

**CHARLES UNIVERSITY**  
**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

Institute of Political Studies  
Department of Security Studies

**Master's Thesis**

**2024**

**Adam Frolík**

**CHARLES UNIVERSITY**  
**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

Institute of Political Studies  
Department of Security Studies

**The Evolution of Propaganda in the Terrogram  
Community**

Master's Thesis

Author of the Thesis: Bc. Adam Frolík

Study programme: Security Studies

Supervisor: Mgr. Jonathan Collins

Year of the defence: 2024

## **Declaration**

1. I hereby declare that I have compiled this thesis using the listed literature and resources only.
2. I hereby declare that my thesis has not been used to gain any other academic title.
3. I fully agree to my work being used for study and scientific purposes.
4. During the preparation of this thesis, the author used ChatGPT in order to facilitate programming in R. After using this tool/service, the author reviewed and edited the content as necessary and takes full responsibility for the content of the publication.

In Prague on 15. 4. 2024

Adam Frolík

## References

FROLÍK, Adam. *The Evolution of Propaganda in the Terrogram Community*. Praha, 2023. 89 s. Master's thesis (Mgr). Charles University, Faculty of Social Sciences, Institute of Political Studies, Department of Security Studies. Supervisor Mgr. Jonathan Collins.

**Length of the Thesis: 132 457**

## **Abstract**

Far-right terrorism has emerged in recent years in the West, yet it remains understudied when compared to jihadist terrorism. Therefore, this study focuses on the Terrorgram Collective, a presumably loose group of ideological leaders positioned in a broader far-right extremist field of militant accelerationism. The main goal of militant accelerationism is to accelerate the collapse of current society to establish new neo-Nazi order. Three of Terrorgram Collective's publications are analyzed: "Do It for the Gram", "Militant Accelerationism", and "Hard Reset". This thesis aims to understand narratives and broader themes within this milieu. Hence, a mixed-methods approach was adopted with a quantitative approach forming the backbone of the thesis and qualitative insights providing a nuanced contextual understanding of the work of Terrorgram Collective. Except for assumed themes and narratives, several new ones are uncovered such as the theme of saboteurs or Christianization of terror. This thesis also presents the proposed pathway to transcendence by Terrorgram Collective illuminating the differences between real and imagined in-group. These findings provide valuable insights and a deeper understanding of militant accelerationism and its ideological leaders who create original and new content to inspire other extremist creators and perpetrators.

## **Abstrakt**

V posledních letech narůstají případy krajně pravicového terorismu, který je však ve srovnání s džihádistickým terorismem stále nedostatečně prozkoumán. Proto se tato diplomová práce zaměřuje na Terrorgram Collective, volně uspořádanou skupinu ideologických vůdců v rámci širšího pole krajně pravicového extremismu militantního akcelerationismu. Hlavním cílem militantního akcelerationismu je urychlit kolaps současné společnosti za účelem nastolení nového neonacistického řádu. Analyzovány jsou tři publikace vytvořené Terrorgram Collective: "Do It for the Gram", "Militant Accelerationism" a "Hard Reset". Cílem této práce je porozumět narativům a širším tématům v tomto extrémně pravicovém prostoru. Proto byl zvolen přístup smíšených metod, přičemž kvantitativní přístup tvoří páteř práce a kvalitativní poznatky poskytují detailnější kontextuální porozumění publikací Terrorgram Collective. Kromě předpokládaných témat a narativů bylo odhaleno několik nových, jako například téma sabotérů nebo christianizace teroru nad rámcem fenoménu Saints. Tato práce také představuje navrhovanou cestu k

transcendenci ze strany Terrogram Collective osvětlující rozdíly mezi skutečnou a imaginární in-group. Tato zjištění poskytují cenné poznatky a hlubší pochopení militantního akcelerationismu a jeho ideologických vůdců, kteří vytvářejí originální a nový obsah, aby inspirovali další extremistické tvůrce a případně teroristy.

## **Keywords**

**Terrorism, Extremism, Far-right, Terrogram, Siege, Saints, Accelerationism, Neo-Nazism, Saboteur, Lone-wolf**

## **Klíčová slova**

**Terorismus, extremismus, extrémní pravice, Terrogram, Siege, Saints, akcelerationismus, neo-nacismus, sabotér, osamělí střelci**

## **Title**

**The Evolution of Propaganda in the Terrogram Community**

## **Název práce**

**Trasování vývoje propagandy v rámci komunity Terrogram**

## **Acknowledgment**

I would like to express my gratitude to my family and my girlfriend for their unconditional support during my studies and writing of this thesis. Additionally, I would like to thank my supervisor Jonathan Collins who was always open to discussing my work and has always promptly advised me. His encouragement played a crucial role in choosing this topic and finishing my diploma thesis.

## List of Figures

|                                                                                                                             |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Figure 1. Example of Dark Foreigner's Skull mask aesthetic (ISD, 2024)                                                      | 18 |
| Figure 2. Example of Terrorwave Aesthetic (Molloy, 2023)                                                                    | 19 |
| Figure 3 Proposed relationship between fusion and violence (Ebner et al., 2022, p. 7)                                       | 27 |
| Figure 4 The perception of the Enemy as an abstract object of "System" with Terrorwave aesthetic [MA]                       | 38 |
| Figure 5 Showcase of the inconsistent portrayal of the enemy as weak but also too strong simultaneously (HR).               | 42 |
| Figure 6 Co-occurrence Network of Do it for the Gram [DIFG]                                                                 | 44 |
| Figure 7 The theme of "folk hero" in HR.                                                                                    | 46 |
| Figure 8 Co-occurrence Network of Militant Accelerationism [MA]                                                             | 48 |
| Figure 9 Overlooked Aspects of Collapse page from MA                                                                        | 49 |
| Figure 10 The story similar to Turner Diaries presented in MA                                                               | 51 |
| Figure 11 Co-occurrence Network Hard Reset (HR)                                                                             | 52 |
| Figure 12 The example of usage of direct action as the only thing that can "wake up" White masses.                          | 54 |
| Figure 13 Correspondence Analysis of Fusion-Threat Model's Categories in Documents of Terrorgram Collective                 | 57 |
| Figure 14 "Your Big Day" page, an example of in-group identification based on religious foundations.                        | 60 |
| Figure 15 Boys Don't Cry page from HR, an example of in-group identification based upon fear.                               | 61 |
| Figure 16 Optics page from HR, an example of fixation on masculine appearance.                                              | 63 |
| Figure 17 Page "Necklace for Good Ally" from HR, an example of describing White people as out-group.                        | 65 |
| Figure 18 Page from HR, an example of Existential Threat of unspecified Out-group                                           | 67 |
| Figure 19 Page "Ask Yourself" from MA, an example of Justification of Violence as self-defense                              | 68 |
| Figure 20 Page "Sainthood" from MA, an example of Saints Culture                                                            | 69 |
| Figure 21 "High scores are forever" page, an example of Hopelessness of Alternatives in MA with utilization of gamification | 70 |
| Figure 22 Cell Tower pages from HR, an example of a detailed tactical guide                                                 | 71 |
| Figure 23 In Minecraft page, an example of gamification on how to construct makeshift bomb.                                 | 72 |
| Figure 24 The Self-improvement Path of Terrorgram Collective.                                                               | 75 |

## List of Tables

|                                                                                                 |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Table 1 Word Frequencies of Terrorgram Collective's Documents                                   | 36 |
| Table 2 Overall Sentiment of Terrorgram Collective's Documents (AFINN codex)                    | 40 |
| Table 3 Order of Types of Emotions in Terrorgram Collective's Documents (NRC codex)             | 41 |
| Table 4 Ratio of Fusion-plus.threat Framework's Categories in Terrorgram Collective's Documents | 56 |



## Table of Contents

|                                                                     |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Introduction.....                                                   | 8  |
| 1. Literature Review .....                                          | 10 |
| 1.1 Siege and its Influences .....                                  | 11 |
| 1.1.1 Siege and Lone Wolf Terrorism .....                           | 12 |
| 1.1.2. William Pierce, Turner Diaries, and Cosmotheism .....        | 13 |
| 1.1.3. Manson’s Prophecy of Racial War .....                        | 14 |
| 1.1.4. Siege Culture and Militant Accelerationism.....              | 15 |
| 1.1.5. The Aesthetic of Militant Accelerationism.....               | 17 |
| 1.2 Terrorgram .....                                                | 19 |
| 1.2.1. Saints and the Process of Sanctification .....               | 21 |
| 1.2.2. Utilization of Nature in Neo-Nazi Context: Eco-Fascism ..... | 22 |
| 1.2.3. The Gamification of Terror .....                             | 23 |
| 1.2.4. Ideological Leaders and Terrorgram’s Publications .....      | 24 |
| 2. Theoretical Framework.....                                       | 26 |
| 2.1. The Importance of Manifesto .....                              | 26 |
| 3. Empirical Part .....                                             | 31 |
| 3.1. Aims of the Thesis and Reasoning behind the Methodology .....  | 31 |
| 3.2. Methodology.....                                               | 32 |
| 3.3. Textual Analysis .....                                         | 35 |
| 3.3.1. Words Frequencies – Us vs Them Mentality .....               | 35 |
| 3.3.2. Sentiment Analysis – The Duality of Fear .....               | 39 |
| 3.3.3 Co-occurrence Network – From Ideology to Tactics .....        | 43 |
| 3.3.4. Framework of Fusion-plus-threat Model.....                   | 55 |

|                          |    |
|--------------------------|----|
| 3.4 Discussion .....     | 72 |
| Conclusion .....         | 77 |
| Summary .....            | 80 |
| List of References ..... | 81 |

## Introduction

In recent years, the West has suffered a rise in far-right terrorism, yet it still remains understudied and underestimated in comparison to jihadist terrorism (Köehler, 2019; Ware, 2020). Arguably, this infamous trend of revitalization of right-wing violence began in 2011 with the devastating mass shooting in Norway by Anders Breivik. Subsequently, Dylann Roof killed 9 African Americans in Charleston Church in 2015. White nationalist Brenton Tarrant killed 51 Muslim worshippers in two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, in 2019 during a live-streamed shooting incident. Later that year, in the US, Patrick Crusius killed 22 people in a mass shooting at a Walmart in El Paso, Texas, targeting Latinos. In 2022, Payton Gendron killed 10 African Americans in a live-streamed attack in Buffalo, Texas. Lastly, Juraj Krajčík killed two members of the LGBTQ+ community in Bratislava in 2022. Each of these attackers left behind written texts or manifestos, placing these documents as ideological anchors for subsequent acts of terror and propaganda from which the following terrorists were inspired (Ware, 2020). Manifestos provide a connecting tissue for individual terrorists and create a chain reaction within the extreme right.

Therefore, the importance of written texts for right-wing extremists has risen over the years. Hence, this thesis is focused on three publications made by Terrorgram Collective, a group of ideological leaders that emerged from Terrorgram space. Terrorgram is a loosely connected network of channels and groups on Telegram that are linked by right-wing ideology of militant accelerationism. This extremist ideology has its roots in an infamous book named *Siege* (collected newsletters of James Mason), William Pierce's *Turner Diaries*, and other neo-nazi figureheads of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The main previous somewhat organized proponents of this radical ideology were the Atomwaffen Division, Feurkrieg Division, The Base, and others. However, all these groups were earlier or later dismantled by law enforcement and the modern far-right extremists have shifted into even more decentralized functioning. The Terrorgram Collective emerged in this decentralized space and has made three publications over the years. These documents are named (i) *Do It for the Gram*, (ii) *Militant Accelerationism*, and (iii) *Hard Reset* which all be researched thoroughly in this thesis.

Therefore, this thesis aims to identify key themes and narratives in Terrorgram Collective's

publications. Also, overarching themes and particular narratives will be studied in evolutionary manners and search for variations between documents. A principal focus will be on identifying specific ideological inclinations (new and more traditional in right-wing extremism), how Terrorgram Collective shapes in-group and out-groups, how they interact with emotional tonality, and their utilization of identity fusion.

This thesis first delves into a literature review of Siege, its influences, and Siege Culture. Furthermore, it defines militant accelerationism as ideology and further describes the aesthetic style (Terrorwave). Moreover, it conceptualizes eco-fascism, Saints culture, and gamification as important parts of the modern extreme right. Subsequently, it describes the theoretical framework of studying manifestos as the researched documents of Terrorgram Collective somewhat resemble the manifestos of individual terrorists. Afterwards, the thesis shifts to the empirical parts. For the comprehensive outlook of these publications, the mixed-researched design was adopted. Several quantitative analyses were deployed to construct a backbone of this thesis which subsequently qualitative inputs enrich of context. Finally, this thesis offers several key findings on the Terrorgram Collective and the larger movement of militant accelerationism. These findings include short/long format utilization, the role of saboteurs, the proposed pathway of self-improvement, and the evolution of tactical and operational knowledge within the group. Thus, this thesis can provide new insights into the counter-terrorism field and Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism (P/CVE) efforts regarding right-wing extremism with a particular focus on militant accelerationism.

## 1. Literature Review

According to Ware (2019), the emergence of right-wing extremist<sup>1</sup> movements in the US can be traced all the way back to the post-Civil War era, where the Ku Klux Klan [KKK] originated. The KKK has prevailed into the modern era with sinusoid periods of decline and re-emergence. In the 2nd half of the 20th century, other far-right movements not directly connected to the KKK appeared namely the Aryan Nations and National Alliance. However, their influence only persisted until the late 1980s. Nevertheless, a huge resurgence of right-wing extremism began in the 1990s that had been powered by several events in the US landscape. Those events were, for example, the Ruby Ridge standoff, the Waco siege, and the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act, which fostered anti-government sentiments (Ware, 2019). The resurgence of far-right extremism in this era is marked by a set of terrorist incidents such as the Oklahoma Bombing done by Timothy McVeigh, Anders Breivik, Brenton Tarrant, and Dylann Roof's Charleston church shooting (Ware, 2019; Ware, 2020).

Recently, the far-right movement has expanded significantly in mainstream and extreme periphery thanks to social, political, and economic challenges as described by Walther and McCoy (2021). The rise can be also attributed to the technological advancements that promote and facilitate the global dissemination of extremist beliefs that have contributed to the popularity of lone-wolf attacks (Walther & McCoy, 2021; Kirby, 2007; Mølmen & Ravndal, 2021). By lone-wolf attacks and lone-wolf terrorism, this thesis understands the phenomenon of individuals carrying out terrorist acts without the direct support of a group of organizations on operational and tactical levels. However, the term itself is controversial mainly on three bases: (i) normative, (ii) conceptual, and (iii) classification (Berntzen & Bjørge, 2021)<sup>2</sup>. The normative issue is centered on the fact that the term has variations of interpretations and inadvertently glorifies perpetrators, especially as it has been embraced by extremists. The second issue highlights the misleading nature that lone wolves are truly asocial without any political or ideological motivations. Thirdly, the classification issue is

---

<sup>1</sup> This thesis applies the definition of Extremism by Institute of Strategic Dialogue (2023): "*Extremism is the advocacy of political and social changes in line with a system of belief that claims the superiority and dominance of one identity-based 'in-group' over all 'out-groups'. It advances a dehumanising 'othering' mind-set incompatible with pluralism and universal human rights.*"

<sup>2</sup> Several other terms have been proposed to overcome these controversies: lone actors, solo terrorists, (Berntzen & Bjørge, 2021), or self-starters (Kirby, 2007) among others.

mainly preoccupied with the misdiagnosis of terrorists (Berntzen & Bjørgo, 2021). Hardly any terrorist is truly alone in their acts as many of them are given instructions via the Internet. Nevertheless, this thesis chooses to utilize this term due to its popularity among the public (Berntzen & Bjørgo, 2021) and also paradoxically due to the usage of the term by the Terrorgram Collective to facilitate the understanding of the text.

Terrorists can be seen as early adopters of the Internet for their purposes (Herath & Whittaker, 2021). The decentralized nature of modern far-right is harder to detect than the traditional hierarchical structures of terrorist organizations. Additionally, far-right groups utilize social media to greatly extend their influence beyond their direct members. The main social media that are used have been alternative online platforms with encrypted features such as Telegram to hinder counter-terrorism efforts (Walther & McCoy, 2021; Davey et al., 2021). In this environment, several neo-Nazi groups have emerged that are all connected by referencing the notorious work of James Mason Siege. Consecutively, these groups form a milieu named Siege culture which the Terrorgram community is an inherent part of. Therefore, this work delves into the obscure work of Mason to better understand Terrorgram's roots.

## **1.1 Siege and its Influences**

One of the main inspirations for the Terrorgram community is arguably Siege and consequently the Siege culture. Siege is, in essence, a neo-Nazi book of collected pamphlets and newsletters written by the infamous far-right author James Mason. It is speculated that it overtook *Mein Kampf* as the most important book for the current extreme right (Johnson & Feldman, 2021).

James Mason was born in 1952 in Ohio and at the young age of 14, he joined the American Nazi Party which was then led by George Lincoln Rockwell (Lewis & Ingrid, 2023). Mason has been inclined to violence from an early age. Mason faced disciplinary action in school and later plotted to assassinate the principal (ibid.). During Mason's time in American Nazi Party, he met with another influential neo-Nazi author William Pierce who is known for the book *The Turner Diaries* (SPLC, n.d.). In the early 1970s, Mason joined the National Socialist Liberation Front (NSLF), a neo-Nazi group led by Joseph Tommasi (Johnson &

Feldman, 2021) which splintered from the American Nazi Party after the assassination of Rockwell (Ibid.). Both men had a significant influence on Mason's thinking.

After Matthias Koehl took over of American Nazi Party after Rockwell was killed, Joseph Tommasi founded the mentioned NSLF. American Nazi Party under Koehl tried to get national socialism into the mainstream, Tommasi took a different approach more focused on direct violence and terrorism (Lewis & Ingrid, 2023). Even the motto of the group was: “*The crack of gunfire is the only reality the masses care to pay attention to*” (SPLC, n.d). In fact, this might be where Mason first envisioned the foundational idea of militant accelerationism in its basic form.

### **1.1.1 Siege and Lone Wolf Terrorism**

The direct violence connects with another strong theme of Siege which is so-called leaderless resistance or lone wolf terrorism. The term leaderless resistance was coined by Ku Klux Klan member Louis Beam and lone wolf terrorism then was adopted by Tom Metzger (Hartleb, 2020; Johnson & Feldman, 2021). This strategy envisions small groups or individuals engaging in political violence without a central hierarchy or figure (Sweeney, 2017). However, this strategy was proven to be ineffective in the 2nd half of the 20th century. However, the landscape shifted dramatically with the advent of the Internet which made this strategy more effective than ever.

The Internet played a pivotal role in the emergence of lone wolf terrorism or in other words self-starters (Kirby, 2007). This facilitation role of the Internet as it removes the barriers to entering radical space also has enabled leaderless resistance more easily. The Internet further offers tactical and operational knowledge comparable to traditional training camps, evident in easily accessible urban warfare training, according to Kirby (2007). Both these factors of the Internet lead to what Kirby (2007) called the “democratization of violence” in the sense that ordinary people can find manuals and instructions on how to execute terrorist attacks. Moreover, the Internet provides a greater opportunity to be self-radicalized (Mølmen & Ravndal, 2021). Thus, extremists can produce more lone-actor terrorists in quantity and quality than before. Hence, the leaderless resistance strategy and non-hierarchical organizations described in Siege could be actually plausible in the era of the Internet.

Beam saw lone-wolf terrorism as a pragmatic instrument to prevent law enforcement to arrest Neo-Nazi followers. Conversely, Mason understood lone wolf terrorism on a more ideological level. The destruction of the current world order and society can be brought only by cascading terrorist attacks that spark the envisioned racial war (Johnson & Feldman, 2021). Therefore, the argument can be made that the concept of lone wolf terrorism evolved from pragmatical adaptation to ideological foundations of Siege and subsequently militant accelerationism.

### **1.1.2. William Pierce, Turner Diaries, and Cosmotheism**

William Pierce might have even more influence over Mason than Tommasi or Beam. Pierce is another infamously known American neo-Nazi mainly thanks to his book *The Turner Diaries* which directly inspired several terrorist attacks such as the Oklahoma bombing in 1995 (Lewis & Ingrid, 2023; Ware, 2020; Whitsel, 1998). Pierce is commonly viewed as an intellectual figure within the American far-right movement as his worldview set several important cornerstones of the modern far-right (Lewis & Ingrid, 2023). Pierce's education as he gained a PhD in physics might played a role in this portrayal of intellectual persona. Lewis and Ingrid (2023, p.49) describe Pierce as the brain of the American far-right movement.

