From Words to Weapons: Leveraging Right-Wing Extremist Manifestos in prevention and preparedness work.
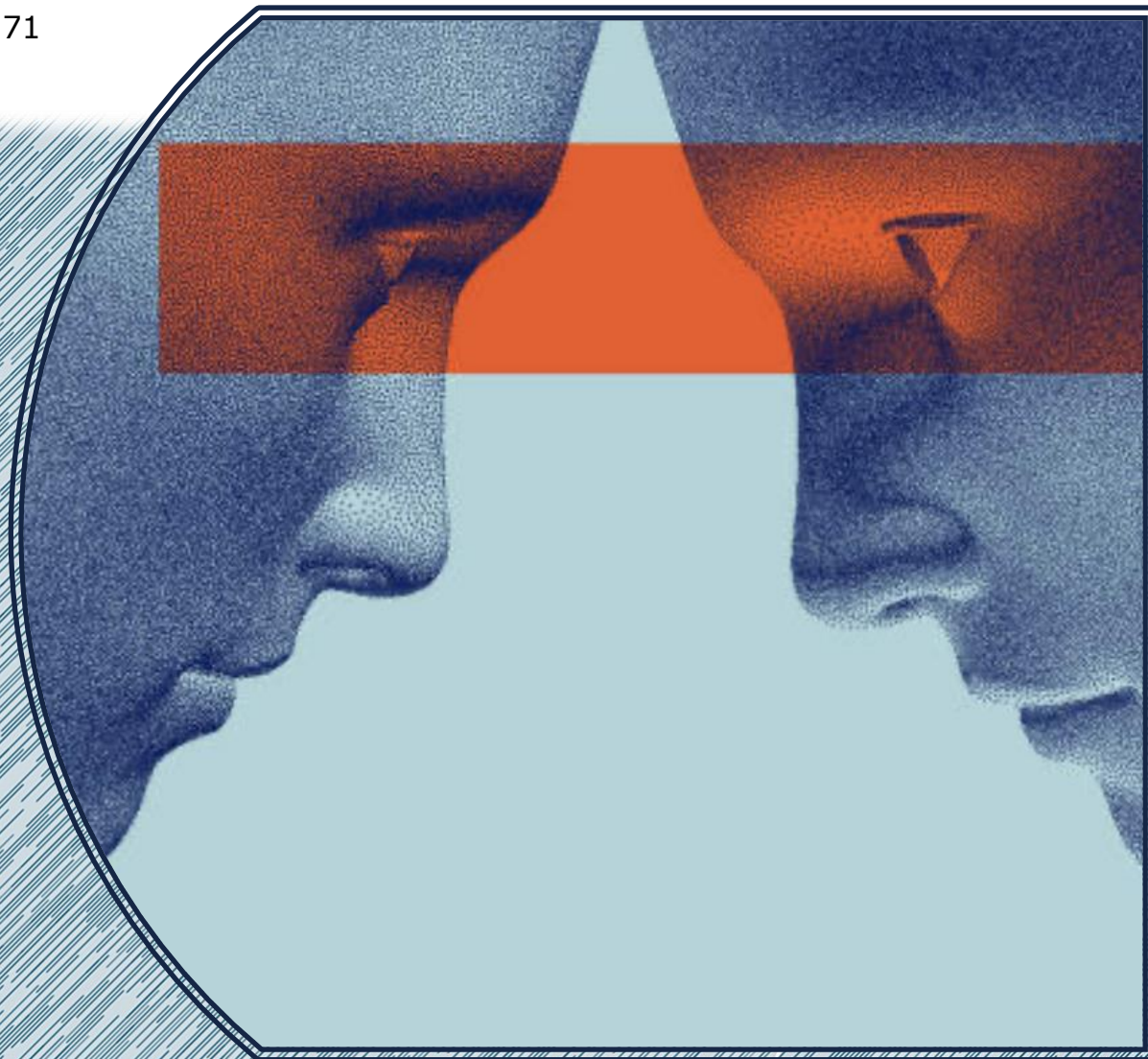
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Abstract

