to any potential successful Far-Right terrorist is very much appealing thanks to the inherent hierarchy of “saints” and “disciples”. Even if one doesn’t succeed in murdering as many as Tarrant or Breivik, becoming a “Chad Disciple” like Patrick Crusius (the El Paso shooter) or John Earnest is eminently possible for the average Far-Right extremist. Earnest even wrote that Tarrant “showed me that it could be done. And that it needed to be done,” and others followed in his path.[48] Tarrant’s influence on the Far-Right was not only his terror attack, but also his lasting influence on future “martyrs” who viewed him as others viewed Jesus: hated in his time by the masses but ultimately right and thus worth emulating.

Tarrant has also been immortalized in the Accelerationist-style of propaganda. The below image presents Tarrant in traditional Accelerationist style: red-eyed (as seen with Bowers and other “based” Far-Right terrorists), garbed in a Sonnenrad (black sun, a prominent Neo-Nazi symbol) balaclava and armed with his rifle, proclaiming the imminent “end of society”.

While beyond the scope of this Research Note, Tarrant held some views that were in sync with Accelerationist ideology and promoted elements of it but wouldn’t necessarily have fit in completely with the “Siege” ideology groups or other proponents of Accelerationism, but rather is an “ethnopluralist” inspired by eco-fascism.[49] Despite that, Tarrant’s appeal in the Far-Right appears to be almost universal and he has thus been coopted to varying degrees by numerous elements of the Far-Right.



[50]

Tarrant’s appeal is widespread among the Far-Right, but most interestingly he was immortalized uniquely as a Christian religious figure beyond sainthood. Far-Right propaganda uploaded to 4chan, 8chan and traditional social media platforms such as Facebook and forums such as Reddit presents him as Jesus. Imagery of Tarrant as Jesus can be attributed to his status in the eyes of many Far-Right activists as a martyr and even savior of their movement. This propaganda includes a variety of imagery ranging from wall paintings, mockups and more. Examining the below images illustrates Tarrant’s unique status.



In the above three photos, all uploaded to 4chan, 8chan and social media networks such as Facebook and Vkontakte, “Saint Tarrant” is presented as Jesus, the ultimate martyr, in several classical styles. The image on the right presents Tarrant as Jesus by utilizing Christian imagery merged with military-inspired imagery.[51] Tarrant’s upright open hand position, which appears to be a variation of Catholic-style imagery in contrast to the Orthodox-style (holding two charms, one engraved with a Sonnenrad and the other the Celtic cross), his “tactical” clothing is covered and merges naturally into flowing olive-green robes with a Sonnenrad patch in the center. Tarrant is holding his rifle, as well as a copy of his manifesto akin to a bible and his helmet is presented with his GoPro camera on top of it prominently behind a halo.

Tarrant is clearly presented as a militant Jesus figure who has been elevated to this level due to his sacrifice for “mankind”. This trend is further displayed in the two images on the left-hand side: in the upper-left Tarrant is yet again presented as Jesus in an oil-painting style albeit more simplistically[52], whereas in the bottom left Tarrant is presented as Jesus sitting on a heavenly throne, being crowned the king of heaven (by being bestowed with a “bowl cut”, reminiscent of the “Bowl Patrol” Dylann Roof meme)[53] by both Adolf Hitler and Dylann Roof under the holy sun of the Sonnenrad.[54] This propaganda content has been expanded beyond oil paintings and drawings to mockups of stained glass windows (see image below[55]). This image presents Tarrant in the form of Jesus juxtaposed on a crucifix and under both the Sonnenrad and “Deus Vult”, a Crusades-era motto (meaning: ‘God wills it’) that has recently become affiliated with some Far-Right movements.

Tarrant's terror attack created waves in both mainstream media and the Far-Right, primarily on "Chan" imageboards, Telegram channels and Discord servers which spill over into traditional mainstream platforms. Tarrant's actions lead to his canonization in the Far-Right as Saint Tarrant and even in the eyes of some as Jesus. Tarrant-related propaganda thus serves to present him as a holy figure, but also as one link in the chain of Far-Right terrorists, from Hitler and Dylann Roof and continuing the chain via his "disciples". Tarrant's status as a saint is even accepted by Paganist-inspired Far-Right organizations (see figure 7). Tarrant's status as a "Saint" or even Jesus as the ultimate martyr is presented as attainable and desirable for members of the Far-Right, and Tarrant's stature as Jesus—being reviled in his own time but ultimately right and promulgating the truth—has indeed proven itself as having influenced other attackers and inspired them to follow in his footsteps.