Despite its fringe theme of racism and anti-governmentalism, *Turner Diaries* has achieved notable success in selling 200,000 copies (Whitsel, 1998) and inspired 200 murders at minimum (Ware, 2020). In the apocalyptic book, the Organization, a white supremacist group, carries out terrorist attacks on The System that are firstly aimed against non-whites and then against "race traitors" (Lewis & Ingrid, 2023). The piece provides step-by-step manuals and instructions on how to do such attacks. One of these ideas is the antisemitic abbreviation ZOG, or Zionist Occupational Government of the United States, or all-out race war (Whitsel, 1998) which are all presented in the writings of James Mason (Johnson & Feldman, 2021).

However, according to Whitsel (1998), the most important part of *Turner Diaries* is its description of Pierce's ideology of Cosmotheism which combines scientific views of evolution with mysticism or esoterism. The world is divided into several races, with some



racess (Aryans) considered purer than others. Evolution in this context has spiritual value as humanity follows a path of racial destiny. Another important aspect of Cosmotheism is its secret wisdom, borrowed from Gnosticism and more specifically its revolutionary subculture. This secret knowledge is only available to insiders of the group, and it is also used to create a division between those who are considered 'enlightened' and those who are not. Cosmotheism is a forward-looking ideology in nature that promotes racial progress along a linear path to a utopian world (from Pierce's point of view). However, in order to achieve a new utopia, the current world must first be destroyed. The new world can only be accessed through the active promotion of catastrophe, which purges the world of impurities (Whitsel, 1998). Siege and its descendants seem to be greatly influenced by this ideology of Pierce (ADL, 2013).

### **1.1.3. Manson's Prophecy of Racial War**

Nevertheless, Pierce was not the only esoteric influence on Mason and Siege. Charles Manson, most notably known for the Tate-LaBianca murders by his followers, was a similar inspiring element to Siege. Manson's occultism is directly connected with the Beatles' song "Helter Skelter" which Manson misinterpreted as a prophetic call for apocalyptic race war and linked with the Biblical ninth chapter of the Book of Revelation (Lewis & Ingrid, 2023). Music played a crucial role in Manson's worldview almost as a tool for the revelation of higher truths. Therefore, Mason viewed Manson as a man of action who took futuristic Pierce's ideas into reality. The Tate-LaBianca murders should fasten the coming of racial war as Manson began to be frustrated as no race war was emerging (Lewis & Ingrid, 2023). Mason then incorporated Manson's ideas into a broader neo-Nazi framework of thoughts.

In conclusion, the literature review provides a comprehensive overview of the evolution of the modern far-right in the West. Recent years have seen a resurgence of extreme right allegedly due to technological advancement that extremists have exploited to harness the potential of leaderless resistance and lone-wolf terrorism described in James Mason's Siege. Moreover, the influence of Pierce and Manson gave the Manson tools to incorporate esoteric beliefs into the ideological foundations of the contemporary extreme right. This mix of diverse influences ranges from pragmatic ideas, specifically direct violence and leaderless resistance to more esoteric ones. Esoterism is mainly presented via Manson's prophecy of racial war and the religious ideology of Cosmotheism made by William Pierce. Pragmatic

and esoteric strains of Siege have persisted within far-right extremist communities to this day. The popularity of Siege is now so great that it can rival the influence of *Mein Kampf* (Johnson & Feldman, 2021) and it spawned its own sub-category of neo-Nazism – Siege Culture.

#### **1.1.4. Siege Culture and Militant Accelerationism**

The reach of Siege was initially rather limited but with the 2nd decade of the 21st century the notion has shifted (Lewis & Ingrid, 2023). Thanks to the facilitation role of the Internet, Siege became popular among far-right extremists and became a powerful radicalization tool that has spawned a new sub-ideology (Johnson & Feldman, 2021). Siege Culture is a direct culture milieu based on Siege as the name hints. Siege culture adopts a new generation of neo-Nazi ideology known as militant accelerationism which will be described further.

Accelerationism<sup>3</sup>, in a philosophical and ideological sense, involves a critical view of modernity, liberalism, and also capitalism, focusing on their presumable inherent flaws that will ultimately result in the destruction of the current order (Walther & McCoy, 2021; Kriner, 2022). In that sense, it is logical to accelerate its demise to its full potential to show the ordinary people the flaws of the current system. Society would become not suitable for a living anymore and thus, something new must be born (Beauchamp, 2019). Even though accelerationism began as a Marxist theory this loose ideology has shifted, and right-wing thinkers have adopted it, including the Trump administration's White House chief strategist Steve Bannon (Miller, 2018). A pivotal figure of this change emerged at the University of Warwick in the 1990s. Nick Land played a crucial role in shaping accelerationism into right-wing ideology as Land distilled the main tenets and ideas of accelerationism and aligned it with the far-right (Beckett, 2021; Kriner, 2022). In 2012, Land published the essay "Dark Enlightenment", wherein Land described his viewpoints as anti-egalitarianism, anti-democracy, and generally reactionary sentiments (Beauchamp, 2019). Proof of Land's influence on instrumenting accelerationism as one of the main ideological principles in modern far-right can serve the following citation of right-wing extremists: "Many of the

---

<sup>3</sup> It should be noted that his passage describes accelerationism without the prefix *militant*.

ideological seeds that would make me open to Hitlerism started with Dark Enlightenment” (Miller, 2018). This also could point out that accelerationism functions as a tool in the cognitive opening phase described by Wiktorowicz in his work on the radicalization process based upon the Social Movement Theory described by Borum (2011).

An even more radical branch of accelerationism is its subcategory of militant accelerationism (Kriner, 2022). Kriner (2022) provides the following definition of militant accelerationism: “*Militant accelerationism is a set of tactics and strategies designed to put pressure on and exacerbate latent social divisions, often through violence, thus hastening societal collapse.*” In other words, proponents of militant accelerationism are trying to destabilize current society with the wave of violence that strongly reminds the ideas of direct violence in Mason’s Siege or the evolutionary perspective of Cosmotheism proposed by Pierce. In order to purge society of its decadency, neo-fascist accelerators hope that seemingly random acts of terror trigger a chain reaction of social upheaval and violence and bring the collapse.

Currently, militant accelerationism represents a significant portion of the far-right and neo-Nazi school of thought and arguably, it has become the dominant stream (Upchurch, 2021). Militant accelerationism was mainly adopted by groups such as Atomwaffen Division, Boogaloo movement, Proud Boys, and for this text most importantly Terrorgram (Kriner, 2022). All these groups and movements have their origin in the Iron March forum which served as a metaphorical incubator for far-right extremists (Shadnia et al., 2022). Even though the Iron March forum did not have a large population of users, it has a superb influence on modern far-right extremists as Johnson and Feldman (2021, p. 2) put it: “[N]ot very people used it, but everyone who did went out and started a neo-Nazi terror cell.” The Iron March’s case shows that violent movements can rise from online space even without a physical base or face-to-face connection (Upchurch, 2021). Furthermore, this forum enabled to modern-day neo-Nazis form a transnational collective identity (Ibid.). Arguably, the most notoriously known group from these descendants is Atomwaffen Division which initially emerged in 2015 and over time accumulated several dozen members in the US and created connections with neo-Nazi groups in Europe (Ware, 2019). Members of the Atomwaffen Division praise the Siege as their guiding text (ibid.). In 2020, James Mason, now an old man, stated that the Atomwaffen Division disbanded but most of the individuals in the group

were never caught (Makuch, 2020) and thus, they could continue with their ideological activities in an even more decentralized manner.

The leaderless resistance proposed by previous neo-Nazi figureheads is a signature tactic for militant accelerationist groups. Kriner (2022) highlights the decentralized yet interconnected nature of militant accelerationism which creates more networks of actors than traditional hierarchical organizational structures. Shadnia et al. (2022, p. 4) reach a similar conclusion that Atomwaffen Division and similar entities serve more as brands that can be adopted than some central command structure. Therefore, the rather loose movement of militant accelerationism exists in a decentralized nature but also can produce identity fusion as described by Ebner et al. (2022). This branding functions primarily through a very distinct aesthetic of militant accelerationism.

### **1.1.5. The Aesthetic of Militant Accelerationism**

One of the most significant symbols of militant accelerationism and Siege culture is the skull mask (Kriner & Ihler, 2022). This aesthetic was introduced in 2017 by a graphic designer of neo-Nazi leaning Patrick Gordon MacDonald with the alias Dark Foreigner on the Iron March forum according to Vice Investigation (Makuch & Lamoureux, 2021). In September 2023, Canadian law enforcement arrested MacDonald (Bernardo & Kriner, 2023). The art style crafted by MacDonald for the militant accelerationist movement includes profiles or silhouettes of unknown, but visually aggressive or threatening figures armed with weapons hiding their faces behind masks with distinctive skulls, blood splatters, and messages referencing Siege and Turner Diaries (Ibid.).

The other neo-Nazi followers then mimic this style, and it has become a staple in accelerationist movements and groups such as Atomwaffen Division, the Base, Sonnenkrieg Division, and Fuerkrieg Division (Ibid.). Hence, the skull mask aesthetic of Dark Foreigner shaped the aforementioned branding style of these groups. However, the style has evolved and incorporated several other influences including fashwave resulting in terrorwave.



*Figure 1. Example of Dark Foreigner's Skull mask aesthetic (ISD, 2024)*

Fashwave emerges as a subcategory or subgenre of the apolitical audio-visual style vaporwave and synthwave. Fashwave, however, involves a distinct ideological stance of neo-Nazism (Larsen, 2022). The term itself is a fusion of "fash" (fascist) and "wave" (from Vaporwave). The far-right has adopted vaporwave to abuse its mainstream audio-visual style to normalize hatred to more general public (Kelley, 2017).

This approach is not a random but rather a calculated strategy used by the far-right. Nazi motifs, such as pictures of Adolf Hitler or Sonnenrad, mixed together with traditional vaporwave symbols like Japanese characters, VHS filters, and Greco-Roman statues placed against pastel or neon backgrounds with the aim of producing a sense of nostalgia for the golden past that never has been (Bullock & Kerry, 2017). However, while vaporwave aesthetics usually contrast classical art with 1980s consumerism, fashwave reverses this, picturing the contemporary as the degenerative decadence and putting the classical on the pedestal (Hendry & Lemieux, 2021).

Furthermore, if fashwave is combined with the skull mask aesthetic, the terrorwave begins to shape. Terrorwave often depicts militants in some way nostalgic, dystopian environments in an effort to raise violent tendencies in viewers (Molloy, 2023). Terrorwave seems to first commence on 4chan in 2018, and the content often incorporates a glitchy VHS effect, neon grading, or even film footage effect, so prevalent in fashwave. Moreover, showed militants are frequently from more or less recent conflicts, for example, Northern Ireland, Chechnya, or the Balkans or newer conflicts with added far-right text (Ibid.).

Additionally, Molloy (2023) states that producers of terrorwave content prefer IRA's guerrilla fighters due to its urban chic. Jake Hanrahan (2018), a journalist who focuses on far-right extremists, describes the attractiveness of the Terrorwave for young extremists followingly: *"It removes the reality of the violence war brings, whilst also showing how bored young men in the West desire a violent past they've no perception of."* Nevertheless, one of the main contemporary proponents of Terrorwave is the Terrorgram community, the next evolutionary step of Atomwaffen Division, The Base, and Feuerkrieg Division (Hanranan, 2022).



Figure 2. Example of Terrorwave Aesthetic (Molloy, 2023)

## 1.2 Terrorgram

The Terrorgram community, the collection of neo-Nazi and white supremacist channels on Telegram with loose connections, has been described as an “ecosystem” more than a traditional terrorist cell (DFL, 2021). The hypothetical red line that connects this ecosystem

is the content of race war memes, extremist literature, manifestos, and videos of white supremacists, mass shooters, and proponents of militant accelerationism (Gais & Squire, 2021). This is also enhanced by the brand of the visual style of skull mask aesthetics, fashwave, and a combination of these (terrorwave) that was described earlier in this text. Most of these channels on Telegram emerged in 2019 with a rise in popularity in 2020 when channels gained thousands of subscribers and in nature are militant accelerationist (Ibid.) The Terrorgram community has also birthed two new neo-Nazi coalitions in 2021 (The United Acceleration Front and the National Socialist Coalition) that identify as spinoffs of the Atomwaffen Division (Shadnia et al., 2022).

Furthermore, the modern far-right extremists exceeded the borders of the US and became a global terrorist movement with transnational connections such as that the Base leader is situated in Russia and never has been caught (Ware, 2020). This applies to the Terrorgram community as well or even more. This phenomenon is further proven by the case of Juraj Krajčík, a Slovak terrorist, who was part of the Terrorgram community, and also Slovakbro, the nickname for Pavol Bednarik, another Slovak supporter of militant accelerationism (Kupper et al., 2023). Moreover, there is a copycat effect where one terrorist refers to another in their manifesto and gets inspired by themselves in a wicked domino effect. Breivik was the inspiration for Tarrant, whose "Great Replacement" manifesto in turn influenced another El Paso murderer (Amend, 2020; Ware, 2020)— then followed the Buffalo shooting which was again inspired by these perpetrators (Molloy & Macklin, 2022). Lastly, Krajčík was inspired by these extremists.

The contributors in the Terrorgram community also include several new phenomena in neo-Nazi ideology. Firstly, the essence of the martyrdom of previous terrorists is colloquially known as "Saints" in the community (Kriner & Ihler, 2022). Secondly, the revival of the figure of Theodore Kaczynski alias Unabomber and his work *Industrial Society and Its Future* and the whole notion of eco-fascism (Molloy & Macklin, 2022). Thirdly, the actors seem to be very tech-savvy as they share instructional materials not only of traditional sense but also of 3D printing weapons and utilizing the concept of gamification (Gais & Squire, 2021; Regeni, 2023).

### 1.2.1. Saints and the Process of Sanctification

A new but important aspect within the Terrorgram community involves the process of “sanctification” (Lewis et al, 2023). The sanctification describes the process of far-right extremists making martyrs from previous mass shooters and far-right terrorists with the notion of Christian symbols when portraying them (Am & Weimann, 2020).

Martyrdom is particularly relevant for extremist decentralized organizations, as it offers an ideological, religious, and occasionally material motivation to join an organization and be willing to die in this case as a lone wolf terrorist to advance its interests (Am & Wiemann, 2020). The narratives of martyrdom are also prevalent in terrorist manifestos such as Breivik’s, Roof’s, and Tarrant’s texts (Ebner et al., 2022). Currently, sanctification serves as a radicalization vector in the Terrorgram community (Lewis et al., 2023). The modern far-right rebrands individuals such as Anders Breivik as masculine holy warriors to immortalize them (Am & Weimann, 2022).

Breivik’s terrorist attack is only the first of this new wave of martyrs. Another turning point for the western far-right was the shooting in Christchurch by Brenton Tarrant in 2019. Tarrant also dedicated a whole chapter named “Destabilization and Accelerationism: Tactics for Victory” of his manifesto to accelerationism. After Tarrant’s massacre, he became sanctified by the extreme right and later in the Terrorgram community. Breivik, Tarrant, and McVeigh form the so-called “holy trinity” of Terrorgram (Lewis et al. 2023). Other examples of sanctified individuals are Robert Bowers and Dylann Roof (Am & Wiemann, 2020). In 2021, the sainthood within the Terrorgram community was formalized by the emergence of the channel named Saints on Telegram (Lewis et al. 2023). Instances of content on this channel are Saints cards (resemblance of collectible trading cards) or Murderpedia (calendar-style promotion of Saints) to glorify previous violence.

Terrorgram also has its own first martyr or saint in the persona of Juraj Krajčík, a Slovak citizen who killed two members of the LGBTQ community in Bratislava. Krajčík published his manifesto, a 65-page document, before the terrorist attack where he thanked the Terrorgram community for “*wonderful texts, art, and for practical guides*” (Zdút & Osvaldová, 2022) with mentions of other Saints. Shortly after the attack, the images of



Krajčík were spread across various far-right channels (Hanranah, 2020), and maybe more importantly the network analysis made by Lombardi (2022) shows that Krajčík was, in fact, an active participator in Terrorgram. Therefore, Krajčík became the first martyr of the Terrorgram community (Hanranah, 2022; Lewis et al., 2023). Furthermore, Krajčík violent act and his manifesto are the most striking examples of terrorism based on accelerationism since Brenton Tarrant (Kupper et al., 2023). One of the suspected causes of the sanctification is the manifesto that he published before the attack (Hanranah, 2020) thus, emphasizing the importance of a manifesto for modern far-right (Ware, 2020). However, it seems that Krajčík had guidance from some other person as the research of Kupper et al. (2023) suggests and speculates that Krajčík might have been groomed to be a violent actor. This might be a hint of structural changes within Terrorgram and the emergence of a new more organized terrorist subgroup in this space. Moreover, the group that published the documents that this thesis focuses on also implies that there is some degree of cooperation and centralization.

### **1.2.2. Utilization of Nature in Neo-Nazi Context: Eco-Fascism**

Another noteworthy aspect one can find in the Terrorgram community is the notion of eco-fascism. According to Amend (2020), eco-fascism is the “devaluing of human life—particularly of populations seen as inferior—in order to protect the environment viewed as essential to White identity.” In essence, the proponents of eco-fascism contend that excessive population growth in the Global South is driving resource overuse, driving up immigration to the West (connection to the Great Replacement Theory), and worsening environmental deterioration and despoliation of "white" homelands (Molloy & Macklin, 2022). This ideology is connected to several terrorist attacks such as Christchurch, El Paso, and Buffalo (ibid.). Brenton Tarrant called himself an eco-fascist directly (Lakhani et al., 2022).

The most notable figure behind the idea of eco-fascism is Theodore Kaczynski alias Unabomber. Kaczynski carried out several terrorist attacks throughout the 1970s from his shack in the middle of nature. Similarly to Pierce, Kaczynski has a high formal education in STEM fields. However, over the years, he developed a strong hatred towards modern society and especially the overuse of technology from his point of view. Thus, Kaczynski wrote his manifesto *Industrial Society and its Future* which several decades later modern far-right

extremists co-opted into their worldviews (Molloy & Macklin, 2022). Somewhat paradoxically, Kaczynski did not agree with this co-optation and opposed it on the notion that the extremists misread his work. Kaczynski refused the idea of societal control and also saw a lack of commitment to a complete rejection of technology by Siege culture (Kaczynski, 2020).

Nevertheless, Kaczynski and his legacy persisted among far-right extremists of Terrorgram. Kaczynski mainly attracts eco-fascists due to shared anti-modern views and critiques of leftism according to Molloy and Macklin (2020). In a more symbolic way, Kaczynski is admired for resisting modern society, embodying a “cabin-in-the-woods” ideal through militancy. Despite not endorsing far-right ideology, his appeal lies in ideological overlaps and persists in Terrorgram’s sets of ideologies (ibid.).

### **1.2.3. The Gamification of Terror**

One of the core and newer concepts that connect the far-right and the virtual domain is the concept of gamification (Regeni, 2023). Far-right extremists (and others such as jihadists) use to gain popularity via the means of gamification. Gamification is one of the six strategies that are described in the C&N Conclusions paper (RAN, 2020) which are: the production of bespoke games (extremist games), modding mainstream games (altering to existing games), in-game chat (as communication means), gaming adjacent communications platforms (using communication platforms that are connected to gaming, e.g. Twitch, Discord), gaming culture references, and lastly gamification (p. 3). However, the concept of gamification lacks a clear definition and Lakhani et al. (2022) liken it to the concept of terrorism and extremism which have a great number of different definitions. Nevertheless, the re-occurring aspect is the “use of game design elements in non-game context” (Deterding et al., 2011, p.10).

Certainly, gamification is not solely unique to violent extremism, but also small or global brands use this concept to generate sales (Lakhani et al., 2022). Gamification is effectively the process of easing behavioral modifications to one’s mind with the leverage of the potential of video games and their design structure (Sailer et al., 2017; Lakhani et al., 2022). For example, the Terrorgram community has produced several “Saints cards” that

show “kill count”, statistics in first-person-shooter games to compare players (Lewis et al., 2023). The Christchurch attack exemplifies the gamification of violent extremism in the real world as the shooter used a manifesto to present himself as the main protagonist and also the live stream of the attack was similar to first-person-shooter games or “Let’s Play” format videos (Lakhani et al., 2022). Thus, it can be said that gamification used by extremists draws on business strategies, with top-down approaches by organizations or in this case ideological leaders and bottom-up emergence in online communities such as 4chan or 8chan (Schlegel, 2021).

In conclusion, the virtual realm has become an integral part of the far-right extremists where they self-radicalize and get tactical lessons. One of the main aspects of this is the concept of gamification that is employed by extremists to lure newcomers making the extremist content more appealing (Schlegel, 2021b) or further radicalizing their followers by making their content enhanced via videogames’ narrative structure or game design tool such as high scores.