This master's thesis explores the potential use of terrorist manifestos in enhancing counterterrorism prevention and preparedness. It centres on the analysis of six manifestos authored by notorious right-wing extremists: Anders Behring Breivik, Dylann Roof, Brenton Tarrant, John Earnest, Patrick Crusius, and Juraj Krajčík. The primary research question investigates how these manifestos can be leveraged to benefit counterterrorism efforts. The study identifies these documents' ideological motives, common themes, and radicalisation indicators through qualitative content analysis and interviews. It further argues that understanding these manifestos can provide valuable insights for developing targeted measures to prevent terrorist attacks and create counternarratives to hinder radicalisation. It also addresses the ethical considerations of using such materials, ensuring data collection and analysis are conducted securely and ethically. The findings aim to contribute to a more effective and informed approach to counterterrorism by utilising the communicative aspects of terrorist violence.

Sammendrag

Denne masteroppgaven undersøker hvordan terrormanifester skrevet av høyreorienterte ekstremister kan brukes for å forbedre forebyggingen av og beredskapen mot terrorisme. Gjennom en grundig analyse av manifestene til Anders Behring Breivik, Dylann Roof, Brenton Tarrant, John Earnest, Patrick Crusius og Juraj Krajčík, identifiseres ideologiske motiver, felles temaer og tegn på radikalisering, gjennom kvalitativ innholdsanalyse og intervjuer. Studien argumenterer for at en dypere forståelse av disse manifestene kan gi uvurderlig innsikt for å utvikle målrettede tiltak mot terrorangrep og skape effektive mot-fortellinger. Samtidig adresseres de etiske utfordringene knyttet til bruk av slikt materiale, og det legges vekt på sikker og etisk forsvarlig datainnsamling og analyse. Målet er å bidra til en mer effektiv og kunnskapsbasert tilnærming til terrorbekjempelse ved å utnytte de kommunikative aspektene som kan føre til politisk motivert vold.

Acknowledgement

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Elise Reinholdtsen
Tromsø, June 02, 2024.

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1. Introduction

In today's society, terrorist manifestos have become a key tool for far-right extremists to spread hatred and maintain their ideological representations on a global scale through the internet. These manifestos, which are often published in connection with terrorist acts, aim to inspire new terrorist attacks and are thus inextricably linked to the communicative nature of terrorist violence. This thesis explores this and uses Norway as a starting point.

To answer the upcoming questions, the thesis will examine six different terrorist manifestos to see how this form of communication can be used in counter-terrorism work. The manifestos on which the thesis is based are written by right-wing extremist terrorists: Anders Behring Breivik, Dylann Roof, Brenton Tarrant, John Earnest, Patrick Crusius and Juraj Krajčík. Through a qualitative content analysis, the manifestos will be examined to identify commonalities, ideological motives and potential indicators of radicalisation.

Furthermore, the thesis will be based on interviews with informants in the field to gain a deeper insight into how terrorist manifestos are perceived and used in practice.

Thus, I present the main research question: "***How can the use of terrorist manifestoes bring advantages for work on terrorism prevention and preparedness work?***" alongside three sub-questions:

Q1: In what way are terror manifestoes linked to each other?
Q2: To what degree are terrorist manifestoes considered a tool for radicalisation?
Q3: Can terrorist manifestoes be used to counter terrorist acts and thereby strengthen terrorism prevention?

The aim of the thesis is to contribute to an increased understanding of how terrorist manifestos can be used as a tool to prevent and combat right-wing extremist terrorism. By identifying patterns and radicalisation tendencies in the manifestos, one can potentially develop more targeted and effective measures to prevent future attacks or at least create counternarratives to hinder radicalisation.

1.1 Purpose, contribution and ethical considerations

Throughout this, I will gain a deeper understanding of the role terrorist manifestos play in the radicalisation processes and how they can be exploited by intelligence services to understand how the communication from terrorists, through their manifestos, and then to the general population, as well as their own environments can lead to potential terrorist threats or incidents, and what appears credible or not.