Conclusion

The concept of martyrdom in extremist groups of all types has been an important factor historically and continues to be so today. Martyrdom, by providing an ideological, religious, and occasionally material incentive to join an organization and being willing to die in order to promote its interests, is especially relevant for extremist organizations who often lack other means of incentivizing members to act publicly. In recent years, the concept of martyrdom and its accessibility in the Far-Right has changed drastically and arguably become more in line with traditional forms of martyrdom as seen in global Salafi Jihadist movements.

The willingness to die for the movement is inherent to martyrdom, but to the Far-Right and Salafi Jihadism the concept of willingness to die has been expanded upon. In these terrorist movements, a martyr's willingness to die for the movement carries within it the willingness to kill for it as well, with martyrdom being achieved as the result of carrying out a successful attack. In contrast to Salafi Jihadism, dying as the result of a successful terrorist attack is not a key requirement to becoming a martyr for the Far-Right movement—carrying out the attack and being jailed for it is sufficient.

This development in martyrdom in the Far-Right has occurred over time as the Far-Right in general has transitioned from organized, ideological movements to violent outbursts of terrorism from lone wolves, primarily due to the Internet. This process has translated into the ascension of a more decentralized and occasionally even "leaderless" organizational structure (in the words of James Mason[56]). This structure has necessitated the creation of a system of martyrdom for Far-Right terrorists in line with the goals of current Far-Right extremists and organizations—primarily the desire to encourage individuals to carry out lone-wolf attacks that cannot be easily thwarted by law enforcement or intelligence agents.

This transition also necessitated Far-Right extremists to change their model of martyrdom. Hitler, Mosley and other prominent ideologues and political leaders were once crucial to maintaining an ideological, organizational core that could attract and maintain extremists and keep organizations running on a "low burn". These martyr figures were less capable of inspiring Far-Right extremist lone wolves to carry out successful terror attacks. This phenomenon changed with the first successful mass Far-Right terror attack carried out by Anders Breivik, the proverbial lone wolf.



The new possibility of being immortalized as a warrior-martyr in the eyes of the Far-Right was appealing to, and influential on, a number of extremists. Bowers' mass shooting attack on a synagogue in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, was reminiscent of Breivik's attack in both motive (action against "foreign invaders") and modus operandi. Bowers was immortalized too as a holy warrior. Bowers-related propaganda splits into two main streams: a martial stream which emphasizes the manliness and "Chad"-ness of Bowers while also a number of calls to recognize him and other Far-Right terrorists as "Saints". This stream dovetails with the religious imagery of the "Saint Bowers" stream to appeal to potential Far-Right terrorists on two fronts: both to immortalize them as saints but also to artificially enhance their physical appearance and status. These two attributes would arguably be very appealing to Internet-addicted, less physically fit and older extremists who are now presented with an incentive to become martyrs.

The continuum of Far-Right martyr iconography reached its peak with Brenton Tarrant. Tarrant was heavily influenced by "Knight Justiciar" Breivik and other terrorists such as Dylann Roof. Tarrant brought with him an awareness of the importance of martyrdom imagery and propaganda in the Far-Right and acted accordingly. The response to Tarrant's attacks was tremendous, bringing unprecedented attention to the Far-Right in general and his own particular views in particular. Tarrant was thus coopted by a number of sub-ideologies on the Far-Right, which can be seen by the variety of styles of propaganda used.

Tarrant is presented in different imagery as the warlike "Chad Saint Brenton" whose actions inspired future 'Saints' and "Disciples", as a more traditional Accelerationist-inspired terrorist clad in the Sonnenrad and a balaclava, and finally as Jesus himself. Tarrant's presentation as Jesus, the ultimate martyr and most importantly a "Savior" figure, is an "honor" that other Far-Right terrorists have overall not been accorded. Tarrant being tantamount to Jesus illustrates that Tarrant is viewed as the most influential and important Far-Right "martyr", even more so than Breivik who inspired him. His example provides another level of incentive for Far-Right extremists to carry out attacks, as the new level of adulation is possibly even higher than that of 'Saint' or 'Chad'. Tarrant's stature in the Far-Right is that of Jesus as the Far-Right propaganda narrative emphasizes the parallels between them: both were hated by the masses in their time but were ultimately right, and eventually paid the price for their insistence on telling the "truth", resulting in their eventual ascension.