#### **1.2.4. Ideological Leaders and Terrorgram’s Publications**

In the tradition of leaderless resistance popularized by Siege and also by Turner Diaries, Terrorgram is a highly decentralized and post-organizational movement. In the Terrorgram community, members cooperate on a horizontal level rather than a vertical where leaders might provide ideological lessons and directions but do not make decisions on the tactics of individual self-starters. Moreover, the post-organizational aspect of Terrorgram lies in that the influence of a larger group is unclear, loosely defined, or even non-existent (Davey et al., 2021). Hence, the aim of the Terrorgram primarily lies in incubating large numbers of self-starters who contribute to disseminating chaos and hence, fastening the collapse of the current society (VSquare, 2022) by creating shared identity among these members. Terrorgram community made these decentralization changes regarding Atomwaffen Division’s disintegration and the Base infiltration (Kriner & Ihler, 2022).

Therefore, this thesis further focuses on ideological leaders who produce and share original extremist materials and documents. To this day the so-called Terrorgram Collective (in this

case a group of ideological leaders) has published three main documents or zines and one video. Initially, the document Do It for the Gram was published, followed by the text Militant Accelerationism and the last written document has been named Hard Reset<sup>4</sup>. The mentioned video is called White Terror, and it is mainly preoccupied with the phenomenon of the Saints of the far-right. Presumably, all these documents are made by some inner circle of one of the groups of Terrorgram that appropriated the name for itself in the form of “Terrorgram Collective”. This work tries to encompass the evolution shifts of these documents in the empirical part.

---

<sup>4</sup> In reference to the Covid-19 conspiracy Great Reset in which elites used the pandemic for manipulation of the masses

## 2. Theoretical Framework

### 2.1. The Importance of Manifesto

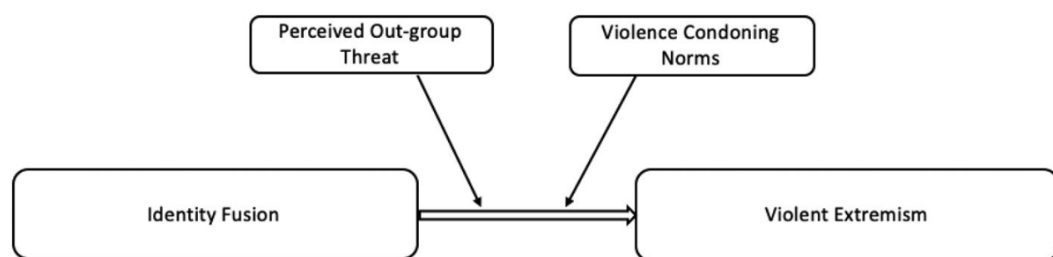
The manifestos of terrorists have become increasingly prevalent in the current era of right-wing extremism (Ebner et al., 2022). Arguably, this trend emerged before the infamous terrorist act of Anders Breivik in 2011 in Norway which somewhat revitalized the right-wing terrorism in the West with his manifesto containing over 1,500 pages (Ware, 2020). Interestingly enough, the utilization of manifestos for terrorism is more often connected to right-wing extremism than to other ideologically motivated terrorism, e.g. jihadism. Ebner et al. (2022) speculate that the discrepancy may lie in the copycat effect that right-wing extremists like to exploit. Supporting proof of this hypothesis exists at the beginning of the El Paso gunman's manifesto: "*In general, I support the Christchurch shooter and his manifesto*". This phenomenon seems to be understudied as Ware (2020) states and thus, this work tries to investigate three recent publications of the Terrorgram community to comprehensively understand this relatively new trend in right-wing terrorism.

Even though current radicalization research suggests that the link between violent acts and ideology is inconclusive (Ebner et al., 2022), there are signs that manifestos are used to generate a shared identity of in-group. In-group consists of members of a group to which one belongs. In the opposite sense, the out-group describes the *others*. Arguably, this distinction between one's people and the enemy could be traced to the work of Carl Schmitt and The Concept of Political, but it was scientifically formulated in the 1970s by Tajfel and Turner in Social Identity Theory. More often than not, the presence of and focus on an oppositional group appears to be a major factor in the group's self-definition of extremists (Kaale et al., 2016) or in other words strict Us vs Them mentality (Ware, 2020). Additionally, Kaale et al. (2016) describe how this self-identification based upon opposition is signaled through the usage of third-person pronouns ("they", "them").

Ebner et al. (2022) describe higher level of in-group identification - identity fusion. Identity fusion is a severe instance of group alignment in which a person completely fuses their

individual identity (and becomes self-depersonalized) with the collective identity. Ebner et al. (2022) use a metaphor of the hydraulic press in that sense the collective identity pushes out the individual identity. Identity fusion, as proposed by Whitehouse (2018), is theorized to result from a strong sense of kinship and a readiness to fight and self-sacrifice for the community, which are caused by shared experiences or biology (family bond, similar phenotypic characteristics). The shared experiences are described as distinct episodes of one's life such as collective rituals (ibid., p. 2). Thus, the shared experiences pathway can be seen as a cultural process to fuse identity that will be presumably exploited by extremists to radicalize others.

However, identity fusion does not seem to fully explain the violent actions taken by individuals. Hence, Ebner et al. (2022) make a case for the fusion-plus-threat framework where they integrate out-group threat perception with in-group identity fusion to better understand violent extremism. Whitehouse (2018) came to the same inquiry similarly to Ebner et al. (2022) that fusion is not enough to explain violent extremism. Figure 3 shows the proposed fusion-violence link of Ebner et al. (2022).



*Figure 3 Proposed relationship between fusion and violence (Ebner et al., 2022, p. 7)*

In their robust qualitative research, Ebner et al. (2022, p. 10-11) use several narrative meta-categories that can be used also for quantitative research as well (Ebner et al., 2023):

- (i) **Group Alignment** – this meta-category consists of two subcategories in-group identification and identity fusion. In-group identification focuses on the sense of belonging with the in-group, which can be traced with words such as “we” and “our”. Identity fusion is more radical in-group identification where individuals fuse themselves with group identity. Words that describe identity fusion are often related to the family such as “brothers”, and “brotherhood”.

- (ii) Out-group Entitativity – this meta-category captures “us versus them” narratives that are present in extremist texts oftentimes. It includes three subcategories: Out-group slurs (derogatory terms, vulgarism, racist labels), and Out-Group Demonization focuses on framing the out-group as hostile and threatening. Lastly, the Out-Group dehumanization sub-category relates to extremists’ efforts to portray the out-group as less than humans with words such as “pig”, “dog”, and “roach”.
- (iii) Out-group Threat – This meta-category emphasizes the out-group potential to be an existential threat to the in-group. It entails three sub-categories. Firstly, Existential Threats to the in-group show how the in-group is under attack from the out-group which posits a physical or symbolic threat of annihilation to the in-group. Secondly, Belief in out-group conspiracy involves the indication that the world is ruled by some group of evil actors. The third sub-category is named Belief in Inevitable War which is focused on impeding potential war between in- and out-groups.
- (iv) Violence Condoning Norms – Justification for violence of violence, Martyrdom Narrative, Violent Role Model, and Hopelessness of Alternative Solutions are all sub-categories of the meta-category Violence Condoning Norms. Justification for Violence presents rational and emotional reasons to commit violence. Martyrdom Narrative focuses on the glorification of past terrorism by framing previous terrorists as saints. Violent Role Model is preoccupied with the inspiration to become terrorists. Finally, Hopelessness of Alternative Solutions describes how extremists portray the failure of nonviolent actions and the only solution is now violence.
- (v) Violence Threats – This meta-category only includes one sub-category: Calls to Violence. This sub-category cover the encouragement of ideological leaders to commit violence against out-group. It utilizes words such as “kill”, “gun”, or “hang”.

When Ebner et al. (2022) compared manifestos of violent terrorists (e.g. Breivik) and non-violent moderate manifestos (e.g. Martin Luther King), they found that violent extremists heavily use fusion identification (p. 12), also perceived threats against the in-group were highly prevalent (p. 13). Furthermore, out-group entitativity and violence condoning norms

have an enormous presence in the extremists' manifestos. Another factor that differentiates extremist texts from milder ones is the usage of negative emotions. There are about twice as many positive emotion words in natural speech as negative emotion words (Kaale et al. 2016). The al-Qaida-texts contained a significantly greater relative degree of negative emotion words, primarily terms related to rage (Pennebaker & Chung, 2008).

According to Ware (2020), the modern right-wing manifestos<sup>5</sup> of extremists have several similar themes: race, Europe, the political climate, and the portrayal of an act of terrorism as self-defense and as a last resort (p. 4). Race is a crucial part of modern (and historical) right-wing extremists. Moreover, conspiracy theories claiming that what Stephan Balliet dubbed "anti-Whites" are deliberately attacking the West are a source of great obsession for radicals on the right wing. Views as "white genocide" or "great replacement" are popular among the far-right, who frequently proclaim that immigration is a calculated strategy carried out by a worldwide Zionist-occupied government [ZOG] to eradicate the white race. In a similar vein, "birthrates" constitute yet another major worry (Ware, 2020). The preservation of "European" values and culture is another prevalent theme in right-wing extremists' manifestos. However, the recent manifestos have moved from pure genes to culture (ibid.). The attack on the Western culture is a significant mobilizing factor in these texts. Moreover, right-wing terrorists often adopt the Crusaders' legacy such as Breivik who sees himself as Justiciar Knight Commander for Knights Templar Europe (ibid.). Subsequently, contemporary manifestos are preoccupied with current political discourse, oftentimes the distinct American political discourse. Lastly, the manifestos described the heinous acts as self-defense and as the last resort (p. 7). Terrorists perceive themselves as heroes of the oppressed class who fight back only because of necessity. Furthermore, Ware (2020) proposes three implications from these manifestos. Firstly, manifestos inspire new attackers, secondly, they are proof of growing and strengthening the transnational connections of right-wing radicals, and that political discourse is an important aspect of terrorist motivation.

The aim of individual manifestos of far-right radicals is four-fold according to Graham Macklin's (2019) framework. Firstly, they provide (i) an explanatory narrative. Secondly,

---

<sup>5</sup> Ware (2020) researched manifestos of the following terrorists: Patrick Crusius, Stephan Balliet, John Earnest, Brenton Tarrant, Dylann Roof, Anders Breivik



(ii) the ideological justifications are present. Thirdly, they also provide (iii) tactical lessons for future attackers and fourthly, they (iv) call to arms for others to follow. The ritualistic act of publishing a manifesto before engaging in this type of extreme-right violence functions as a potent piece of propaganda taking the self-referential nature of far-right extremists into account (ibid.).

In conclusion, the manifestos of current right-wing terrorists function as ideological statements designed to fuel identity fusion by amplifying perceived threats from outside the group. The recurrent themes of these manifestos are immigration, race, and European cultural identity preservation highlighting how radical ideas are linked to contemporary political discourse. Previous research also suggests (i) a high frequency of third-person pronouns to underscore the Us vs Them mentality, and (ii) mass usage of language with negative emotional tonality. To research a topic of Terrorgram Collective's publications, this thesis chose the Fusion-plus-threat model of Ebner et al. (2022, 2023) as the main framework. The advantage of this model is rather technical as it can be used both quantitatively and qualitatively which fulfills the needs of mixed research design adopted by this thesis.

## 3. Empirical Part

### 3.1. Aims of the Thesis and Reasoning behind the Methodology

The broader militant accelerationism movement has been fairly studied, even though, there are still relatively large gaps in literature of modern far-right when compared to jihadism terrorism (Ebner et al., 2022). Additionally, it seems that a new group named Terrorgram Collective is emerging within the ecosystem of Terrorgram that has not yet been thoroughly studied by researchers. This group has produced three written documents and one video for the ideological promotion of neo-Nazism and militant accelerationism and also to give tactical lessons to its followers. The main aim of this thesis is to map out this new group that uses the name Terrorgram community to understand its techniques and motivations better. It tries to fill the inherent gaps in the literature that exist due to novelty of this phenomenon. Only Kriner and Ihler (2022) published a narrow analysis of the last document “Hard Reset” via Global Network on Extremism & Technology<sup>6</sup>.

In filling these gaps, this thesis seeks to provide two main contributions. Firstly, it specifies the content of these rather new documents to see how this group works with narratives that appear in far-right extremist space and how they synthesize them. This point is going to provide the Terrorgram Collective’s ideological arguments and premises and uncover the strategies deployed by this vague group. Additionally, this work is going to deliver a broader understanding of militant accelerationism. Secondly, the thesis shows the evolution of themes and the content of these documents over time. By this method, this thesis is going to offer insights into the dynamics of far-right extremism on online platforms. Maybe more importantly, the findings of this work will lead to better decipherment of the thinking processes of ideological leaders of militant accelerationism. These leaders create original content that inspires other extremists through a top-down method.

The research questions were distilled accordingly to address these two aims.

---

<sup>6</sup> To the best knowledge of the author.

## **Research Questions**

1. What are the main narratives and themes of all analyzed publications (Do It for the Gram, Militant Accelerationism, Hard Reset)?
2. How has the Terrorgram group's propaganda evolved in terms of narratives and themes over time?

To answer these research questions the framework of Ebner et al. (2022) has been utilized. Even though this framework provides the tools for rigorously researching extremist manifestos, the documents of Terrorgram's groups have a large number of similarities to individual manifestos (Kriner & Ihler, 2022). Furthermore, this framework is also applicable to qualitative and/or quantitative approaches (Ebner et al., 2022; Ebner et al., 2023). This thesis wants to take advantage of both of these approaches.

## **3.2. Methodology**

This thesis deploys a two-fold asymmetrical research design. In the beginning, the quantitative textual analysis is used to explore and show overreaching patterns that are present in the documents of the Terrorgram Collective. Thus, these findings will form the spine of this thesis. Secondly, qualitative analysis is utilized to comprehensively understand these patterns and properly position them into context.

The quantitative part of the inquiry consists of three main analytical tools. Initially, the simplest textual analysis is counting word frequencies of meaningful words which will provide the first direction of further analysis. Afterward, the exploration will go further and analyze the emotional tonality of researched publications which will enhance the understanding of the text by focusing on the most utilized emotions as Pennebaker & Chung (2008) advise. Thirdly, the quantitative analysis includes the co-occurrence networks of the most frequent pairs of words (bigrams) in each document to show the interconnectedness of themes and narratives. Lastly, the Fusion-plus-threat Model of Ebner et al. (2023) is used for quantitative purposes, coded words have been assigned to each sub-category to count their occurrences. Furthermore, the Fusion-plus-threat Model is examined by correspondence analysis to visualize the closeness of each publication to the sub-

categories presented by Ebner et al. (2022).

The argument for the chosen framework of the Fusion-plus-threat Model is rather straightforward, as it can be used both quantitatively and qualitatively. Therefore, the qualitative insights will suit this analytical framework prominently well. For example, the framework of Kaale et al. (2016) provides only quantitative measures and it is not used for qualitative research. On the other hand, Macklin's framework or Ware's findings operate only in the scope of the qualitative field.

This analysis will provide the ideological positioning of each document and the thematic variations between them. Each of these analyses will be then enriched by qualitative inputs to further develop a comprehensive contextual picture of Terrorgram Collective. This extensive triangulation of methods provides a more thorough assessment of the publication with a focus on the validity of results.

Data was gathered via an unregulated file-sharing web where all the documents are presented. Due to ethical considerations, this web will not be named in this work. The VPN provider was used for the download to guarantee a reasonable level of anonymity for the author. The validity of these documents was cross-checked via a literature review. However, the authenticity is realistically unverifiable as the file-sharing web does not provide enough information. However, it is not necessary as the pieces of texts are without a doubt part of the militant accelerationism milieu and neo-Nazi in nature with direct quotations of the Terrorgram community. Hence, the research would be still valuable even though there are for example two groups instead of one.

Do it for the Gram [DIFG], the first document published by the Terrorgram Collective has 268 pages. The metadata part of the document does not provide any valuable information. Militant Accelerationism [MA] is the tiniest document regarding page count with 136 and again without any valuable metadata detail. Hard Reset is the only document with metadata with the author labeled as "HAHAHA" characters ending with "Terrorgram Collective". Hard Reset [HR] then has 261 pages of content. Notably, the first installment, DIFG, is plain text without any images, however, MA and HR are painted with extremist pictures with an overall smaller amount of text. Regarding the number of authors, it seems to vary across the

particular documents. DIFG has the largest pool of authors equaling 29 individuals with nicknames indicating neo-Nazism, militant accelerationism, and eco-fascism. Particularly fascinating is the nickname Slovak's Siege Shack hinting at a rather strong Slovak trace in the Terrorgram community. MA has listed a total of 14 authors and HR has again 29 authors. After DIFG, the authors hide their Telegram nicknames behind acronyms of the phonetic alphabet such as Alpha, Delta, Hotel, etc, that is used by law enforcement and the military.

The corpus for textual analysis was collected manually with the help of the app for capturing text from the images known as TextSniper. This method was used since these documents do not have any machine-readable text and need to be added manually. Subsequently, the R programming language was used for textual analysis of individual texts with a script developed by the author of this thesis. Firstly, the preprocessing phase has to be implanted to create a corpus. The corpus was cleared of English stopwords to filter out the words without any meaning, for two analyses<sup>7</sup>, all letters were transformed to lowercase, and punctuations and numbers were removed. The important step is also tokenization of the text or in other words, separating the text into individual words. Afterward, the script moves into the actual analysis phase.

The main analytical tools of this particular textual inquiry are word frequencies, sentiment analysis (usage of AFINN and NRC codices), co-occurrence networks of words (bigrams), and utilization of the Ebner et al. (2023) quantitative framework of the Fusion-plus-threat model. Certain keywords were modified to better capture the essence of the militant accelerationism (e.g. the word "Islam" was removed from the group identification category and "nationalist" was added). In essence, the script counts keywords predefined for each category of the model. Used keywords have been added firstly deductively based on findings in the literature review and then also inductively by skimming the documents of Terrorgram Collective and attaching them into categories defined by Ebner et al. (2023). Based on Macklin's framework (2019), the category of "Tactical lessons" and adjacent words were included in the category of "Call for Violence". Used categories and attached keywords can be viewed in Appendix 1 attached to this thesis.

---

<sup>7</sup> For word frequencies and fusion-plus-threat framework a custom stopwords list where pronouns were kept. For Sentiment Analysis and Co-occurrence networks, normal English stopwords were used due to the possibility that pronouns might interfere with the results.

Even though the quantitative part of the analysis forms the backbone of the whole research for thorough analysis, this thesis will work with light qualitative analysis to support and examine the findings provided by quantitative analysis. Therefore, the following structure of the inquiry will be dictated by the quantitative analysis and each chapter will be enhanced by qualitative inputs to provide contextual understanding. Lastly, the figures that originate from studied publications were compressed to achieve two goals. The author of this thesis does not want to contribute to the dissemination of Terrorgram Collective's content. The worse quality of images is a countermeasure of this. The second argument for the worse quality of images is technical as showing the original format would prove to be unreasonable.

### **3.3. Textual Analysis**

#### **3.3.1. Words Frequencies – Us vs Them Mentality**

The most simplistic textual analysis is word frequencies. Therefore, this analysis is evaluated as the first to build a solid foundation for more complex procedures. The top 50 most frequent words are shown in Table 1 for each document.