I do not claim in this thesis that terrorist manifestos are everything but that they have a role to play. By understanding these individuals' motives through their own communication, one may also gain a greater insight into the environments they operate in after an operation since terrorist manifestoes are a part of the act itself, as well as how their words linger in the aftermath of it. With this, this task can possibly contribute to the intelligence picture through the terrorists' own words.

Even though the thesis does not directly access the intelligence service through informants, it has nevertheless managed to shed light on how terrorist manifestos can be used in counterterrorism preparedness. However, the degree of their actual use and impact remains an open question that requires further research or answers from the intelligence directly.

Throughout this process, I have also been extremely aware of the ethical issues that come with writing a thesis on terrorism, which is why I have chosen not to include the terrorist manifestos as attachments because I do not want to spread the terrorists' propaganda. Their words in this assignment are seen in the context of prevention and preparedness; therefore, reading the text in this context is encouraged. However, the manifestos used and analysed for the purposes of this study are available from the author on reasonable request. Furthermore, I use recognised data collection methods and ensure that this data is stored and processed securely and ethically soundly (Tjora, 2017, pp. 46-50).

Regarding my role as a researcher, I have always been aware of how my assumptions and perspectives can affect this research. To counteract this and maintain validity, I have, therefore, based myself on good sources and informants, and the analysis is also based on this.

1.2 Structure of the thesis

The structure of the thesis also refers to the theoretical and methodological framework as Chapter 1 presents the research question and sub-questions, as well as the structure of the thesis, Chapter 2 is a literature review, Chapter 3 is a theoretical framework that includes definitions of key concepts such as terrorist manifestos, terrorism, the far right, and accelerationism as well as a conceptual framework for understanding how terrorist manifestos can be used in counterterrorism. Chapter 4 is the method chapter, which provides an overview of the methods' typology and taxonomy, as well as qualitative interviews and document analysis. Furthermore, the two pillars within this thesis are presented in two separate empirical chapters, corresponding to Chapters 5-6, where the first part examines the strategic framework for intelligence operations in Norway, the threat picture, and the role of PST in

counterterrorism. The second part looks at six terrorist manifestos of far-right terrorists, including Breivik, Roof, Tarrant, Earnest, Crusius and Krajčík, as well as examines their ideological frameworks, motivations and potential influence on right-wing extremism. This is followed by the analysis in Chapter 7 of how terrorist manifestos are influenced by predecessors and a framework is established for categorising them based on nationalism, then a discussion of their role as radicalisation tools. In the concluding chapters, I present what I think should be looked at in further research in Chapter 8. In Chapter 9, I present the conclusion.

In the continuation, I present the literature review, summarising this thesis's sources from other authors who have provided a good basis for this research.

2. Literature Review

Primary sources

In this thesis, the terrorist manifestos are included as primary sources. They provide insight into right-wing extremist ideologies and strategies and are crucial for understanding and countering radicalisation and terrorist threats in this context. In addition, they provide insight into personal radicalisation trajectories and contain detailed descriptions of the tactical and strategic assessments that underpin terrorist acts, which I can contrast with counterintelligence.

The National Threat Assessments from the Norwegian Police Security Service (PST) provide a detailed analysis of the greatest threats to Norway's security (PST et al., 2024). These reports are essential for understanding the threat picture that Norway is facing, including extreme Islamist and right-wing extremist groups. The National Threat Assessments provide specific details on how radicalisation occurs, particularly through digital platforms, and how these threats evolve. This enables researchers and policymakers to develop targeted measures to prevent terrorist acts and counter radicalisation.

Furthermore, the Action Plan against Radicalisation and Violent Extremism can outline concrete measures to prevent radicalisation and combat violent extremism (beredskapsdepartementet, 2020). The action plan covers a range of strategies, from early prevention and intervention to cooperation between different authorities and civil society. The action plan is important because it provides a structured approach to how Norway addresses radicalisation. It highlights the importance of interdisciplinary collaboration and provides insight into how the authorities plan to deal with the challenges associated with radicalisation.