The Far-Right is, like any other ideological terrorist or extremist movement, dynamic and adaptive to change. The Far-Right has transitioned from organized, hierarchical groups to a more decentralized overall structure. The Internet with its inherent opportunities and challenges lead to the ascension of lone-wolf mass terror attacks which are harder to foil. Encouraging an individual extremist to carry out a terrorist attack outside of the social framework of a terrorist cell is difficult and thus necessitates an effective messaging and propaganda campaign. This propaganda must serve to incentivize the individual to carry out the attack, knowing full well that he will probably die or be captured. This incentivization is expressed in the Far-Right as fabricating the image of terrorists as 'warrior saints' post-attack to immortalize terrorists and improve their social standing.

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to express their deepest appreciation to Cobwebs Technologies, whose system was instrumental in empowering the identification and analysis of relevant research material for the writing of the paper.

About the Authors: Ari Ben Am is an Open Source Intelligence Specialist and Researcher.

Gabriel Weimann is a Full Professor at the Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) Herzlia, Israel and a Full Professor Emeritus at the University of Haifa, Israel.

Notes

- [1] Frend, W. H. (2000). "Martyrdom and Political Oppression," in: Esler, P.F. (ed.). *The Early Christian World* (Vol. 2). NY: Taylor & Francis, 2, pp. 815–839]
- [2] Moskalenko, S. and McCauley, C. (2019). *The Marvel of Martyrdom: The Power of Self-Sacrifice in a Selfish World*, Oxford University Press.
- [3] Moskalenko, S. and McCauley, C. (2019), op. cit., p. 15.
- [4] Azzam, A. (1990), "Who Are the Shahids?" *Lahib al-Maraqah* (Peshawar), p. 86. The monthly *Lahib al-Maraqah* was published by the Office of Services for the Mujahideen. Abdullah Azzam served as its editor-in-chief until his death.
- [5] On suicide terrorists and martyrdom, see Moghadam, A. (2003), Palestinian Suicide Terrorism in the Second Intifada: Motivations and Organizational Aspects. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 26 (2), pp. 65–92; Moghadam, A. (2008). *The Globalization of Martyrdom: Al Qaeda, Salafi Jihad, and the Diffusion of Suicide Attacks*. JHU Press; Moghadam, A. (2009), Motives for Martyrdom: Al-Qaida, Salafi Jihad, and the Spread of Suicide Attacks. *International Security*, 33(3), pp. 46–78]
- [6] Pedahzur, A. (Ed.). (2006), *Root Causes of Suicide Terrorism: The Globalization of Martyrdom*. Routledge; Moghadam, A. (2005), "The New Martyrs Go Global," *Boston Globe*, 18 November 2005; and Moghadam, A. (2006), "Suicide Terrorism, Occupation, and the Globalization of Martyrdom: A Critique of 'Dying to Win,'" *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Vol. 29, Issue 4, pp. 707–729.
- [7] Marone, F. (2013), "Self-Sacrifice and Martyrdom in Terrorism: Political and Religious Motives" in: R. Hefner and J. Hutchinson (Eds.), *Religions in Movement: The Local and the Global in Contemporary Faith Traditions*, London – New York: Routledge, pp. 132–147.
- [8] Aslan, R. (2005). *No God but God: The Origins, Evolution, and Future of Islam*. New York: Random House.
- [9] O'Shaughnessy, N. J. (2004), *Politics and Propaganda: Weapons of Mass Seduction*. Manchester University Press, p. 98.
- [10] Jenkins, Brian M. (1975), *International Terrorism*. Los Angeles: Crescent Publication, p. 4.
- [11] Weimann, G. and Winn, C. (1994), *The Theater of Terror: Mass Media and International Terrorism*. New York: Longman; Weimann, G. (2006). *Terror in the Internet: The New Arena, The New Challenges*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.
- [12] Auger, V. A. (2020), "Right-Wing Terror: A Fifth Global Wave?" *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 14 (3), pp. 86–97.
- [13] Institute for Economics & Peace (2019), "Global Terrorism Index 2019: Measuring the Impact of Terrorism," URL: <http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2019/11/GTI-2019web.pdf>, (accessed May 15, 2020).
- [14] Institute for Economics & Peace (2018), "Global Terrorism Index 2018: Measuring the Impact of Terrorism," URL: <http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2018/12/Global-Terrorism-Index-2018-1.pdf>, (accessed May 15, 2020).
- [15] Anti-Defamation League (2019), "Murder and Extremism in the United States in 2018," URL: <https://www.adl.org/murder-and-extremism-2018>, (accessed May 15, 2020).
- [16] Institute for Economics & Peace, op. cit.
- [17] Institute for Economics and Peace (2019), "Far-right attacks in the West surge by 320 per cent", *Vision of Humanity*; URL: <http://visionofhumanity.org/global-terrorism-index/far-right-attacks-in-the-west-surge-by-320-per-cent/>, (accessed May 24, 2020).
- [18] Hoffman, B. and Ware, J. (2020), "Incels: America's Newest Domestic Terrorism Threat," *Lawfare*, January 12, 2020; URL: <https://www.lawfareblog.com/incels-americas-newest-domestic-terrorism-threat>, (accessed May 24, 2020).
- [19] Koehler, D. and Popella, P. (2018), "Mapping Far-right Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear (CBRN) Terrorism Efforts in the West: Characteristics of Plots and Perpetrators for Future Assessment," *Terrorism and Political Violence*; URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/action/showCitFormats?doi=10.1080/09546553.2018.1500365>. (accessed May 24, 2020).
- [20] Koehler, D. (2016), "Right-Wing Extremism and Terrorism in Europe," *Prism*. Vol. 6, Issue 2, pp. 84–105]
- [21] Weimann, G. (2006), *Terror on the Internet*, op. cit.; and Weimann, G. (2016) *Terror in Cyberspace: The Next Generation*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- [22] Hoffman, B. and Ware, J. (2019), "Are We Entering A New Era of Far-Right Terrorism?" *War on the Rocks*. URL: <https://warontherocks.com/2019/11/are-we-entering-a-new-era-of-far-right-terrorism/>, (accessed June 24, 2020).
- [23] Weimann, G. and Masri, N. (2020), "The Virus of Hate: Far-Right Terrorism in Cyberspace," *ICT Special Report*; URL: <https://www.ict.org.il/images/Dark%20Hate.pdf>