Table 1 Word Frequencies of Terrorgram Collective's Documents

| Rank | DIFG          |           | MA            |           | HR              |           |
|------|---------------|-----------|---------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|
|      | Word          | Frequency | Word          | Frequency | Word            | Frequency |
| 1    | you           | 1006      | you           | 441       | you             | 667       |
| 2    | they          | 627       | they          | 195       | your            | 323       |
| 3    | their         | 558       | our           | 178       | can             | 267       |
| 4    | your          | 500       | your          | 163       | will            | 250       |
| 5    | not           | 403       | have          | 140       | their           | 249       |
| 6    | our           | 392       | them          | 135       | have            | 229       |
| 7    | them          | 382       | their         | 135       | they            | 215       |
| 8    | will          | 382       | not           | 125       | them            | 195       |
| 9    | have          | 377       | his           | 121       | not             | 191       |
| 10   | <b>people</b> | 376       | was           | 117       | our             | 178       |
| 11   | who           | 290       | one           | 115       | <u>saboteur</u> | 139       |
| 12   | its           | 288       | will          | 111       | one             | 137       |
| 13   | <b>system</b> | 280       | can           | 107       | its             | 133       |
| 14   | can           | 255       | its           | 107       | his             | 125       |
| 15   | get           | 227       | get           | 100       | who             | 116       |
| 16   | one           | 221       | what          | 93        | make            | 113       |
| 17   | dont          | 206       | like          | 89        | time            | 109       |
| 18   | what          | 201       | who           | 88        | <b>people</b>   | 106       |
| 19   | white         | 193       | time          | 80        | has             | 106       |
| 20   | was           | 187       | make          | 77        | was             | 104       |
| 21   | would         | 186       | dont          | 72        | even            | 100       |
| 22   | just          | 172       | way           | 72        | should          | 96        |
| 23   | were          | 159       | just          | 71        | what            | 94        |
| 24   | time          | 155       | back          | 70        | like            | 92        |
| 25   | his           | 149       | <b>system</b> | 66        | <b>system</b>   | 91        |
| 26   | like          | 148       | has           | 62        | would           | 90        |
| 27   | being         | 136       | were          | 62        | just            | 86        |
| 28   | even          | 132       | see           | 62        | dont            | 85        |
| 29   | these         | 126       | her           | 61        | get             | 84        |
| 30   | has           | 125       | now           | 58        | could           | 81        |
| 31   | world         | 120       | him           | 58        | these           | 77        |
| 32   | take          | 116       | been          | 56        | youre           | 76        |
| 33   | way           | 113       | over          | 56        | been            | 72        |
| 34   | youre         | 112       | would         | 55        | other           | 70        |
| 35   | those         | 109       | <b>people</b> | 55        | things          | 68        |
| 36   | make          | 107       | even          | 52        | way             | 67        |
| 37   | should        | 106       | right         | 49        | those           | 65        |
| 38   | every         | 103       | she           | 49        | were            | 63        |
| 39   | men           | 101       | had           | 49        | many            | 61        |
| 40   | been          | 99        | could         | 48        | over            | 60        |
| 41   | over          | 99        | man           | 48        | every           | 59        |
| 42   | much          | 99        | youre         | 47        | white           | 58        |
| 43   | want          | 98        | take          | 47        | being           | 57        |
| 44   | man           | 98        | good          | 47        | use             | 57        |
| 45   | power         | 95        | around        | 45        | never           | 56        |
| 46   | know          | 94        | other         | 44        | much            | 54        |
| 47   | other         | 88        | still         | 44        | work            | 53        |
| 48   | life          | 88        | those         | 41        | him             | 53        |
| 49   | still         | 87        | much          | 39        | well            | 52        |
| 50   | many          | 86        | got           | 39        | know            | 52        |

As presented by Kaale et al. (2016), the usage of third-person pronouns is very frequent and hints at self-identification based upon opposition to the out-group within extremist groups. Table 1 shows that this phenomenon also applies to Terrorgram Collective as the most used words are third-person pronouns in all three publications. This finding correlates with expectations made from the literature review. Moreover, the usage of the pronoun “you” shows the aim of the Terrorgram Collective to speak to their audience as is expected by propagandistic material.

Subsequently, both words “system” and “people” are rather high in frequency in all three documents. The word “System” is a portrayal of the main and primary enemy of the Terrorgram movement and more generally of the whole Siege Culture as Mason depicted in Siege. Thus, the prevalence of the word should not be a surprise. The word System refers to Terrorgram Collective’s leaning toward general anti-governmentalism. The System works as an abstract out-group without a clear definition. Commonly, the System is associated with industrial or neo-liberal society with characteristics of corruption and oppression, however, more often it is seen solely through the lens of “resistance” against it and followers are portrayed as the ones who look through the veil of the “System” and can fight against it.

In DIFG, one of the authors puts it this way: *“The world is radioactive. Everything that affects us on all levels physical, mental, spiritual only causes decay within us. The system harnesses this decay in order to target the righteous, it wants to cause decay in the man who honors Truth as the highest virtue and ideal.”*

Figure 4 showcases the similar utilization of abstract out-group of the “System” in MA. The “System” is shown only as some kind of opposition to the Terrorgram Collective’s efforts where followers of militant accelerationism perceive themselves as righteous anti-heroes who do only what is necessary. Regarding HR, one of the authors describes the demonic “System” in opposition to the organic “Society”. The text contrasts “Society” as a harmonious community advancing prosperity and progress with the “System” depicted as a malevolent force spreading exploitation and harm. Moreover, the definition of a demon is given, and it revolves around the supernatural of the entity pointing to the spirituality of the movement. The hatred of the System is often also based on a spiritual level where it is described as a demonic entity and its opponents as angelic saviors. Moreover, the worst fate



one can face is slow decay, thus, the movement tries to accelerate the collapse so they prevent the slow and from their point of view impure decay.

Thus, the “System” can be anything that particular individuals hate in modern society. The “System” becomes a buzzword for unspecified universal enemies which one can see as it fits them. The only connection tissue seems to be anti-governmental sentiment associated with the “System”.



Figure 4 The perception of the Enemy as an abstract object of “System” with Terrorwave aesthetic [MA]

On the other hand, the word “people” presumably refers most often to the passive mass of humans that need to be encouraged (more aptly push over the edge) to participate in the collapse of the society and subsequent revolution. The following section from DIFG provides some insight: “[i]n this regard you are not only not being captured alive as a pow, but you are also forcing the opposition to play their strong arm card, which will benefit our struggle in showing the people what opposition is willing to do to maintain it's facade of power.” The main idea of militant accelerationism is that only if the ordinary people see through the lies of the System and its lack of power then they will join this radical movement. On a similar note is this quote: “1) One side of fanatics (.40% guerrillas ) 2) The other side

*of fanatics (.79% regime) 3) The passive masses (98.81%) Adolf then correctly states that the passive masses will obey the more dominant of the two fanatical sides.”*

The most notable difference is the shift of HR in comparison to its predecessors. The third most frequent word is “saboteur” with “sabotage” in the Top 50 most frequent words. In addition, the word “sabotage” occurs only 8 times through DIFG, a much larger corpus, compared to HR where it was identified 46 times. It seems that Terrorgram Collective has endorsed the approach of violent acts such as sabotage of infrastructure rather than a high-profile terrorist attack.

### **3.3.2. Sentiment Analysis – The Duality of Fear**

The second scrutiny that was made is sentiment analysis. Sentiment analysis is the process of determining the emotional character behind a particular piece of text. It utilizes natural language processing techniques to evaluate the tone of singular words in the text and summarize the overall sentiment present in the text. Oftentimes, it involves deciding if the word is positive, negative, or neutral. However, it also offers a more complex differentiation of words based on eight elementary emotions (fear, trust, anger, anticipation, joy, surprise, disgust, sadness). To capture both the codex of AFINN (positive, negative, neutral) and codex NRC (eight emotions) were used. AFINN codex gives each word the value from -5 (most negative, e.g. slurs and vulgarisms) to 5 (most positive, e.g. word “superb”).

Table 2 Overall Sentiment of Terrorgram Collective's Documents (AFINN codex)

| Document | Total Words <sup>8</sup> | N of Positive Words | N of Negative Words | Positive/Negative Index <sup>9</sup> | Sentiment Score (Average) |
|----------|--------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| DIFG     | 40655                    | 2350                | 3205                | -1.32                                | -0.3676                   |
| MA       | 16764                    | 948                 | 1114                | -1                                   | -0.2711                   |
| HR       | 27177                    | 1316                | 1912                | -2.2                                 | -0.4845                   |

In Table 4, one can see the results of positive/negative sentiment analysis. All of the documents use overall more negative than positive words and thus, the tone of these documents is negative as shown in the last two columns of Table 4 that are included to cross-check the results. Positive/Negative Index calculates the ratios of positive and negative words, subtracting these ratios against each other and the result shows the direction of sentiment of the text. The average Sentiment Score then calculates the average sentiment value of each word within the corpus. For both of these variables, it turns out that all three documents are negative.

However, HR, the latest zine, is far more negative than DIFG and MA. On the other hand, MA is the least negative which might be surprising as it connects DIFG and HR chronologically but not directly in sentiment tone. MA proves to be divergent and indicates trying a new path for communication in a slightly different manner than DIFG and HR. In essence, it seems that DIFG and MA tried different approaches and eventually HR might be a synthesis of both approaches rather than a straightforward evolution.

Nevertheless, the tone of HR has become more negative than ever, for example average sentiment score of Siege is - 0.22, and the Positive/Negative Index is -0.52. This might hint at further pushing the negative narrative about the current world and modern society and

<sup>8</sup> The Total Words variable is stripped of English stopwords.

<sup>9</sup> The Positive/Negative Index is calculated with formula:  $Index = 100 * \left( \frac{Positive\ words}{Total\ Words} - \frac{Negative\ words}{Total\ words} \right)$

potentially fostering radicalization of the group or movement. Overall, militant accelerationism has evolved to be more negative in the hands of the Terrorgram Collective.

Furthermore, the NRC codex was used for counting the occurrences of types of emotions. Similar to the AFINN codex, the NRC codex assigns the emotional tone to each word in the corpus and then the script counts the occurrences. The result of this analysis is shown in Table 5.

*Table 3 Order of Types of Emotions in Terrorgram Collective's Documents (NRC codex)*

| Rank | DIFG         | MA           | HR           |
|------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1    | Fear         | Fear         | Fear         |
| 2    | Trust        | Trust        | Trust        |
| 3    | Anger        | Anticipation | Anger        |
| 4    | Anticipation | Anger        | Anticipation |
| 5    | Sadness      | Sadness      | Sadness      |
| 6    | Joy          | Joy          | Disgust      |
| 7    | Disgust      | Surprise     | Joy          |
| 8    | Surprise     | Disgust      | Surprise     |

The most prevalent emotion type that Terrorgram Collective is trying to forward to their followers is fear and trust over all researched documents. For DIFG, fear is mostly conveyed by words such as “violence”, “enemy”, “war”, “death”, “force”, “police”, “government”, “struggle”, “fight”, and “change”. For MA, these words are used for portraying fear most frequently: “struggle”, “fire”, “enemy”, “police”, “fight”, “death”, “war”, “terror”, “case”, and “bad”. Finally, for HR, these words are as follows: “sabotage”, “attack”, “fire”, “death”, “kill”, “fear”, “lines”, “enemy”, “police”, and “fight”.

The recurring themes are the portrayal of the enemy and also the imposing fear on the enemy (e.g. war, terror, fight, kill). Thus, the fear function is two-fold: the fear of the enemy and the fear inflicted upon the enemy. Inconsistently, the notion is paradoxical as the enemy is portrayed by Terrorgram Collective as extremely strong (fear of the enemy) and pathetic (enemy's fear of accelerationists) at the same time. This strategy is the signature of the fascist movements as Umberto Eco (2005) points out in his essay *Eternal Fascism*. Eco argues that fascists rhetorically construct their enemy as weak and degenerate but at the same time too strong with overwhelming power. Therefore, the Terrorgram Collective only follows the path of classical fascism in how to portray the enemy. This inconsistency is revealed by

Figure 5 which shows the image of one page from HR where the author describes the enemy as “the greatest enemy of our lifetimes” in the first sentence of the second paragraph. Immediately after this sentence, the author attributes to the enemy adjectives such as “senile” and “cowardly”.



*Figure 5 Showcase of the inconsistent portrayal of the enemy as weak but also too strong simultaneously (HR).*

Arguably, the emotion of fear is expected in extremist texts, but the category of trust might be perplexing. However, closer inspection shows that the most prevalent word in this group for all three documents is “system” and therefore it is boosted by it. The system was coded in codex NRC in the trust category for general audiences and texts, but the ideology of militant accelerationism perceives it as a grave enemy. Thus, an argument can be made that this category of trust should be antonym – distrust – in this case.

In conclusion, the sentiment analysis provides a substantial insight into the emotional landscape of researched documents. The analysis showcased the overall negativity across all three documents, with HR being the most negative of all three with the prevalence of fear and distrust in all three documents. Thus, a clearer understanding emerges of the emotional

strategies used by the Terrorgram Collective. Firstly, the perception of the world is negative and arguably getting more negative over time. Secondly, fear of the enemy and infliction of fear upon the enemy (distrust of the system) are the main drivers of the narrative which is also true for classical fascism as Eco (2005) described.

### **3.3.3 Co-occurrence Network – From Ideology to Tactics**

The penultimate analysis is a co-occurrence network of words. The co-occurrence network sorts word associations of the corpus into a network of nodes and edges. Nodes are particular words and edges represent the connection between them. In the case of this thesis, the bigrams (set of two words) were utilized to show the most frequent adjacent pairs of words. The networks show all adjacent pairs that appear in the text five or more times (for MA this rule was lowered to four or more times). By analyzing these networks, one can identify the important relations between words and, hence, identify patterns. These patterns will be discussed fluidly and are not strictly operationalized beforehand.

#### **Co-occurrence Network of DIFG**

Figure 4 shows the co-occurrence network of DIFG. The most frequent sequence of two words is white-people as a signal of identification with the in-group. The word “white” is then connected to several other words that describe the in-group of militant accelerationism. These words are supremacist, nationalist, and average person or ordinary people. Similarly, the bigram trump-supporter seems to encompass in-group identification. Moreover, one can see the brothers-sisters connection as the signifier of identity fusion described by Ebner et al. (2022; 2023). If one looks into these bigrams within the corpus of DIFG, it can be seen that white people are predominantly portrayed as under the oppression of non-white minorities and the government.

This direct quotation showcases this perception:

*“Direct action against the government is brave and beneficial, regardless of whether it is the FBI (which persecutes White people for their view that White people shouldn't go extinct), the ATF (which disarms White people and sells their guns to non-Whites inside and*



However, the political solution serves as an example of what does not work. For example: *“White men with a burning hatred for the System who, just like us, don't believe in a political solution,”* this quote shows that proponents of militant accelerationism do not see politics as a viable option and coming back to the distrust category of emotions. They see the “System” as not an object that can be changed. They build this false dichotomy of either being subjugated by the “System” or taking direct actions against it. Nothing exists between those two ends.

Interestingly enough, the role models are not solely preoccupied with individual terrorists or ideological leaders but also with collective resistance. These bigrams focused on collective resistance are branch-Davidians (Waco Siege), proud-boys, trump-supporter, and ruby-ridge. Namely, Waco Siege and Ruby Ridge seem to have great influence over the militant accelerationism in DIFG, not captured before by research on terrorism and extremism. One of the authors describes the Waco Siege as instrumental to the accelerationist movement:

*“Not to mention the fact that Waco was an important event, a breaking point in the White movements of the late 20th century - it led to McVeigh lighting up the A.P.Murrah federal building, to militias becoming mainstream, to burning hatred of the government among White people (even though the Branch Davidians were a mixed bunch). Without it, things would have turned out a lot differently, probably with less of an accelerationist element.”*

The appeal is mainly due to the governmental resistance of these groups rather than ideological symbiosis with militant accelerationism. Moreover, the fascination with Waco and Ruby Ridge endures into MA with this quote: *“When the same tyrannical government massacred innocent Americans at Waco and Ruby Ridge, only ONE MAN - Saint Timothy James McVeigh - held the system accountable.”* Waco and Ruby Ridge are used as justification for the violence of McVeigh from the perceived injustice of the System. On the other hand, Proud Boys seems to encapsulate the inspiration of decentralization as one author wrote: *“Think of "Proud Boys" more as an early umbrella designation of some kind, rather than the concrete named group that we all know and cringe at.”*

Adolf Hitler, Kyle Rittenhouse, Timothy McVeigh, James Mason, Eric Rudolph (American



domestic terrorist), and somewhat surprisingly Robin Hood serve as individual role models. Robin Hood is mainly used as a speech act symbolizing the justified resistance and self-defense as described by Ware (2020).

*“He [Robin Hood], alone, slayed the men sent to terrorize his folk and they took him up as a natural leader. He "poached" and protected "poachers" just trying to feed their families from the goons sent to enforce the King's greed in the same forests their ancestors hunted in for generations and that, henceforth, no one man owned,”* articulated by one of the authors of DIFG and again is shown the theme of misunderstood or people hero which inspire militant accelerationists.

A similar theme can be seen in HR portrayed in Figure 7 which is putting “folk hero” in contrast to the perception of emasculated men. Additionally, this narrative technique of portraying terrorists as folk heroes might function to facilitate the shift from individuals sympathizing with the hatred for modern society to terrorists as it presents terrorism in a seemingly noble light focusing on the tone of “righteous” resistance against it.



Figure 7 The theme of "folk hero" in HR.

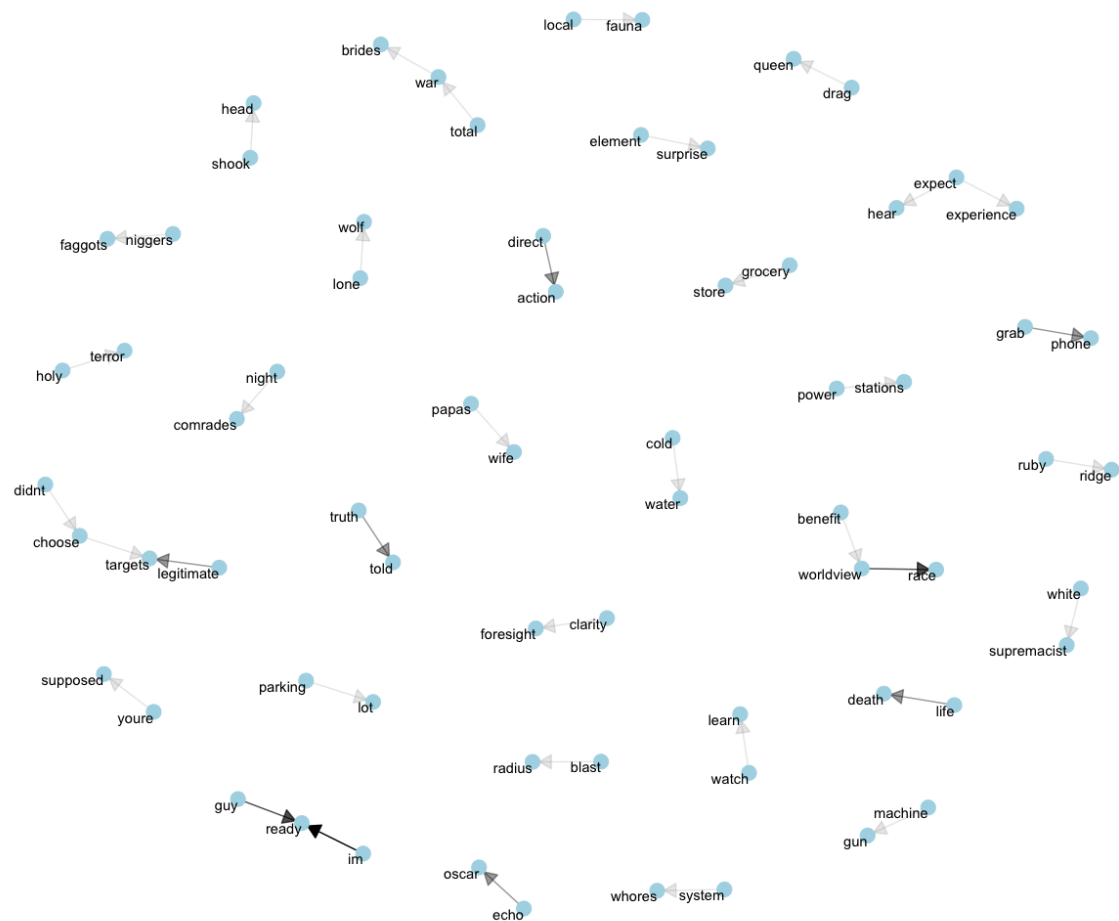
On the other side of the spectrum is a description of the enemy which includes bigrams of industrial-society and a cluster around the word “system” which is connected to the words global, beast, and arm. This network indicates an eco-fascist theme within the corpus. Several contributors to DIFG have direct references to eco-fascism in their names (Pinetree party, eco gang, returning to nature).

The anti-LGBTQ+ Another edge of the enemy is based upon race presented here by racial-enemies, nogo-zone(s), and race-traitor. The last bigram pinpoints the need of Terrorgram Collective to find an inward enemy among white people. Lastly, the enemy is connected to the government with bigrams as law-enforcement, federal-informant, and Lon Horiuchi (FBI sniper who was present in Ruby Ridge and Waco incidents). Into this grouping might also be included also paying-taxes as an anti-governmental narrative.

## Co-occurrence Network of MA

Figure 8 moves to the network of MA which is sparser than DIFG due to the length of the document. Even the rule of 5 or more occurrences of bigrams was breached to include even bigrams with 4 or more occurrences. Once again, the Ruby Ridge is shown in Figure 5. This should hint at the importance of the incident for the Terrorgram Collective which was not presented in the literature review. Also, the re-occurring theme of the racial enemy is underlined by the worldview-race, The “system” enemy is present only with connection to word whores. Also, the ideological grouping is shown by lone-wolf, direct-action, legitimate-targets, and total-war. The white-supremacist and papas-wife (Christian conservative book) seem to showcase group identification with conservative circles.

Figure 8 Co-occurrence Network of Militant Accelerationism [MA]



The bigram of holy-terror might display the trend of Saints inside of the Terrorgram Collective which in a sense connects to the demonic/angelic dichotomy of the “System” presented in HR. Once again, it suggests on perception of the spirituality or more aptly esoteric of the movement that paints the resistance against its enemy in religious vocabulary.