Subsequently, the report from the 25 June Committee: Evaluation of PST and the Police will critically analyse the strengths and weaknesses of existing security structures and procedures (Jansen, 2023). The evaluation includes details of how PST and the police have reacted to previous terrorist threats and incidents. It provides recommendations for improvements in both operational and strategic approaches to counterterrorism. By highlighting specific examples and case studies, the report provides valuable insights into how security services can be improved to address future threats more effectively.

These three reports are valuable primary sources that provide comprehensive insight into Norway's threat picture and give me insight into how intelligence works in the field of counterterrorism. By looking at these documents, I can examine existing measures and build on them.

In addition to these reports, the article *"Extreme-Right Violence and Terrorism: Concepts, Patterns, and Responses"* by Tore Bjørgo and Jacob Ravndal provides a conceptualisation of the extreme right, distinguishes between different forms of right-wing extremist violence and terrorism and provides recommendations for how authorities should respond (Bjørgo & Ravndal, 2019). The document is important because it provides a deeper understanding of the target selection, actors, patterns of action and conditions that facilitate right-wing extremist violence and how these differ from jihadist terrorism. This makes it possible to develop more effective counterstrategies.

Finally, I have included the documentaries The White Anger and Sons of the North as primary sources (Gulliksen, 2023; Skolsegg, 2023b). This is because the documentarians provide a direct insight into the right-wing radical environments in the Nordic countries and to some extent, Europe. These documentaries contain interviews with experts in right-wing extremism and radicalisation, as well as interviews with personnel from

PST, which in turn provide an even greater insight into how the intelligence worked in this area and thus give this thesis more perspectives from this side.

Secondary sources

Furthermore, I will present the secondary sources that help to provide an in-depth study next to the primary sources. First, Jacob Ware analyses the manifestos of far-right terrorists and how they are used to spread ideology, motivation, and tactical choices in *"Testament to Murder: The Violent Far-Right's Increasing Use of Terrorist Manifestos" (Ware, 2020).* Ware identifies common themes in the manifestos and discusses their implications for counterterrorism. This secondary source provides a deeper understanding of how the manifestos function as tools for radicalisation and recruitment and how they affect new terrorists. Ware's analysis helps to shed light on the broader ideological and strategic patterns of right-wing extremist violence.

Then, *"Breivik's Long Shadow? The Impact of the July 22, 2011 Attacks on the Modus Operandi of Extreme-right Lone Actor Terrorists"* by Bjørgo and Macklin show the extent to which Breivik's attacks have influenced the modus operandi of far-right lone wolf terrorists (Bjørgo & Macklin, 2021). They present an overview of cases where Breivik has been a source of inspiration and analyse the differences between Breivik's tactics and other right-wing extremist terrorists. This article provides a detailed understanding of how Breivik's ideas have, or have not, shaped later far-right violence and provides context to the primary sources by evaluating their actual influence.

Finally, the report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the terrorist attack on Christchurch masjidain on 15 March 2019 will provide an in-depth review of the terrorists, Tarrant's background, radicalisation process

and preparations (Inquiry, 2020). The report is important for understanding the context and circumstances surrounding the attack and is used in the thesis to gain insight into how right-wing extremist violence develops.

All these sources have been important in helping me gain an understanding of the right-wing radical and extremist milieu, how they operate, and how they affect intelligence, which has been important in preparing and developing this thesis. This will become apparent through this research, and to start I present the theoretical framework that helps to provide even greater insight into the different elements that help to explain the radical and extreme right.

3. Theoretical Foundations

This chapter will explore the theoretical basis for this thesis. First, I will present key definitions that are relevant to understanding right-wing extremism and terrorism. Next, I will delve deeper into the concept of manifestos and terrorist manifestos and how these are used in a right-wing extremist context. Furthermore, I will account for different categorisations within right-wing extremism, including radical and extreme right, as well as cultural, ethnic and racial nationalism. Finally, I want to present accelerationism as a central ideological trend within right-wing extremism. This theoretical framework will lay the foundation for the analysis of terrorist manifestos later in the thesis and facilitate the presented conceptual framework. But first, we need to look at definitions, which will later be relevant to categorising the manifestos based on their ideological framework.