- [24] URL: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Horst-Wessel>
- [25] URL: <https://www.cobwebs.com/>
- [26] Townsend, M. (2012), "Far Right Anti-Muslim Network on Rise Globally as Breivik Trial Opens," *The Guardian* URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/apr/14/breivik-trial-norway-mass-murderer>, (accessed July 1, 2020).
- [27] Fisher, D. (2012), "Norway Killer Anders Behring Breivik Trial Day Two Live," *Telegraph*. URL: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/norway/9208311/Norway-killer-Anders-Behring-Breivik-trial-day-two-live.html>, (accessed July 1, 2020).
- [28] Archer, T. (2011), "Was the Oslo Killer Radicalized by What He Read Online?" *Foreign Policy*; URL: https://web.archive.org/web/20140801174700/http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/07/25/breivik_s_swamp?page=0%2C1, (accessed July 1, 2020).
- [29] URL: <https://i.4pcdn.org/pol/1402093586282.jpg>, (accessed October 1, 2020).
- [30] URL: https://www.reddit.com/r/4chan/comments/lvg0y/the_end_of_an_era_of_multiculturalism/, (accessed October 1, 2020).
- [31] Flock, E. (2011), "Knights Templar: Norway's 'Crusader Group' Explained," *The Washington Post*; URL: https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/blogpost/post/knights-templar-norway-crusadersgroup-explained/2011/07/25/gIQASj2RYI_blog.html, (accessed July 5, 2020).
- [32] Hegghammer, T. (2020), *The Caravan: Abdallah Azzam and the Rise of Global Jihad*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [33] Hayes, C., Johnson, K. and Woodall, C. (2018), "Who is Robert Bowers? Accused Pittsburgh Synagogue Shooter Left Antisemitic Trail," *USA Today*; URL: <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2018/10/27/pittsburgh-shooting-robert-bowers-identified-suspect-synagogue/1789239002/>, (accessed July 5, 2020).
- [34] Cook, J. (2019), "Far-Right Turn to Niche Social Network Amid Facebook Crackdown," *The Telegraph*; URL: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/technology/2019/03/27/far-right-turn-extremist-social-network-amid-crackdown-facebook/>, (accessed July 5, 2020).
- [35] Thomson R. (2019), "What We Know about Alleged Pittsburgh Synagogue Gunman Robert Bowers," *CBC News*; URL: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/robert-bowers-antisemitism-killer-pittsburgh-1.4881332>, (accessed July 1, 2020).
- [36] URL: <https://www.hias.org/who/history>, (accessed October 1, 2020).
- [37] URL: <https://archive.4plebs.org/pol/thread/225924150/#225931280>, (accessed October 1, 2020).
- [38] URL: <https://archive.4plebs.org/pol/thread/227699194/#227699970>, (accessed October 1, 2020).
- [39] URL: <https://archive.4plebs.org/pol/thread/217192073/#217194016>, (accessed October 1, 2020).
- [40] Jennings, R. (2018). "Incels Categorize Women by Personal Style and Attractiveness," *Vox*. URL: <https://www.vox.com/2018/4/28/17290256/incel-chad-stacy-becky>, (accessed October 3, 2020).
- [41] URL: <https://archive.4plebs.org/pol/thread/227876737/#227876737>, (accessed October 3, 2020).
- [42] URL: <https://archive.4plebs.org/pol/thread/227876737/#227876737>, (accessed October 3, 2020).
- [43] URL: <https://archive.4plebs.org/pol/thread/233102790/#233106115>, (accessed October 3, 2020).
- [44] Heim, J. and McAuley, J. (2019), "New Zealand Attacks Offer the Latest Evidence of a Web of Supremacist Extremism," *Washington Post*; URL: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/new-zealand-suspect-inspired-by-far-right-french-intellectual-who-feared-nonwhite-immigration/2019/03/15/8c39fba4-6201-4a8d-99c6-aa42db53d6d3_story.html, (accessed July 1, 2020).
- [45] URL: <https://www.bellingcat.com/news/rest-of-world/2019/03/15/shitposting-inspirational-terrorism-and-the-christchurch-mosque-massacre/>, (accessed October 3, 2020).
- [46] Evans, R. (2019), "Shitposting, Inspirational Terrorism, and the Christchurch Mosque Massacre," *Bellingcat*; URL: <https://www.bellingcat.com/news/rest-of-world/2019/03/15/shitposting-inspirational-terrorism-and-the-christchurch-mosque-massacre/>, (accessed July 1, 2020).
- [47] Hayden, M.E. (2019), "New Zealand Terrorist Manifesto Influenced by Far-Right Ecosystem, Hatewatch Finds," *Hatewatch*, published by the Southern Poverty Law Center; URL: <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2019/03/15/new-zealand-terrorist-manifesto-influenced-far-right-online-ecosystem-hatewatch-finds>, (accessed July 5, 2020).
- [48] Dearden, L. (2019), "Revered as a Saint by Online Extremists, How Christchurch Shooter Inspired Copycat Attacks throughout the World," *The Independent*; URL: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/australasia/brenton-tarrant-christchurch->