Local-fauna points to the eco-fascism pattern included in MA. The theme of eco-fascism is mainly utilized via *natural order* in the document (Figure 9). Terrorgram Collective views nature as a means of selecting the best of humanity by their measures. Furthermore, natural order (or chaos) will reveal the truth about the individuals and show if they are strong or weak. Genetics also plays a crucial role in this sense where not only training is sufficient, but one has to have perfect genes (apparently white man) to survive and thrive in this post-collapse world. Similarly, HR utilizes natural order in a rather analogous way, where natural order serves as a sorting mechanism: *“If your people don't follow the Natural Order, you will be replaced by those who do.”*

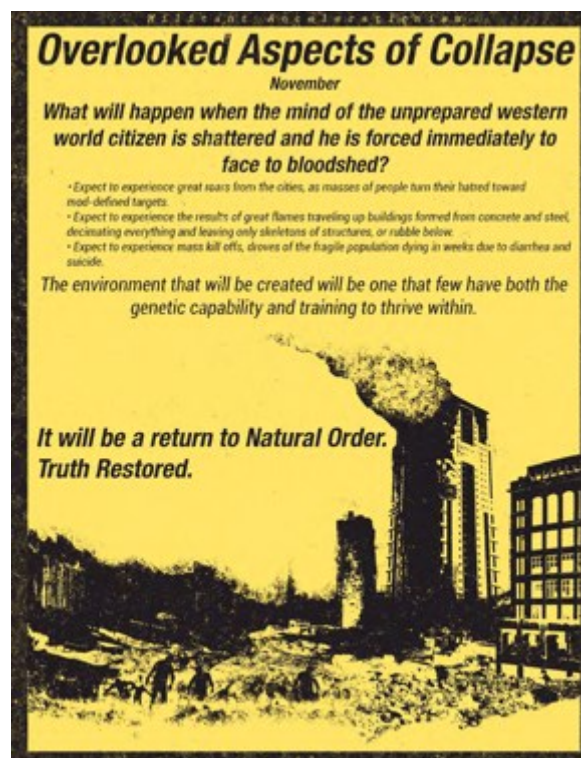


Figure 9 Overlooked Aspects of Collapse page from MA

Additionally, there are a recognizable number of connections that might be categorized as

tactical lessons such as radius-blast, learn-watch, power-stations, grab-phone, grocery-store, and parking-lot. Moreover, this might be a hint that in MA, the Saboteur mythos discussed in the previous analysis might have originated. This is also presented in two most often bigrams of MA, im-ready and guy-ready, which might be an encouragement to “*direct action*” against the enemy.

If one looks into MA for more context, it reveals that a large portion of this document is a semi-coherent story that unveils itself over the whole document over dozens of pages. Figure 10 shows one of the pages of this story. The first signature part of these story pages is the background of virgin nature and forest. Moreover, the eco-fascist themes are fostered with a combination of words such as “inherit the Earth” where White and hypermasculine men lead the others. The story certainly takes inspiration from Turner’s Diaries as it tells a story about several militant accelerationists who see themselves as insurgents against the “System”. The story provides several explanations and tactical lessons to its readers as also a role model of the protagonist. Another source of inspiration is real-world events Ruby Ridge and Waco Siege as both incidents are mentioned in the story. Interestingly enough, one of the main themes in this story is a love story between the main protagonist and one of the captured females from the raids, potentially humanizing the terrorists and enhancing their relatability to readers. Furthermore, the concept of this story will probably be a form of escapism of reality of the author and also for readers where they can project their power fantasies. Also, there are some more imagined stories of mass shooters with less dedicated space in the publication (e.g. one is named Highscore and Headlines referring to the gamification concept).



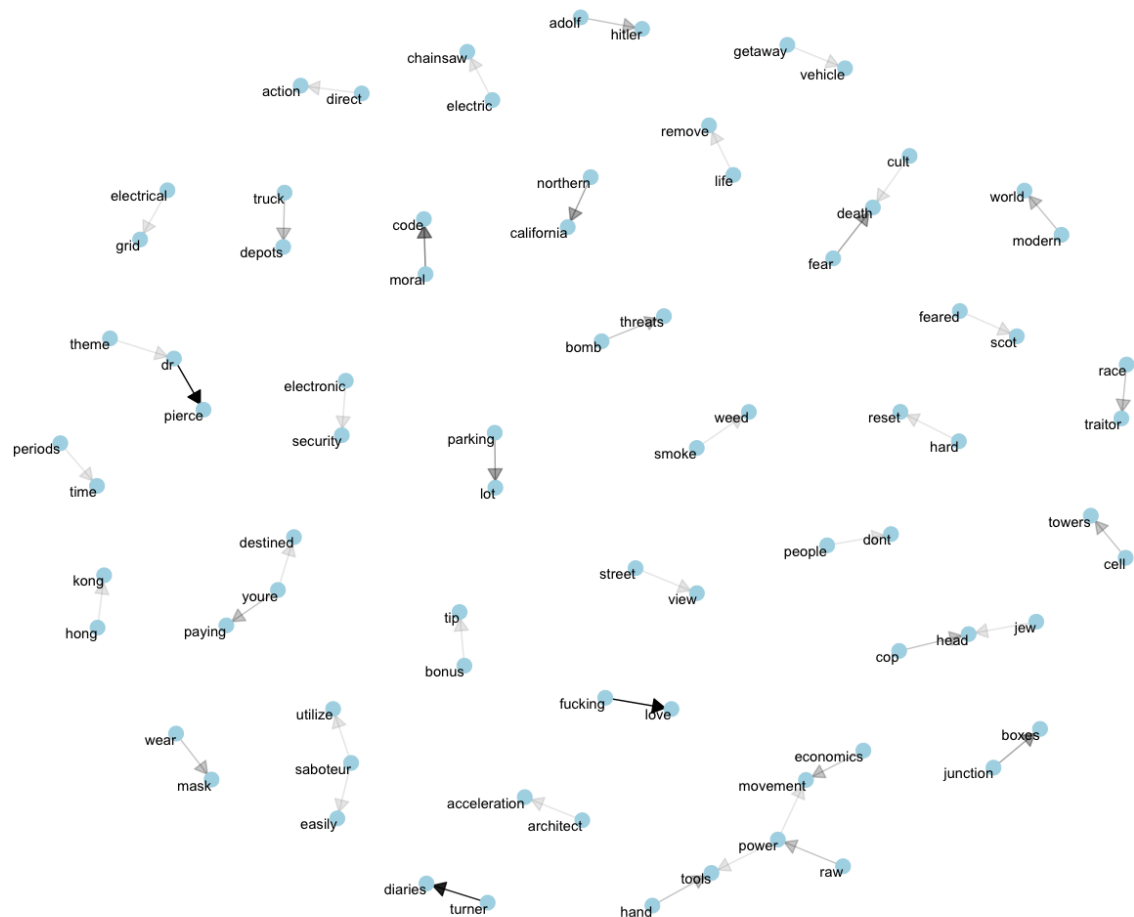
Figure 10 The story similar to Turner Diaries presented in MA

Similar long-read stories do not appear in either DIFG or HR. HR seems to return to a shorter format similar to DIFG. Shorter content might be beneficial for such a movement in two ways. Firstly, shorter content is inherently more easily consumed in the age of social media. Similarly, shorter content can be shared more straightforwardly than copying several pages of text. But DIFG provides only plain text which might not be so appealing and immediately recognizable and thus, it seems that the latest document of the Terrorgram Collective (HR) takes the short content from DIFG and the visual side of MA and combines them into one form. However, it should be noted that the longer content occurs even in HR, but it is mostly used for tactical and operational lessons for the readers rather than propagandistic means.

## Co-occurrence Network of HR

Lastly, Figure 11 portrays the co-occurrence network of HR. In essence, HR deepens the themes and patterns that originate in MA. The shift to the mythos of saboteurs and tactical lessons is apparent. Bigrams such as wear-mask, electronic-security, truck-depots, electrical-grids, towers-cell, getaway-vehicle, power-tools, hand-tools and more are clearly connected to tactical lessons that HR shares with its readers. HR is the place where the saboteur mythos shines the most. One of the authors writes in the introduction to HR: “*We have a vision of our own. Saboteur attacks on infrastructure crippling the System's ability to enforce its rules. Starvation and mayhem in the cities.*” The emphasis on attacking infrastructure to hasten the collapse of the civilization is rather clear.

Figure 11 Co-occurrence Network Hard Reset (HR)



As speculated earlier, this (gradual) change can aim to harden the perpetrators and to get

used to violence before actual attacks on human beings. Moreover, it opens the doors to contribute to collapse with lower stakes as arguably, sabotages on infrastructures would not be as thoroughly investigated as shootings and thus, presents a smaller probability of arrest/death of the militant accelerationist. Additionally, the ideological leaders of Terrorgram might think that the sabotages are more destabilizing than mass shootings.

Interestingly, the shift from James Mason to William Pierce and to his book *Turner Diaries*, which are both heavily mentioned, is more open in HR. In fact, dr-Pierce is the most frequent bigram of HR. However, it should be noted that a longer piece is present in the HR that is focused solely on Pierce and the interpretation of his work. Therefore, the results might be skewed due to this longer piece. On the other hand, it still presents some insight as no interpretation of Mason's work is included in HR or any documents made by Terrorgram Collective. This suggests the shift into more spiritual themes (such as the mentioned "demonic System") that resembles the esoterism and mysticism of Cosmotheism made by Pierce but with one rather distinction. The Terrorgram Collective does not paint the utopian future after the collapse as Cosmotheism does. Even though some unspecified images are portrayed (racial superiority of White people), the main theme described by authors of researched documents is destructive collapse and its "cleansing" properties. The militant accelerationists perceive themselves as annihilators of the order, but they do not view themselves as rebuilders of a utopian future.

In-group identification is not as apparent as in DIFG. Also, the grouping of the enemy is much less present than in DIFG but once again is defined around the anti-governmental, anti-semitic, anti-LGBTQ+, and racist lines. An interesting bigram is death-cult which inspected by qualitative means shows that it refers to the "System". The following quote shows the usage of this bigram "*Railways serve the Cult of death. You belong to the Cult of life, remove Railways at once.*" Once again, it seems that Terrorgram Collective moves more into esoteric edge to transform militant accelerationism into semi-religious ideology.

There is one bigram that appears in all three figures regularly which is direct-action. Direct action is the necessary condition to bring society over the edge and thus, create the collapse of the whole (Figure 12).





Figure 12 The example of usage of direct action as the only thing that can "wake up" White masses.

The brand-new bigram acceleration-architect references one of the many authors of DIFG with the nickname Architect of Acceleration<sup>10</sup>. This might be an indication that this account plays a significant role in the Terrorgram Collective and moreover a leading role of the Terrorgram Collective. One can also speculate that in the later instances (MA, HR) is called Alpha as it is one of the most productive authors in both documents. This also supports that the first document serves as some kind of foundational text that Terrorgram Collective has been referencing because Architect of Acceleration is not listed as an author, yet he has been referenced several times in HR.

## Conclusion of Co-Occurrence Network Analysis

In conclusion, the co-occurrence networks of three researched documents provide valuable information about the nature of the movement. Pivotal to this ideological framework of Terrorgram Collective is the concept of direct action which consistently appears across all

<sup>10</sup> Their public Telegram posts are accessible here: <https://tgstat.com/channel/@ArchitectOfAcceleration>

documents. The direct action pinpoints the idea that a normal opposition to the current regime is not viable and only violence (and through violence collapse) can bring change. Therefore, the Terrorgram Collective sees themselves as misunderstood (anti)-heroes that only defend themselves against the “System”. Moreover, the “System” is often described by esoteric/mysticism terms such as demonic or cult of death which showcase that the “struggle” of Terrorgram Collective is not only perceived on an existential but also on a spiritual level. The “System” allegedly attacks the souls of militant accelerationists.

Once again, the co-occurrence network analysis provides proof of the shift of Terrorgram Collective efforts to sabotages that are most evident in HR. The evolution to this more clandestine modus operandi seems to have two explanations. Firstly, it is a genuine strategic recalibration of the movement. The ideological leaders of Terrorgram believe that sabotages will be more destabilizing than mass shootings, or at least on a large scale which brings the second explanation. Sabotages also provide the space for acquiring knowledge and experience with violence and serve as a gateway to more human-directed violence. In other words, the saboteur mythos might function as a radicalization tool to embrace violence with a lower risk of getting caught by law enforcement. Hence, sabotages have higher opportunities to attract new members to commit violence against infrastructure.

Moreover, the co-occurrence network reveals new important role models for Terrorgram. In addition to usual suspects such as Adolf Hitler, Timothy McVeigh, James Mason, William Pierce, and others, the Terrorgram Collective seems to look up at two particular incidents from US history, the Waco Siege and Ruby Ridge. This fascination is most probably fueled by the anti-governmental resistance of these groups.

### **3.3.4. Framework of Fusion-plus-threat Model**

Building upon Ebner et al. (2023) framework for studying extremists’ manifestos, this thesis performs the analysis greatly inspired by the Fusion-plus-threat Model as the final part of the quantitative analysis. The framework’s keywords for each category were modified and can be viewed in Appendix 1. These sub-categories are In-Group Identification, In-Group Identity Fusion, Calls to Violence, Out-Group Slurs, Out-Group Demonization, Out-Group Dehumanization, Existential Threat to In-Group, Belief in Out-Group Conspiracy, Belief in Inevitable War, Justification for Violence, Martyrdom Narrative, Violent Role Model, and

Hopelessness of Alternative. The relative reduction in the proportion of these extremism indicators can be explained by the fact that MA and HR also use the image as an instrument rather than just plain text. The percentage was calculated as occurrences in each category divided by total words in each corpus (Table 4). Results prove to be significantly different across publications and not a random variance<sup>11</sup>.

*Table 4 Ratio of Fusion-plus.threat Framework's Categories in Terrogram Collective's Documents*

|                                       | DIFG   | MA    | HR    |
|---------------------------------------|--------|-------|-------|
| In-Group Identification               | 12.79% | 8.79% | 9.59% |
| In-Group Identity Fusion              | 1.69%  | 1.94% | 1.49% |
| Calls to Violence                     | 2.30%  | 2.31% | 3.36% |
| Out-Group Slurs                       | 0.27%  | 0.42% | 0.27% |
| Out-Group Demonization                | 1.88%  | 1.34% | 1.52% |
| Out-Group Dehumanization              | 1.79%  | 1.31% | 1.46% |
| Existential Threat to In-Group        | 0.95%  | 0.64% | 0.84% |
| Belief in Out-Group Conspiracy        | 0.63%  | 0.32% | 0.35% |
| Belief in Inevitable War              | 1.02%  | 0.88% | 0.69% |
| Justification for Violence            | 0.36%  | 0.36% | 0.20% |
| Martyrdom Narrative                   | 0.22%  | 0.30% | 0.18% |
| Violent Role Model                    | 0.53%  | 0.46% | 0.36% |
| Hopelessness of Alternative Solutions | 2.16%  | 1.15% | 1.22% |

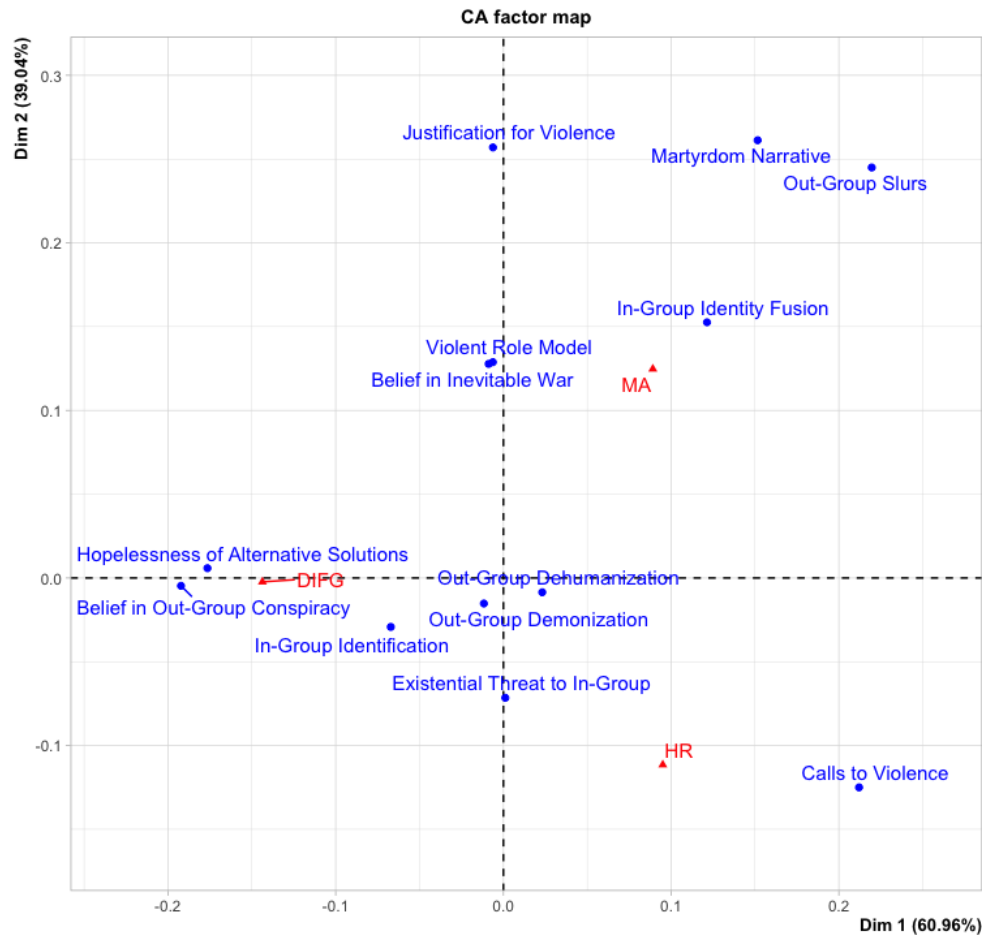
For a better understanding of the results, the correspondence analysis was used. Correspondence Analysis is a statistical technique used for visualizing relationships between categorical variables to construct profiles of similar variables. It offers factor scores, that serve as coordinates, for the contingency table's row and column points which can be utilized to visualize the graph. The relationship between the row and column components is

---

<sup>11</sup> The Chi-square test was conducted to establish the significance. Results from R are as follows: X-squared = 341.79, df = 24, p-value < 2.2e-16. The p-value is well below the 5% threshold as a conventional level for significance. Thus, the null hypothesis of no differences can be dismissed.

represented by their closeness in the plot (STHDA, 2017). The most contributing aspects of Dimension 1 are Calls for Violence, Hopelessness of Alternative Solutions, and In-Group Identification. Similarly, Calls for Violence, In-Group Identity Fusion, and Justification for Violence are most contributing to Dimension 2<sup>12</sup>.

*Figure 13 Correspondence Analysis of Fusion-plus-threat Model's Categories in Documents of Terrorgram Collective*



The Hopelessness of Alternative Solutions, Belief in Out-Group Conspiracy, and In-Group Identification are positioned closely to each other in the biplot thus, creating a sub-group of categories. It may be possible that the hopelessness of Alternative Solutions and Belief in Out-Group Conspiracy is connected to the implication that the “System” (world) is rigged

<sup>12</sup> It should be noted that the correspondence analysis was done also on meta-categories (Group Alignment, Out-Group Entitativity, Out-Group Threat, Violence Condoning Norms, Violence Threat). However, dimension 2 of this correspondence analysis had only 3 % inertia meaning its low contribution to the analysis and thus was not included in the thesis.

by powerful cabal groups that can only be overthrown via violence and collapse of the “System”. Moreover, the most associated document with this sub-group of categories is DIGF which might be understandable as it seems to be the most ideologically driven document from the three studied with a variety of contributors. The first installment, thus, set a foundation for further documents that could try new approaches.

Out-Group Demonization and Out-Group Dehumanization cluster together in the center of the plot, suggesting a coherent pattern of negative attitudes and behaviors towards out-groups which should not be surprising. However, the centrality of these two categories shows that no document uses them somewhat uniquely and additionally, are distributed across all three equally. This does not mean these two categories are not important for the documents but that all three *zines* use them similarly often and are not specific for one of the texts. Therefore, one can say that these two categories are instrumental for all three documents.

MA, as DIFG, has also three closest objects, which are In-Group Identity Fusion, Violent Role Model, and Belief in Inevitable War. When combining these three categories, the structure of role models preparing and fighting in the war might appear as in the mentioned story within MA. This finding points out that MA has the aim of providing a more coherent narrative structure than DIFG and HR as discussed in the previous chapter.

The bottom-right quadrant is occupied by HR. The closeness of the category Calls to Violence is evident and provides yet another proof that HR has shifted from ideologically driven DIFG and narrative-driven MA to a more guide-like document with explicit calls to direct violence with a focus on sabotaging infrastructure.