4.1 Key definitions

In this section, I will present the most important definitions for understanding terror manifestos, terrorism, the far right, and nationalism. This will later help to build up a typology and taxonomy for this thesis. First, we look at manifestos in their original sense and then terror manifestos.

4.1.1   Manifestoes and terror manifestoes

According to (Munro, 2023), manifestos are concepts, ideas, or viewpoints describing a route of action, often in literature, art, or politics. They are authored by several people who share a common ideology, vision, or goals

and want approval for a new strategy, vision, program, or genre. They criticise the day's order while announcing the current system's end. The manifestos themselves contain strong social critiques and promises of transformation. The authors are often seen as a rebellious minority, related to the idea of the avant-garde, steering the world towards the future. This definition shows how manifestos are not linked initially to terrorism, although one can see how it has been inspirational.

On the other hand, when it comes to terror manifestoes, Williams (2023) notes that a terror manifesto can be seen as a form of communication by the terrorists before they perform their planned attack. Here, they outline their ideology and the reason for conducting the attack, which has not yet taken place. It also frequently includes their independent perception of issues that have motivated them to act. They serve as the author's declaration of intent in public, encouraging others who share their beliefs to follow in their footsteps and take additional action to further the cause the manifesto highlights. Through manifestoes, terrorists seek to justify their eventual attacks (Williams et al., 2023, p. 3).

Manifestos are traditionally used as a means of social and political expression, but now we see how extremists use them. In the context of terrorism, these manifestos serve as a declaration of intent and a call to action, often rationalising violence as a method of achieving ideological goals.

4.1.2   Terrorism

"Terrorism is the purposeful instillation and use of fear through violent acts or the threat of violence to achieve a political goal" (Ravndal & Lygren, 2020). This definition stems from around fifty scientific definitions where violence, political motivation, inciting fear, intimidation by threats,

psychological impact, and expected reaction are present in several. Ravndal & Lygren (2020) specifies that terrorism differs conceptually from other types of political violence in that it uses violence strategically, typically in a dramatic way, to alter perceptions (i.e., psychological effect and expected emotions) and accomplish a specific objective (i.e., fear) among the intended recipient.

To navigate the complex landscape of right-wing extremism and understand where terrorism fits in, it is essential to distinguish between the radical and the extreme right. By establishing this distinction, we can more clearly identify where terrorism is in the broader spectrum known as the far right.

4.1.3   The Far right

The far right is a collective term for right-wing radical and extreme ideologies. This is the idea that the state and citizens should be one unified entity, but those outside this entity are considered a threat (PST et al., 2022, p. 17). Based on this, the far right can be divided into two categories: radical and extreme right.

Radical and Extreme Right

The radical right movement seeks change within a democratic framework and works to achieve its political goals through conventional legal methods (Bjørgo & Ravndal, 2019, p. 5). They want to influence society but accept democratic principles, and they do not support the use of violence as a means to achieve their goals (Bjørgo & Ravndal, 2019, p. 5).

On the other hand, we have an extreme right-wing movement that rejects democratic principles and legitimises violence to achieve its goals (Bjørgo & Ravndal, 2019, p. 5). Here, you will find extremists who support racist,

nationalist, or authoritarian ideologies and are willing to use violence to advance their agendas (Bjørgo & Ravndal, 2019, p. 5).

The far right is a broad term encompassing radical and extreme right-wing ideologies. The radical right seeks change within the existing democratic framework, while the extreme right rejects democratic principles and often condones violence to achieve its goals. This thesis focuses on the extreme right, which can be further categorised into cultural, ethnic, and racial nationalism.

Understanding these distinctions is crucial for comprehending the nuances within the extreme right and the motivations behind their actions. By examining these categories, we can better analyse the ideological frameworks of the terrorist manifestos presented later in this thesis and understand how they fit into the broader landscape of right-wing extremism. With this, Bjørgo and Ravndal (2019) present a family tree of the far right. Later, I will use this tree to categorise the ideological frameworks of the manifestos into the different nationalist categories that I now present.