[shooter-attack-el-paso-norway-poway-a9076926.html](#), (accessed July 3, 2020).

[49] Önnfors, A. (2019), “‘The Great Replacement’: Decoding the Christchurch Terrorist Manifesto,” report by the Center for the Analysis of the Radical Right; URL: <https://www.radicalrightanalysis.com/2019/03/18/the-great-replacement-decoding-the-christchurch-terrorist-manifesto/>, (accessed July 7 2020).

[50] Ibid.

[51] URL: <https://archive.4plebs.org/pol/thread/233254396/#233264757>, (accessed October 3, 2020).

[52] URL: <https://archive.4plebs.org/pol/thread/231623566/#231625399>, (accessed October 3, 2020).

[53] Schiano, C. (2019), “Dylann Roof Fans Hope to Inspire More Mass Shootings,” *Unicorn Riot*; URL: <https://unicornriot.ninja/2019/bowl-patrol-dylann-roof-fans-hope-to-inspire-more-mass-shootings/>, (accessed July 7, 2020).

[54] URL: <https://archive.4plebs.org/pol/thread/275995948/#276002069>, (accessed October 3, 2020).

[55] URL: <https://archive.4plebs.org/pol/thread/233927503/#233927803>, (accessed October 3, 2020).

[56] James Mason is a prominent figure in the American Far-Right scene and is known primarily for his promulgation of “Accelerationism” via his collection of newsletter and pamphlets titled “Siege”. For more information, read <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/james-mason>, (accessed October 3, 2020).