For the purpose of conciseness, the following part, where this thesis provides qualitative insight into the Fusion-plus-threat Model, is going to return to the meta-categories from Ebner et al. (2022) work. These categories are Group Alignment, Out-Group Entativity, Out-Group Threat, Violence Condoning Norms, and Violence Threats and their components of sub-categories are defined in their respective parts.

### **Instances of Group Alignment - Community Built on Violence**

Group Alignment meta-category includes two sub-categories that are In-group Identification

and In-Group Identity Fusion. The former is preoccupied with the individual's sense of belonging and the latter focuses on merging the individual identity with the group (Ebner et al., 2022, p. 10).

One of the clear examples of in-group identification in DIFG is as follows: "*We are Aryans we don't buy like semites. WE CONQUER.*" There are two lines, firstly, the in ethnic line of Aryans against Jews and also, the line of warrior characteristic of conquer rather than using economic tools to acquire things. Moreover, the Terrorgram Collective writes about hopelessness on a global level, as one Nazi revolution is not sustainable.

*"This means that a single nationalist revolution has virtually no chance of success, as it will be stamped out by brute force from all world powers, if push comes to shove. So long as the "international community" is in a position to conspire to further deprive us of our birthright, they will set aside their petty differences and unite to nip the problem in the bud."*

Only collective resistance of nationalists (Us) across the whole world against the international community (Them) can lead to the new world order that Terrorgram Collective loosely envisions. In both examples, the in-group/out-group dynamic is present to perceive the world in the dichotomy of friends and enemies.

In MA, the page with the name "Your Big Day" utilizes the in-group identification with the martyrdom narrative (Figure 14). Noticeably, Anders Breivik is mentioned as a *saint* with his quote about the big day. However, this page is chosen due to the effort to make in-group identification in leaderless and post-organizational spaces where identification with the movement will be inherently harder than in more traditional structures. The identification itself is done via spiritual means that the previous White Supremacists ("*White Champions of our struggle*") are labeled as brothers and are with the current one in spirit in a kind of supernatural manner. The whole endeavor of unleashing violence is labeled as holy terror. This narrative serves to sanctify and justify acts of violence within the group's ideology, reinforcing a sense of belonging on religious foundations with the synthesis of racial vocabulary. Terrorgram Collective pushes the saint culture to a new extreme with the addition of another layer of spirituality and theme of transcendence (e.g., the quote from MA: "*You, spiritually alongside others, transcend together*"). Additionally, the whole

narrative of the page is focused on combat against the enemy which is another point of definition and identification. The whole Terrorgram Collective is more focused on definition via negation of out-group.



Figure 14 "Your Big Day" page, an example of in-group identification based on religious foundations.

For HR, the page shown in Figure 15 also utilizes violence against the enemy as an identificatory attribute. The page "Boys don't cry" is also preoccupied with the creation of an image of the strong man that others ("They") should fear. The emotion of fear is further discussed in the Sentiment Analysis chapter of this work. It seems that the underlying narrative in those pages and examples is the need of the Terrorgram Collective to take (back) control of life and signal strength to the outer world. The over-fixation on the theme of a strong man might come from deep insecurities and distrust of others by the contributors and hypothetical readers. This finding is also supported by the finding from the Sentiment Analysis Chapter.

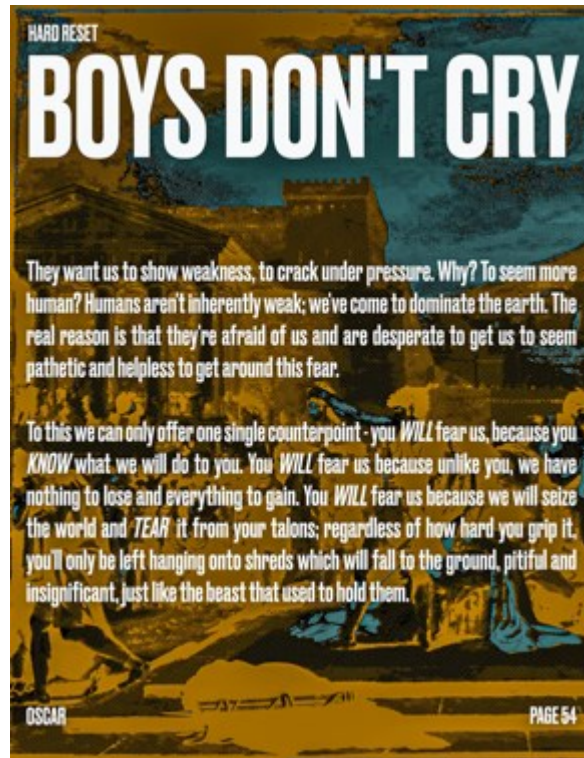


Figure 15 Boys Don't Cry page from HR, an example of in-group identification based upon fear.

In-group identity Fusion is mainly connected to MA in the symmetrical biplot produced by correspondence analysis. The following quote from MA provides the main In-group Identity Fusion pattern connected to the race and ancestors: *“Our history has for the most part been erased or revised to a point where it would not be recognizable should our ancestors live today. We can either attempt to restore that history and with it, the mutual gain of our race, or we can create new history.”* Readers are supposedly fused with the White race and common ancestors (our history, our ancestors, our race) and only readers can save the legacy of their ancestors. On a similar note, there is a quote from DIFG again utilizing the fusion of identity connected to violence: *“The only way things will get better is if we band together and fight side by side. The future is ours, but only if we seize it, together, as brothers.”*

Moreover, in the mentioned story, the protagonist meets a new follower of militant accelerationism who then calls the protagonist brother-in-arms to show the example of how violence forges the inseparable link of the brotherhood. A similar mean of fusion is used in an earlier example in Figure 15 where previous mass shooters are called brothers in arms. Then, the story of MA itself serves as a dream of forming a guerilla brotherhood of like-minded extremists against the System. The dialogue can be seen below.



*“Look man, we are brothers in arms now. You can trust me. I do explosives, ammunition, and our guys in general specialize in combat.*

*A man of culture. Guess all the heavy lifting is done already. Romeo really is good with people.*

*I do engineering. I suppose that makes us partners now?*

*Echo grinned. Partners. I like the sound of that.”*

One important aspect of in-group seems to be connected to the eco-fascism. The large space of documents is dedicated to dietary habits. Readers are encouraged to eat a raw diet with plentiful meat and milk to overcome the poison of modern food. The main argument is a historical one as the readers should go back into the past and eat like their ancestors. In DIFG one of the authors writes a poem-like description of the easier life of hunter-gatherers.)

*“beef everyday  
no old age  
naked girls around  
everything is fucking very well  
not understand anything  
toilet everywhere  
all friends are hunters  
sleep as long as you want  
can I eat everything”*

Connected to this, the Terrorgram Collective is fixated on hypermasculine and lean appearances (Figure 16) and a “pure” lifestyle focused on self-improvement. This connects to the theme of the strong man who imposes fear on others discussed earlier. The lifestyle described in documents of the Terrorgram Collective prohibits for example (i) usage of drugs such as marihuana (*“I. N. T. O. L. E. R. A. N. C. E. against all drug use. Spend your time training, attacking, writing, networking, making art, or above all: in nature and among animals.”*), (ii) consuming pornography (*“Pornographers are the poisoners of the digital era”*), and no-masturbation (*“If we all keep doing no – fap no - nut no - hotshower no-internet for a few more years then i’ll tell you where we’ll be; we’ll be living in cabins in*

*montana sending out mail faster than you can imagine*”). The self-improvement compartment gives readers a purpose, routine, or aim to follow while preparing for their act of violence. In DIFG, one of the authors wrote the following passage regarding the self-improvement element: *“Your task is as follows - become proficient. Learn a valuable skill relating to survival. Get in shape.”* In HR, a similar text appears: *“I will acknowledge my weak points & moving forward and ensure extra attention for them until I am a master of myself and a warrior for my race”*. In this sense, the notion of self-improvement seems to be analogous to the less extreme manosphere but serves as a kind of getaway to a more radical position (SPLC, n.d.b).

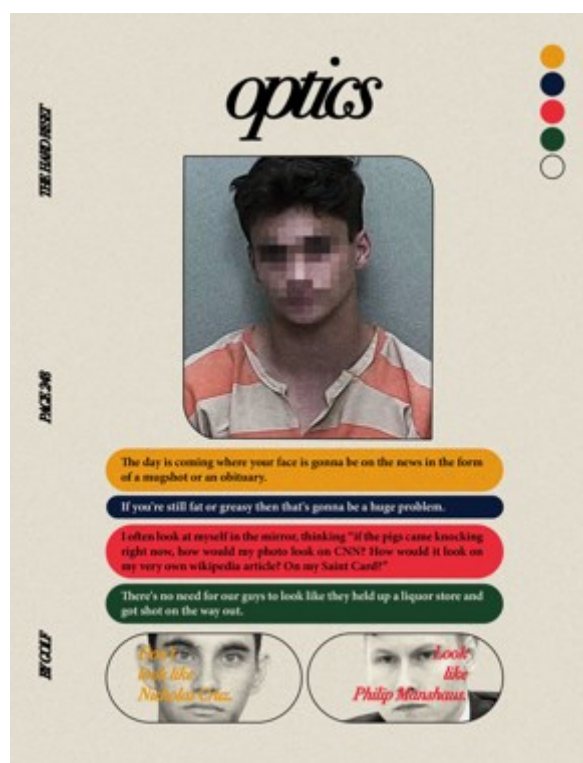


Figure 16 Optics page from HR, an example of fixation on masculine appearance.

Hence, the imagined in-group encompasses hypermasculine White warriors (brothers-in-arms) bonded by a semi-religious perception of the world and who are living dedicated lives to the Terrorgram movement with a “pure” lifestyle that does not limit their ability to contribute to violence. Moreover, these individuals should be well-connected to their (unspecified) ancestors and their legacy. Nevertheless, the real in-group for which the publications are meant are unfulfilled young men in Western nations to which the Terrorgram Collective gives the target of hatred and answer for why they are unsatisfied

(System rigged by Jews that denies them their birthright, System takes away control from them and move away them from nature). MA gives this picture of a real in-group: *"I'm not supposed to be here" If you're like me, you're a White guy 18-30, living in a comfy Western nation. Your struggle this Saturday is going to the grocery store to get groceries with your girlfriend. How will you be able to find the canned full fat coconut milk for your whipped cream without asking someone? Make sure you get petrol on the way. The music they're playing inside the [TESCO] gets stuck in your head."* Moreover, the eco-fascist theme emerges colloquially to lifestyle as the following sentence from HR depicts: *"A healthy lifestyle allows you to stand on the sun"*

In other words, the Terrorgram Collective's publications give readers a path on how to transform from an unsatisfied man to a hypermasculine one thanks to a new lifestyle and then even to a transcended individual as a result of violence imposed on out-group.

### **Instances of Out-Group Entitativity – Definition of *Them***

Sub-categories of Out-Group Slurs, Out-Group Demonization, and Out-Group Dehumanization are included in the Out-Group Entitativity meta-category. All three focus on the description of out-groups via speech acts that utilize hate speech, and derogatory terms for humans, dehumanization to attribute them negative tonality. More often than not, these sub-categories are used together to enhance their effect in the work of Terrorgram Collective.

The first target of out-group hate is people of Jewish ethnicity who are portrayed as cunning actors of conspiracy. Jews, as seen by Terrorgram Collective, rule the world via deception and deceit. In comparison, non-White ethnicities are displayed in a more animalistic view. Where Jews supposedly rule the world, the non-white ethnicities endanger the in-group via the Great Replacement Theory narrative that the White race is slowly but steadily replaced by non-Whites. The LGBTQ+ community is mainly targeted by the speech act that the differences in sexuality are not natural. All three groups of people are often called slurs of relatively large variation and are further dehumanized by being called, most often, "pigs". Also, very frequent is the description of the physical appearances of members of the out-group looming back to in-group fixation of appearance. The aesthetic of individuals is crucial for this particular extremist movement.

The “System”, as described previously, is depicted mainly via hatred against the government and overall modern society, which is described as corrupt, weak, and degenerate and sometimes referred to as a demonic entity or biblically “the Beast”.

To legitimize targeting White people or the White race the Terrorgram Collective utilizes the term race traitor that is used for White people who are not aligned with the extreme right. These “race traitors” are most often humiliated by calling them weak and submissive. Once again, the aspect of race is a strong denominator between in-group and out-group, and those who are not as keen on racism and white supremacism are no longer included in in-group even if they have white skin. DIFG uses this text to enhance the hatred of so-called race traitors: *“Many of Our People mistakenly believe this war is political, and that somehow feigning a moderate or liberal stance, or staying neutral, will shield them from harm. WRONG. The disgusting, Timberland-licking, ethnomasochistic race traitor cucks are shown no mercy whatsoever.”* Moreover, Figure 17 reveals an important dynamic if one supports the “System” and becomes a “race traitor”, they will be subjugated by others. The only option for White people is, thus, revolting.



Figure 17 Page "Necklace for Good Ally" from HR, an example of describing White people as out-group.

### **Instances of Out-Group Threat – The Answer for Unsuccessful Lives**

Perception of out-group threat to in-group is essential for extremist literature (Ebner et al., 2022). This meta-category consists of three subcategories which are existential threat to the in-group, the belief in a conspiracy of the out-group, and the belief in an inevitable war between in-group and out-group.

In documents of Terrorgram Collective, the conspiracy of the out-group is mostly represented in three ways that copy the distinction of out-group. Jews are seen as overlords of the current “System”. In DIFG, one contributor shares the conspiracy that Jews are controlling media to inject depression and fatalist views (“black pill”) onto the in-group with the aim to reduce resistance from the far-right: *“The Jew poisons the media to paint a world of disgust and decay that ultimately seeks to put you down and make you blackpill yourself out of thinking anything can be better.”* This text also shows how the contributors try to exploit the potentially unsuccessful lives of readers which are trying to find alternative perspective on the world as described by Mølmen & Ravndal (2023). Minorities are presented as a threat due to demographics and the Great Replacement conspiracy theory or as a direct threat to supremacists’ lives. LGBTQ+ people are then depicted as a symbol of the decay of current society rather than a direct threat.

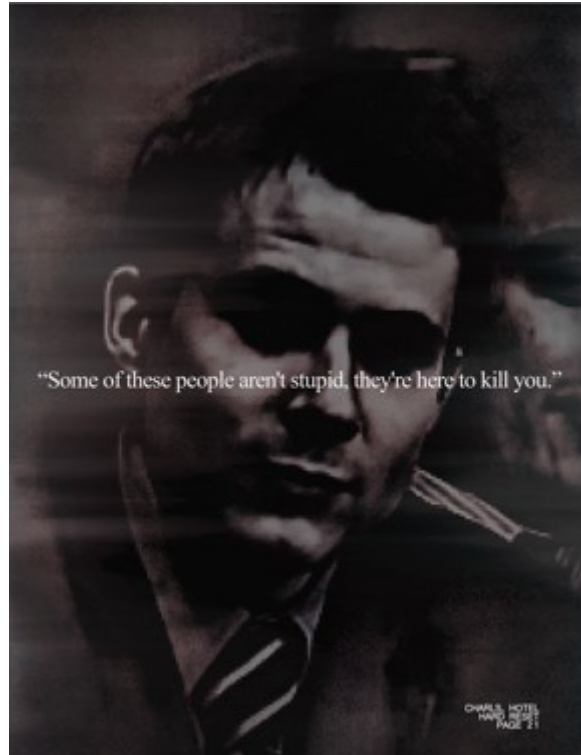


Figure 18 Page from HR, an example of Existential Threat of unspecified Out-group

MA most notably utilizes the Belief in Inevitable War (race war) and also provides the ultimate example of Out-Group Threat described in the previous paragraph in this quote:

*“Allow me to introduce you to THE GENOCIDE PILL. If we cannot win the race war by raising our demographics, and we cannot, then it stands to reason that we can only win the race war by decreasing and indeed eliminating the demographics of the invader races the jews have sent here to replace us.”*

Interestingly, the contributors of militant accelerationism believe that it is they who will bring the war and not the other way around. The reasoning is embedded in the foundations of militant accelerationism as the collapse (or war) will prevent the slow but inevitable decay of the White race. Only war can reverse this outcome from their perspective.

### **Instances of Violence Condoning Norms – Seeking for Transcendence**

The Violence Condoning Norms meta-category proposes the idea of how violence is excused. It consists of four subcategories: Justification of Violence, Martyrdom Narrative,

## Violent Role Model, and Hopelessness of Alternative Solutions.

The Justification of Violence is mainly conveyed by the notion of self-defense against the “System”. The closest document for the Justification of Violence subcategory is MA, hence, Figure 19 showcases the example from MA. The author clearly portrays the wrongdoings of the tyrannical “System” on the in-group and thus, the violence is only defense against such actions of the “System”. Ruby Ridge and Waco Siege is recalled as such wrongdoing with the word massacre and then, it portrays terrorist McVeigh as the only “hero” who did anything against it. Moreover, the text labels McVeigh as a saint.



Figure 19 Page "Ask Yourself" from MA, an example of Justification of Violence as self-defense

Arguably, the most interesting subcategories of Violence Condoning Norms are Violent Role Models and Martyrdom Narrative, which are inextricably linked in researched documents. Firstly, and most notably, the violent role models are previous white supremacists and terrorists, and more often than not, they are only cited as Saints according to Saints Culture. Such role models of Saints include Breivik, McVeigh, Roof, Tarrant, or Hitler. Figure 20 illustrates a great spectrum of mass shooters that are considered Saints by the Terrorgram Collective. In HR, the letter for the next disciples exists to follow the path



of previous terrorists such as Tarrant. These findings are well-documented and included in the literature of this thesis. However, the extent of Saint Culture is much more pronounced than anticipated.

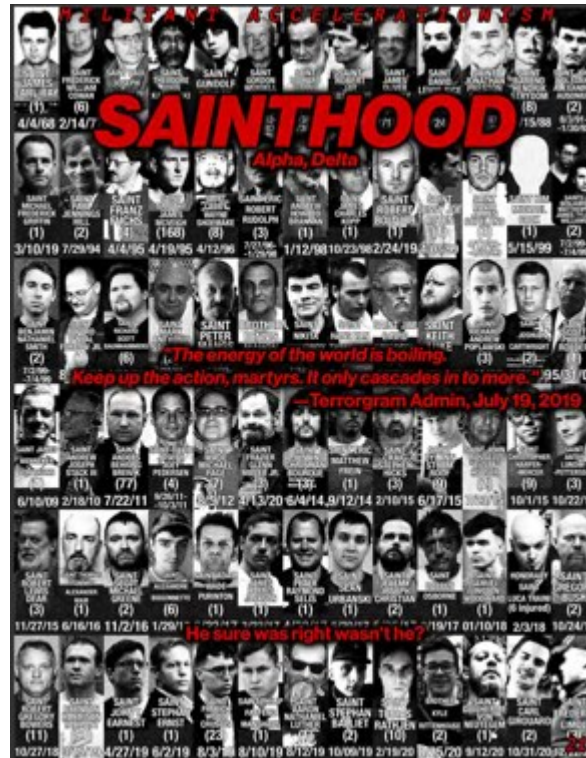


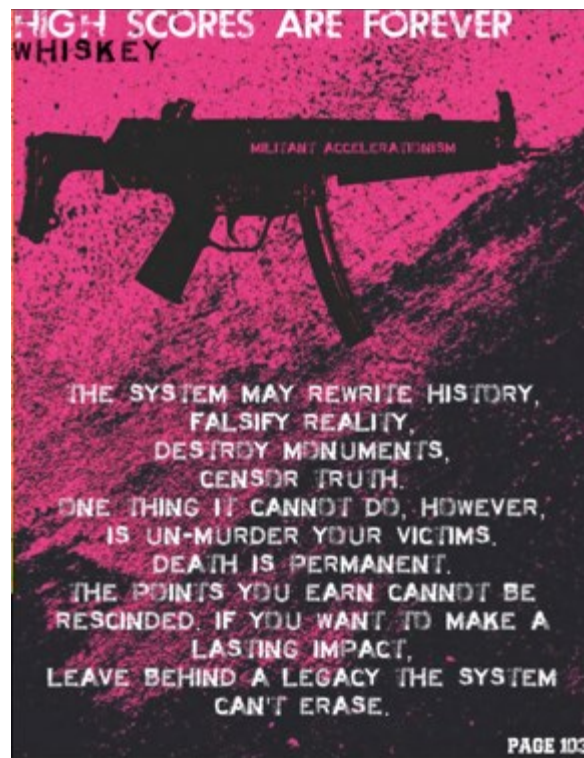
Figure 20 Page "Sainthood" from MA, an example of Saints Culture

The vocabulary of Terrogram Collective is full of religious, and specifically Christian words connected to the overall right-wing extremism. For example, the heading “*dirty bombs are the holy grail of terrorism*” appears in HR. Moreover, one page is named Pray for Terror. In HR. One author writes about how Breivik went through a spiritual transformation in MA. Tarrant is pictured posing as a disciple with angelic wings around him. The terror is often connected to the word holy. Additionally, one page in MA even calls for abandoning atheism as shown in the following text: “*But atheism will be the biggest enemy of your (personal) struggle. You cannot believe in the timeless struggle of National Socialism if you do not even believe in any life before or after death.*” Interestingly, only a few occurrences of Christianization of terror seem to be present in DIFG, where holy terror has been mentioned only a handful of times and no further attempts to adopt Christian symbols can be seen.

The Hopelessness of alternative solutions is significant for the DIFG, but the other



documents use it also. It mainly focuses on the “System” that is perceived as too strong and too rigid to be changed from inside it. For example, MA utilizes the notion the “System” is all-powerful and can do whatever it wants to the extent of rewriting history (Figure 21). Moreover, the page from MA showcases the abuse of the gamification concept with the idea of “points earned” referring to victims of mass shooters to show that this is the only option that will last even against the omnipotent System.



*Figure 21 “High scores are forever” page, an example of Hopelessness of Alternatives in MA with utilization of gamification*

### **Instances of Violence Threats – Step-by-step Detailed Manuals**

The closest document to the category of Calls to Violence (the meta-category Violence Threats consists only of the sub-category Calls to Violence) is HR. Ebner et al. (2022, p. 11) include into this category words such as “bomb”, “slaughter”, “sniper rifle” and more. Due to this inclusion of these words, the category will be in essence somewhat similar to Tactical Lessons proposed by Macklin (2022). Therefore, the following paragraphs provide qualitative insights into instructional materials of Terrorgram Collective mostly and disregard downright calls for violence as several instances were offered in previous chapters.

HR dedicates a whole chapter to guides and instructions on how to carry out terrorist attacks and sabotages. Similar long manuals have not been seen in either DIFG or MA where only anecdotal suggestions were given. However, HR provides rather complex manuals on how to sabotage several types of infrastructure such as trains, cell towers, roads, bridges, and highways. HR pushes the style from simple calls to violence against the System to actual guidelines on how to do it. HR, thus, provides a full package from propaganda content to radicalize individuals to providing detailed instructions. Moreover, the content of HR can be separated into the short format of one or two pages to be more easily digestible and disseminated.

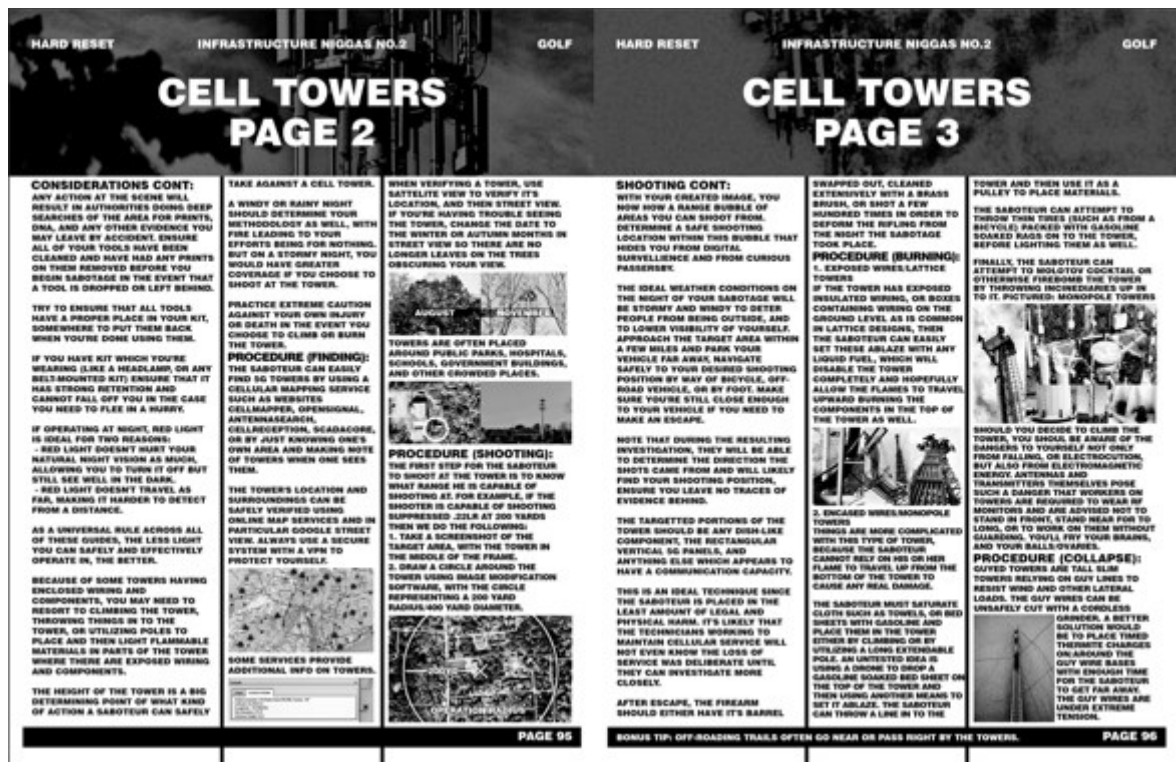


Figure 22 Cell Tower pages from HR, an example of a detailed tactical guide

An example of instructional pages can be seen in Figure 22. The sophistication has not yet been seen in other documents of Terrorgram Collective. Nevertheless, HR proposes also operational lessons on how to establish a terrorist cell, how to communicate with peers, law enforcement if caught, or “normies” (non-extremist) friends. Similarly, HR provides life lessons on financing, housing, and other fields of normal life for an extremist who tries to conceive themselves (e.g. usage of mobile phones, avoiding cameras).

Some materials are also conveyed in gamified format utilizing the popularity of games such as Minecraft or Among Us. For example, one set of pages instructs how to build a makeshift bomb in Minecraft's visuals (Figure 23).

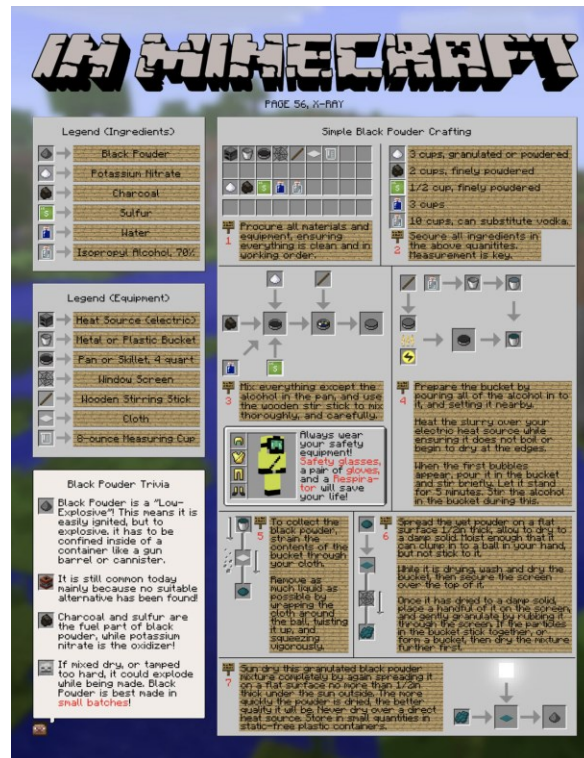


Figure 23 In Minecraft page, an example of gamification on how to construct makeshift bomb.

### 3.4 Discussion

Based on the empirical findings of the documents attributed to the Terrorgram Collective, the quantitative analysis highlights several key themes and narratives of this group that not only capture the trends found in the Literature Review but also explore more nuanced motifs in the Terrorgram Collective's publications. Via the adoption of several quantitative approaches, this thesis ensured the production of a thorough, rigorous, and comprehensive image of these documents as well as validation of the accuracy of the given results across the quantitative analysis. Moreover, qualitative insights were included to enrich the analysis of the contextual observations. This analysis provides an insightful look into the modern thinking of ideological leaders of militant accelerationism who produce original content that others can disseminate and take inspiration.

Firstly, word frequency analysis underscores the persistent thematic preoccupation with the enemy and notorious fixation on the Us vs Them mentality. The enemy is based upon classic Siege Culture framing of the perceived “System”. The “System” is in a classical fascist manner portrayed in two contradictory ways: too strong and too weak at the same time. Moreover, one can see a significant focus on community identification through the use of racially (racist) driven language and in-group identifiers such as “white”, “supremacist”, and “people”.

The shift from the first document, DIFG to the latest one, HR, is underscored by its inclusion of the word “saboteur”, which indicates an evolution toward advocacy for more indirect tactics of violence in a sense not exclusively targeting humans in terrorism but exploiting sabotages as a tool for collapse, suggesting a potential and partial strategic recalibration of the movement.

Secondly, the sentiment analysis explored the prevalence of negative tonality in these documents of the Terrorgram Collective, particularly HR as the most negative document of all researched. The emotional tone of the work of Terrorgram Collective is dominated by emotions of fear and trust (in this context rather distrust). The emotion of fear does have a dualistic purpose: instilling fear of the enemy within the in-group and at the same fostering the fear towards the members of the enemy (system, government, minorities).

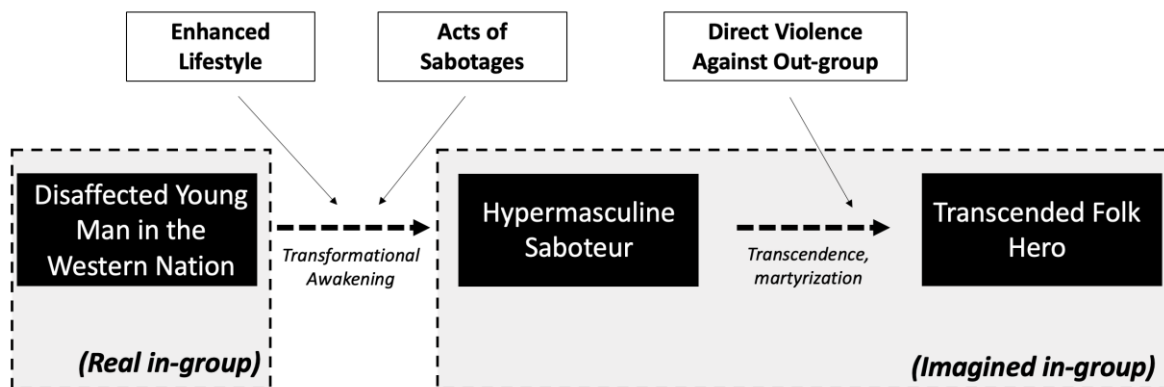
Thirdly, the co-occurrence networks of DIFG, MA, and HR once again show the partial and only relative shift from the ideological focus of DIFG to the tactical guidance of HR mitigated by the second installment, MA, and its story. This evolution showcases the emergence of what seems distinctive saboteur mythos with emphasis on low-level insurgency tactics against societal infrastructure where HR provides detailed manuals on how to carry out such attacks. Additionally, the networks have revealed a consistent pattern of direct-action bigram that suggests the enduring advocacy for direct violence against the “System”. Thus, the endgame has never conceptually changed and the aim of these documents is to bring the collapse of modern society. However, saboteurism might be viewed more valuable to militant accelerationism to bring ordinary people over the edge and to the collapse of society. The quite evident shift to saboteur mythos might be also a tactic to try violence or break the law for the first time to lower the mental barrier of potential

terrorists. Thus, this strategy could be interpreted as an introduction to violence by lower-stake terrorist (sabotage) acts in comparison to mass shootings.

Fourthly, implementing Ebner et al.'s (2023) Fusion-Threat Model (with modified keywords for each category) exposed the most prevalent narrative tools of each document. DIFG appears to be the most ideologically driven document with the potential to be a foundational text of the Terrorgram Collective with the contribution of a large number of authors. MA exists as a more disciplined work with a lower number of authors and with clues that it involves a structured narrative framework compared to the other two documents with content that spans over several pages of the document (long format). MA also precludes the shift to a more tactical guide-like document which HR becomes. HR noticeably focused on the advocacy of tactical violence with an overrepresentation of tactical and operational lessons compared to two other documents, revealing the wider strategic effort of this movement's ideological leaders. However, thematically and structurally, it seems that HR is returning to the patterns of DIFG (most notably of the length of the propagandistic content – short form) rather than sticking with the overall tonality of MA. The short format provides mainly the advantages of easy dissemination among the followers of militant accelerationism. Nevertheless, HR synthesizes DIFG and MA into one full-package document, where authors mainly use a one-page short format (as in DIFG) and MA's visuals of terrorwave.

Thanks to the qualitative approach to the Fusion-Threat Model, several themes emerged. Firstly, the movement seems to heavily take advantage of spirituality and religious vocabulary and push the martyrdom narrative to extreme length. The usage of Christian iconography and vocabulary shows that Terrorgram Collective tries to Christianize the terror and bastardize its messages into their worldview. Moreover, it seems that this shift occurred somewhere between DIFG and MA as DIFG is a strong proponent of Christianity and its symbol as a later publication. In some way, it can be said that Pierce's thesis of Cosmotheism has even greater influence over militant accelerationism than ever. Secondly, the in-group is mainly defined via strength and domination in comparison to others with the underlying narrative of taking back control over their life.

Figure 24 The Self-improvement Path of Terrorgram Collective.



Furthermore, publications seem to provide a linear path of self-improvement from highly Disaffected Young Men (real in-group, expected audience) to Hypermasculine Saboteurs and ultimately to Transcended Folk Heroes<sup>13</sup> via direct violence against out-group to conclude their spiritual transformation (Figure 24). The Terrorgram Collective offers a new purpose for Disaffected Young Men to transform themselves into more masculine, tougher, and in the end more purposeful life Saboteur in the name of militant accelerationism. It is the way out from the passive 99 % of white people to the active 1 % of white revolutionists to stand against the System, people of color, and race traitors.

This transformation is underlined by new enhanced lifestyles proposed in researched publications and also by acts of lower-stakes violence against infrastructure (sabotages). After proving themselves, young men become Hypermasculine Saboteurs. However, this category is already in the realm of Imagined in-group, which in reality does not seem to exist. Imagined in-group serves as the aim, purpose or more aptly promise and model of what becomes from oneself if one dedicates their life to militant accelerationism.

Afterward, if the individual wants to continue and transcend mystically so intertwined with the Terrorgram Collective, he needs to act violently against the out-group similarly to previous right-wing mass shooters. These previous terrorists are thus, portrayed as Saints, and once again the Terrorgram Collective promises this (metaphorical and also esoteric) immortality to their followers. To facilitate the perception of these hideous acts, the

<sup>13</sup> Both categories are labeled as it is their perception by Terrorgram Collective.

Terrorgram Collective pictures mass shooters and terrorists as folk heroes, saviors, or patriots. Hence, the final stage of this self-improvement evolutionary path of Terrorgram Collective is labeled as Transcended Folk Hero. The importance of Figure 24 is twofold. Firstly, it highlights how individuals are directly cultivated along a rather specific trajectory from dissatisfaction to glory. Secondly, the figure underlines the effort of the Terrorgram Collective to build a promise of Imagined in-group to drive the pursuit of a life of significance.

## Conclusion

This work set two research questions that revolve around the dissection of narrative and themes utilized by Terrorgram Collective's publication. This thorough analysis was possible thanks to multilateral quantitative analysis to cross-check the results and then offer qualitative contextual insights to augment the final analysis. The quantitative analysis implemented word frequencies, sentiment analysis, co-occurrence networks, and correspondence analysis based on the Fusion-plus-threat Model. Overall, the quantitative part served as a backbone for this work from which the qualitative approach could be propelled and further deconstruct the writings of the Terrorgram Collective.

### Main Narratives and Themes of Analyzed Publications

The main narratives across all publications of the Terrorgram Collective focus on the notion of the perceived struggle between in-groups based on White race and corrupt and degenerate out-groups identified as the "System" which will result in total war and collapse of current society as predicted by the Literature Review. The dichotomy of these two groups is described by the classic "Us vs Them" mentality of extremists. The supposed clash is inherently rooted in racial identity on all fronts including the non-extremist White population labeled as race traitors. Jews are perceived as corrupted elitists ruling the Earth and other minorities serving them as raw power and utilizing the Great Replacement Conspiracy. Additionally, the in-group consists of collective role models such as Ruby Ridge and Waco Siege which current research seems to underplay their influence on militant accelerationism.

The greater framework of the Enemy is characterized as omnipotent and pathetic at the same time as a classic yet paradoxical motif in fascist rhetoric. Additionally, emotional tones are more directed in a negative course with the prevalence of fear as a category of emotion. The fear emotion serves once again to somewhat paradoxically both instill fear in the in-group and stimulate fear towards the out-group. The Terrorgram Collective seems to consistently employ the Christian iconography and wider spiritual context into their latter work even more than anticipated by the literature review and Saint culture. The other anticipated themes such as eco-fascism, terrorwave aesthetic, and gamification concept emerges in the



publication in a predictable manner.

However, the rather understudied concept of saboteurs has been explored in this thesis. As far as the author's knowledge goes, there are no instances of research on militant accelerationism that accent the saboteur mythos even though the Terrorgram Collective made from this theme its instrumental and core principle. For illustration, a simple search on the Internet does not provide any result when the terms "militant accelerationism" and "saboteur" are combined. Therefore, this work delivers a new insight into modern far-right extremism not only focusing on producing lone wolf mass shooters but also lone wolf saboteurs.

This work also proposes the path of the militant accelerationist as imagined by the Terrorgram Collective. In the beginning, the process starts with an unsatisfied White young man from a Western nation who is trying to find a change in his life and find a purpose. Secondly, a man allegedly transforms into a hypermasculine saboteur via a new tougher, but purer (cutting of modern society) lifestyle and smaller instances of infrastructural violence branded as sabotages to serve as a gateway for further radicalization. Finally, the saboteur evolves into a transcended folk hero thanks to the direct violence against the out-group (see Figure 24). The transcended role model is often depicted as Breivik or Tarrant with a focus on their sainthood.

#### Evolution of the Terrorgram Collective's Propaganda

Over time, the studied documents made by Terrorgram Collective have evolved from foundational and ideologically focused DIFG into a more narrative-driven approach with emphasis on spiritual warfare in MA to culminate in the tactical and operational guide-like publication of HR. The shift includes gradual advocacy for indirect violence on infrastructure culminating in HR which provides detailed manuals for such sabotages. This transition points to a clear shift from theoretical to practical where movement strategy changed from solely propagating the ideas of militant accelerationism to equipping readers

with the dangerous know-how to execute violence against infrastructure and people.

This amalgamation in HR provides a complex package that not only inspires violent actions but also facilitates it with semi-religious justifications and frames it as the spiritual calling of ancestors. The religious aspect of these documents seems to change significantly between DIFG and MA where Christian symbols and imagery commence. Terrorgram Collective has been Christianizing terrorism since then.

In terms of the format of these documents, DIFG mainly relies on short content that resembles posts on social media that convey ideologically driven messages in plain text. MA then employs a longer format of the narrative over several pages of documents with the application of the Terrorwave aesthetic. Subsequently, HR synthesizes both approaches into visual short-format content (with the exception of longer and detailed manuals) to ease the dissemination and consumption of this extremist content. Additionally, this original content will presumably serve as a template and inspiration for other extremists.

Conclusively, this work provides a complex analysis of three publications (DIFG, MA, and HR) made by Terrorgram Collective, a group of militant accelerationists. This thesis serves as a contribution to the scholarly knowledge of Terrorgram which seems to be still understudied due to its novelty. While the foundations of militant accelerationism remain stable and constant, more nuanced mechanisms such as instructional materials and the theme of saboteurs have become more detailed and potentially more effective. Hence, the theme of saboteurs should be more stressed in future research on modern right-wing extremism. Moreover, HR is proof of the rising skill set of the Terrorgram Collective authors regarding audiovisual content but also technical knowledge to write detailed manuals. Therefore, this thesis may serve as a valuable resource on the militant accelerationism milieu and its evolution within a prominent group of ideological leaders as a breeding ground for emerging

extremist trends for policy-makers and future researchers.

## Summary

Tato diplomová práce se zabývala narativy a tématy v publikacích skupiny Terrorgram Collective. Využívala kvantitativní i kvalitativní analýzy. V rámci kvantitativních analýz, které sloužily jako páteř této práce, byly využity frekvence slov, analýza sentiment, kookureční sítě párů slov a korespondenční analýza využitého fusion-plus-threat modelu. Hlavní narativy v těchto dokumentech se zaměřovaly na rasové rozdělení a vnímaný boj mezi in-groups a out-groups. Koncept sabotérů se v rámci Terrorgram Collective objevil jako emergentní jev především přítomný v nejnovější publikaci. Tento fenomén nabízí nový pohled na moderní krajně pravicový extremismus. Vývoj obsahu v těchto publikacích se posunul od ideologických základů k obsahu více zaměřenému na praktické návody na násilí, které vyvrcholily podrobnými příručkami pro sabotáže. Dalším zjištěním bylo popsání *realné* a *imaginární* in-group Terrorgram Collective a jejich představě o povznesení v rámci vlivu esotericismu na moderní pravici s přehlednutím na postupnou christianizaci tohoto hnutí. Tato práce přispívá k pochopení militantního akcelerationismu a zdůrazňuje, že v budoucím výzkumu je třeba klást větší důraz na témata, jako jsou sabotéři. Kromě toho zdůrazňuje rostoucí sofistikovanost tvorby extremistického obsahu a důležitost sledování takového vývoje.

## List of References

- ADL. (2013). *National Alliance: A Backgrounder*. adl.org.  
<https://www.adl.org/resources/backgrounder/national-alliance-backgrounder>
- AM, A. B., & Weimann, G. (2020). Fabricated Martyrs: The Warrior-Saint Icons of Far-Right Terrorism The Warrior-Saint Icons of Far-Right Terrorism on JSTOR. *Perspective on Terrorism*, 14(5). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26940043>
- Amend, A. (2020, July 9). *Blood and vanishing topsoil*. Political Research Associates.  
<https://politicalresearch.org/2020/07/09/blood-and-vanishing-topsoil>
- Beauchamp, Z. (2019, November 18). Accelerationism: the idea inspiring white supremacist killers around the world. *Vox*. <https://www.vox.com/the-highlight/2019/11/11/20882005/accelerationism-white-supremacy-christchurch>
- Beckett, A. (2021, September 8). Accelerationism: how a fringe philosophy predicted the future we live in. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/11/accelerationism-how-a-fringe-philosophy-predicted-the-future-we-live-in>
- Bernardo, I., & Kriner, M. (2023, September 25). 'A New Image of Terror and Dread': The Significance of Dark Foreigner's arrest. GNET. <https://gnet-research.org/2023/09/25/the-significance-of-dark-foreigners-arrest/>
- Berntzen, L. E., & Bjørge, T. (2021). The Term 'Lone Wolf' and its Alternatives: Patterns of Public and Academic Use from 2000 to 2020. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 15(3), 132–141.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/27030886>
- Berntzen, L. E., & Ravndal, J. A. (2021). Monster or hero? Far-right responses to Anders Behring Breivik and the 22 July terrorist attacks. *Perspective on Terrorism*, 15(3).  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/27030881>
- Borum, R. (2011). Radicalization into Violent Extremism I: A Review of Social Science Theories. *Journal of Strategic Security*, 4(4), 7–36. <https://doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.4.4.1>
- Bullock, P., & Kerry, E. (2017, January 30). Trumpwave and Fashwave Are Just the Latest Disturbing Examples of the Far-Right Appropriating Electronic Music. *Vice*.

<https://www.vice.com/en/article/mgwk7b/trumpwave-fashwave-far-right-appropriation-vaporwave-synthwave>

Davey, J., Comerford, M., Guhl, J., Baldet, W., & Colliver, C. (2021). *A Taxonomy for the Classification of Post-Organisational Violent Extremist & Terrorist Content*. Institute for Strategic Dialogue. <https://www.isdglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/A-Taxonomy-for-the-Classification-of-Post-Organisational-Violent-Extremist-Terrorist-Content.pdf>

Deterding, S., Dixon, D., Khaled, R., & Nacke, L. E. (2011). From game design elements to gamefulness. *Proceedings of the 15th International Academic MindTrek Conference: Envisioning Future Media Environments*. <https://doi.org/10.1145/2181037.2181040>

Digital Forensic Lab [DFL]. (2021, December 14). Terrorgram: A community built on hate - DFRLab - Medium. *Medium*. <https://medium.com/dfrlab/terrorgram-a-community-built-on-hate-e02fd59ee329>

Ebner, J., Kavanagh, C. M., & Whitehouse, H. (2022). Is there a language of terrorists? A Comparative manifesto analysis. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 1–27. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610x.2022.2109244>

Eco, U. (2005). Eternal Fascism. *Blesok literatura i drugi umetnosti*, (41).

Gais, H., & Squire, M. (2021, February 16). *How an Encrypted Messaging Platform is Changing Extremist Movements*. Southern Poverty Law Center. <https://www.splcenter.org/news/2021/02/16/how-encrypted-messaging-platform-changing-extremist-movements>

Ganor, B. (2021). Understanding the Motivations of “Lone Wolf” Terrorists: The “Bathtub” Model. *Perspective on Terrorism*, 15(2), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27007294>.

Hanrahan, J. (2018). *There’s a bit of an obsession on the Internet with “war aesthetics” and “Terrorwave”. It’s fascinating and unsettling. It removes the reality of the violence war brings, whilst also showing how bored young men in the West desire a violent past they’ve no perception of*. Twitter. [https://twitter.com/Jake\\_Hanrahan/status/1011294797171130370?s=20](https://twitter.com/Jake_Hanrahan/status/1011294797171130370?s=20)

Hanrahan, J. (2020). *The Bratislava Terrorgram Shooting* (episode 168).

<https://open.spotify.com/episode/3psWyLGuzsk9pRaInaYtTL?si=6c068cd17a6d43ef>

Hartleb, F. (2020). Lone Wolves. In *Springer eBooks*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-36153-2>

Hendry, J., & Lemieux, A. F. (2021). The visual and rhetorical styles of Atomwaffen Division and their implications. *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict*, 14(2), 138–159.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/17467586.2021.1913203>

Herath, C., & Whittaker, J. (2021). Online radicalisation: moving beyond a simple dichotomy. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 35(5), 1027–1048.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2021.1998008>

Institute of Strategic Dialogue. (2023, April 17). Extremism - ISD. ISD.

<https://www.isdglobal.org/extremism/>

Institute of Strategic Dialogue. (2024, January 30). *Accelerationism - ISD*. ISD.

<https://www.isdglobal.org/explainers/accelerationism/>

Johnson, B., & Feldman, M. (2021). Siege Culture After Siege: Anatomy of a Neo-Nazi Terrorist Doctrine. In *ICCT*. International Centre for Counter-Terrorism - The Hague.

<https://www.icct.nl/sites/default/files/2022-12/siege-culture-neo-nazi-terrorist-doctrine.pdf>

Kaati, L., Shrestha, A., & Cohen, K. M. (2016). Linguistic analysis of lone offender manifestos. *EEE International Conference on Cybercrime and Computer Forensic (ICCCF)*.

<https://doi.org/10.1109/icccf.2016.7740427>

Kaczynski, T. (2020). *Ecofascism: an aberrant branch of leftism*. The Anarchist Library.

<https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/ted-kaczynski-ecofascism-an-aberrant-branch-of-leftism>

Kelley, B. J. (2017, October 17). *Fashwave, the Electronic Music of the Alt-Right, is Just More Hateful*. Southern Poverty Law Center.

<https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2017/10/17/fashwave-electronic-music-alt-right-just-more-hateful-subterfuge>

Kirby, A. (2007). The London Bombers as “Self-Starters”: A Case Study in Indigenous

- Radicalization and the Emergence of Autonomous Cliques. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 30(5), 415–428. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100701258619>
- Kriner, M. (2022, June 22). *An Introduction to Militant Accelerationism — ARC*. ARC. <https://www.accresearch.org/shortanalysis/an-introduction-to-militant-accelerationism>
- Kriner, M., & Ihler, B. (2022, September 12). *Analysing Terrorgram Publications: a new digital Zine*. GNET. <https://gnet-research.org/2022/09/12/analysing-terrorgram-publications-a-new-digital-zine/>
- Köchler, D. (2019). Violence and Terrorism from the Far-Right: Policy Options to Counter an Elusive Threat. ICCT Research Paper. <https://doi.org/10.19165/2019.2.02>
- Kupper, J., Rekawek, K., & Kriner, M. (2023). Terrorgram’s First Saint: Analyzing Accelerationist Terrorism in Bratislava. In *ResearchGate*. Accelerationism Research Consortium. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/369618635\\_Terrorgram%27s\\_First\\_Saint\\_Analyzing\\_Accelerationist\\_Terrorism\\_in\\_Bratislava](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/369618635_Terrorgram%27s_First_Saint_Analyzing_Accelerationist_Terrorism_in_Bratislava)
- Lakhani, S., White, J., & Wallner, C. (2022). THE GAMIFICATION OF (VIOLENT) EXTREMISM. In *home-affairs.ec.europa.eu*. European Commission. [https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2022-09/RAN%20Policy%20Support-%20gamification%20of%20violent%20extremism\\_en.pdf](https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2022-09/RAN%20Policy%20Support-%20gamification%20of%20violent%20extremism_en.pdf)
- Larsen, J. F. (2022). The Identitarian movement and fashwave music: The nostalgia and anger of the new far right in Denmark. *Popular Music*, 41(2), 152–169. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0261143022000022>
- Lewis, J., & Ingram, H. J. (2023). *Founding Fathers of the Modern American Neo-Nazi Movement: Founding Fathers of the Modern American Neo-Nazi Movement: The Impacts and Legacies of Louis Beam, William Luther Pierce, The Impacts and Legacies of Louis Beam, William Luther Pierce, and James Mason*. National Counterterrorism Innovation, Technology, and Education Center at George Washington University. <https://digitalcommons.unomaha.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1034&context=ncitereportsresearch>

- Lewis, J., Molloy, J., & Macklin, G. (2023, April 27). *The Lineage of Violence: Saints culture and militant accelerationist terrorism*. GNET. <https://gnet-research.org/2023/04/27/the-lineage-of-violence-saints-culture-and-militant-accelerationist-terrorism/>
- Loadenthal, M. (2022). Feral fascists and deep green guerrillas: infrastructural attack and accelerationist terror. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 15(1), 169–208.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2022.2031129>
- Lombardi, M. (2022, November 2). *TERRORGRAM: from Buffalo to Bratislava – by Federico Borgonovo & Ali Fisher*. ITSTIME. <https://www.itstime.it/w/terrorgram-from-buffalo-to-bratislava-by-federico-borgonovo-e-ali-fisher/>
- Macklin, G. (2019, March 21). *The El Paso terrorist attack: The chain reaction of global Right-Wing Terror*. Combating Terrorism Center at West Point. <https://ctc.westpoint.edu/el-paso-terrorist-attack-chain-reaction-global-right-wing-terror/>
- Macnair, L. (2023, June 28). *Understanding Fashwave: The Alt-Right's Ever-Evolving Media Strategy*. GNET. <https://gnet-research.org/2023/06/28/understanding-fashwave-the-alt-rights-ever-evolving-media-strategy/>
- Makuch, B., & Lamoureux, M. (2021, July 8). Unmasking ‘Dark Foreigner’: The Artist Who Fueled a Neo-Nazi Terror Movement. *Vice*.  
<https://www.vice.com/en/article/93ynv8/unmasking-dark-foreigner-the-artist-who-fuelled-a-neo-nazi-terror-movement>
- Miller, C. (2018). *McInnes, Molyneux, and 4chan: Investigating pathways to the alt-right*. Southern Poverty Law Center. <https://www.splcenter.org/20180419/mcinn-es-molyneux-and-4chan-investigating-pathways-alt-right#lolbertarians>
- Molloy, J. (2023, April 5). *TerrorWave: The aesthetics of violence and terrorist imagery in militant accelerationist subcultures*. GNET. <https://gnet-research.org/2023/04/05/terrorwave-the-aesthetics-of-violence-and-terrorist-imagery-in-militant-accelerationist-subcultures/>
- Molloy, J., & Macklin, G. (2022). *Ted Kaczynski, Anti-Technology Radicalism and Eco-Fascism*. International Centre for Counter-Terrorism - ICCT. <https://www.icct.nl/publication/ted->



- Mølmen, G. N., & Ravndal, J. A. (2021). Mechanisms of online radicalisation: how the internet affects the radicalisation of extreme-right lone actor terrorists. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, 1–25.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19434472.2021.1993302>
- Pennebaker, J. W., & Chung, C. K. (2008). Computerized text analysis of al-Qaeda transcripts. In K. Krippendorff & M. A. Bock (Eds.), *The Content Analysis Reader*. Sage.  
[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/237418411\\_Computerized\\_Text\\_Analysis\\_of\\_Al-Qaeda\\_Transcripts](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/237418411_Computerized_Text_Analysis_of_Al-Qaeda_Transcripts)
- Pinto, A. T. (2019). Capitalism with a Transhuman Face. *Third Text*, 33(3), 315–336.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09528822.2019.1625638>
- RAN [Radicalisation Awareness Network]. (2020). Extremists’ Use of Video Gaming - Strategies and Narratives. In *home-affairs.ec.europa.eu*. European Union Comission. [https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2020-11/ran\\_cn\\_conclusion\\_paper\\_videogames\\_15-17092020\\_en.pdf](https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2020-11/ran_cn_conclusion_paper_videogames_15-17092020_en.pdf)
- Regeni, P. (2023, May 31). *Accelerationism meets gamification: A look at the convergence in the framing of online narratives*. GNET. <https://gnet-research.org/2023/05/31/accelerationism-meets-gamification-a-look-at-the-convergence-in-the-framing-of-narratives-online/>
- Sailer, M., Hense, J., Mayr, S. K., & Mandl, H. (2017). How gamification motivates: An experimental study of the effects of specific game design elements on psychological need satisfaction. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 69, 371–380.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2016.12.033>
- Schlegel, L. (2021a). Connecting, competing, and trolling: “User types” in digital gamified radicalization processes. *Perspectives on Terrorism*. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27044235>
- Schlegel, L. (2021b, July 12). *Competing, connecting, having fun: How gamification could make extremist content more appealing*. GNET. <https://gnet-research.org/2021/07/12/competing-connecting-having-fun-how-gamification-could-make-extremist-content-more-appealing/>

- Shadnia, D., Newhouse, A., Kriner, M., & Bradley, A. (2022). Militant Accelerationism Coalitions: A Case Study in Neo-Fascist Accelerationist Coalition Building Online. In *Tech Against Terrorism*. Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey Center on Terrorism, Extremism, and Counterterrorism.
- [https://www.techagainstterrorism.org/hubfs/CTEC\\_\\_TAT-Accelerationism-Report-.pdf](https://www.techagainstterrorism.org/hubfs/CTEC__TAT-Accelerationism-Report-.pdf)
- SPLC. (n.d.). *James Mason*. Southern Poverty Law Center. <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/james-mason>
- Sweeney, M. (2017). Leaderless Resistance and the Truly Leaderless: A Case study test of the Literature-Based Findings. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42(7), 617–635.
- <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610x.2017.1407480>
- Upchurch, H. E. (2021, December 22). *The Iron March Forum and the evolution of the “Skull Mask” Neo-Fascist network*. Combating Terrorism Center at West Point.
- <https://ctc.westpoint.edu/the-iron-march-forum-and-the-evolution-of-the-skull-mask-neo-fascist-network/>
- VSquare. (2023, November 12). *Bratislava terrorist radicalized on Terrorgram, its members take credit - VSquare.org*. VSquare.org. <https://vsquare.org/bratislava-terrorist-radicalized-on-terrorgram-its-members-take-credit/>
- Walther, S., & McCoy, A. (2021). US extremism on Telegram: fueling disinformation, conspiracy theories, and accelerationism. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 15(2), 100–124.
- <https://search.bvsalud.org/global-literature-on-novel-coronavirus-2019-ncov/resource/en/covidwho-1339997>
- Ware, J. (2019). Siege: The Atomwaffen Division and Rising Far-Right Terrorism in the United States. In *Jstor*. ICCT. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep19615>
- Ware, J. (2020). Testament to Murder: The Violent Far-Right’s Increasing Use of Terrorist Manifestos. In *icct.nl*. International Centre for Counter-Terrorism - The Hague.
- <https://www.icct.nl/sites/default/files/import/publication/Jaocb-Ware-Terrorist-Manifestos2.pdf>

- Whitehouse, H. (2018). Dying for the group: Towards a general theory of extreme self-sacrifice. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 41. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0140525x18000249>
- Whitsel, B. (1998). The Turner Diaries and Cosmotheism: William Pierce's Theology. *Nova Religio*, 1(2), 183–197. <https://doi.org/10.1525/nr.1998.1.2.183>
- Zdút, M., & Osvaldová, L. (2022, October 17). Podezřelého z útoku u bratislavského baru našli mrtvého, před střelbou zveřejnil manifest proti Židům a LGBTQ. *Deník N*. <https://denikn.cz/985753/podezreleho-z-utoku-u-bratislavskeho-baru-nasli-mrtveho-pred-strelbou-zverejnil-manifest-proti-zidum-a-lgbti/?ref=list>

## List of Appendices

Appendix no. 1: Categories and modified keywords of Threat-Fusion Model (table)

| Category                              | Keywords                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| In-Group Identification               | we, us, our, european, accelerationism, race, europe, people, conservative, indigenous, non-Muslim, justiciar, patriot, martyr, nationalist, people, anon, white, whites, aryan, ethnic, revolutionist, believer, community, nazi, identity, order, national, socialist, people, friend                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| In-Group Identity Fusion              | brother, brothers, sister, sons, daughters, kin, solidarity, family, fellow, comrades, blood, bloodline, ancestry, descendant, ancestor, brethren, birthrate, son, daughter, loyalty, bond, bonding, fellowship, brotherhood                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Calls to Violence/Tactical Lessons    | executed, execution, punished, punishment, death, kill, massacre, rifle, bleed, attack, destroy, retribution, revenge, punish, eradicate, starve, die, tear, torture, behead, guns, hell, chaos, tracks, sabotage, saboteur, slaughter, revolution, burn, shoot, flamethrowers, firearm, knife, assassination, hang, weapon, grenade, bomb, fire, Molotov, fight, brutal, violence, mortar, rail, rails,                                                                                                               |
| Out-Group Slurs <sup>14</sup>         | kike, nigger, negro, spic, fag, fags, goyim, golem, jew, jewry, bitch, whore, libtard, jewish, semitic, yid                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Out-Group Demonization                | traitor, corrupt, evil, enemy, enemies, vicious, barbaric, depraved, vile, puppets, perversion, blood, crimes, cruel, bloody, genocidal, rotting, sinful, deceitful, invader, poison, depraved, menace, brutal, ruthless, bloodsucking, dirty, deceptive, treacherous, poisonous, oppression, oppressive, shirk, unbeliever, immoral, pollute, demolish, arrogant, mischievous, criminal, deceivers, liars, system, nonwhites, immigration, immigrant, hatred, capitalist, capitalists, liberal, liberals, police, cop |
| Out-Group Dehumanization              | animal, plague, impure, brute, dog, being, inferior, squalid, parasitic, parasite, creature, trash, filth, vermin, spider, devil, monster, beast, reptile, reptilian, snake, cockroach, target, targets, scum, pig, pigs, breed, cockroach, roach, retard, retards, system                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Existential Threat to In-Group        | subjected, coerced, brainwashed, exterminated, brutalized, brutal, brutality, raped, rape, terrorized, terror, ravaged, robbed, replace, subjugate, replaced, destroyed, overwhelmed, disenfranchise, bloodshed, slave, subvert, destroy, assault, survive, kill, running out of time, enslavement, suffer, plunder, suffering, destruction, danger, annihilation, extinction, decay, siege, collapse, genocide                                                                                                        |
| Belief in Out-Group Conspiracy        | betray, betrayal, sell, sold, collude, colluded, conspire, fake, fraud, corruption, corrupt, ZOG, replacement, conspiracy, crime, law, enforcement, scheme, trickery, manipulation, chem, artifice, cabal                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Belief in Inevitable War              | war, battle, fight, imminent, inevitable, looming, started, already, warfare, combat, military,                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Justification for Violence            | pre-emptive, defend, protect, self-defense, self-defence, forced, defense, purified, purify, manright, struggle, invasion, clash, skirmish                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Martyrdom Narrative                   | glory, sacrifice, knight, martyr, selflessly, protecting, protector, immortal, preservation, guard, guarding, angel, freed, redemption, resistance, transcend, transcends, transcended                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Violent Role Model                    | breivik, tarrant, hitler, christchurch, poway, paso, waco, macveigh, kaczynski, mason, roof, hero, heroes, role, model, saint, sainthood, inspiring, inspire, inspiration, support, influenced, crusius, pierce, tommasi, rockwell, turner,                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Hopelessness of Alternative Solutions | democracy, democratic, peaceful, political, politics, dialogue, passivity, meaningless, weakness, failed, end, vanish, man-made, empire, tyranny, opposition, system, tyrannical                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |

<sup>14</sup> Even though, words such as “Jew” and “Semitic” are in no means slurs, the Terrorgram Collective has definitely used them in this way and therefore, they were added into this category.