Cultural, Ethnic, and Racial nationalism

Cultural nationalism

According to Bjørgo & Ravndal, radical right-wing populist parties and movements are represented within cultural nationalism. They oppose immigration and Islam, which they consider incompatible with Western culture and society. They operate within a democratic framework and are generally opposed to violence, although their rhetoric can be linked to it (Bjørgo & Ravndal, 2019, pp. 3-4). Further, Bjørgo & Ravndal note that some activists label opponents as traitors, and they suggest that there could be a conflict in the future.

Within cultural nationalism, they look at cultural differences. They want individuals from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds to abandon their former culture and implement Western norms and values, thus they support assimilation (Bjørgo & Ravndal, 2019, pp. 3-4).

Ethnic nationalism

Bjørgo & Ravndal describe that ethnic nationalism believes all ethnic groups, including whites, have an equal right to self-preservation. To preserve ethnic diversity, the argument is that ethnic groups should be separated from each other because ethnic mixing is seen as harmful, also assimilation. Bjørgo & Ravndal point out that they strongly oppose immigration and embrace the conspiracy theory of the Great Replacement; that is, they believe that global political elites are deliberately replacing native European populations with non-European peoples. To prevent this, they want people of foreign origin to return to their home countries; this is also adopted within cultural and racial nationalism (Bjørgo & Ravndal, 2019, p. 4).

Racial nationalism

Racial nationalism, also known as white nationalists or national socialists, is based on the idea that one`s race is superior and is to be preserved; according to Fardal & Thorleifsson, the white race is to be protected, and non-whites and Jews are enemies. It is crucial to emphasise that these groups are generally marginalised because of their anti-democratic behaviour and willingness to use violence for militant tactics to further their goals, as opposed to cultural nationalism (Fardan & Thorleifsson, 2020).

The foundations of racial nationalism are racial exclusivity, separatism, and demands for ethnic purity and segregation of different racial groups. They oppose multiculturalism and assimilation to preserve their society's unique racial identity and traditions (Fardan & Thorleifsson, 2020).

The last thing I want to go into is accelerationism. The counterterrorism department of PST sees this area of right-wing extremism as the most dangerous; that is, the individuals who express these opinions and attitudes are the most dangerous. Thus, accelerationism will also be part of the categorisation along with radical and extreme right and cultural, racial, and ethnic nationalism, presented later in the thesis.

4.2 Accelerationism

PST (2024) states that right-wing extremism has an ideological bent that includes accelerationism. This is the notion that a racial war is coming and that civilisation must collapse quickly while the white race still makes up most of the population in the West (PST et al., 2024, p. 38 and 40). Accelerationists emphasise terrorism as a crucial instrument for upending society and starting a racial war. For right-wing extremists who follow an accelerationist ideology, this also involves the desire to accelerate a collapse of society. This is done through terror, which will increase fear and hatred and ultimately lead to war. Only when the dust has settled can civilisation be rebuilt (PST et al., 2024, p. 38 and 40).

Here, one sees the extremist's motivations behind accelerationism. This leads us to the theoretical framework, where understanding extremist ideology is necessary to analyse the upcoming terrorist manifestos.

4.3 Conceptual Framework

This section explores the theoretical underpinnings that inform the analysis of terrorist manifestos within the context of right-wing extremism. It outlines the conceptual framework for understanding how these documents can be leveraged in counterterrorism efforts. By delving into existing research and integrating various theoretical perspectives, this chapter provides a comprehensive foundation for the subsequent analysis of manifestos and their role in terrorism prevention and preparedness.

Although this research provides valuable insight into how terror manifestos can provide insights within the presented research topics, this thesis finds that there is a research gap regarding how manifestos are specifically used in counterterrorism preparedness. The forthcoming literature review, therefore, aims to shed light on this gap and provide a basis for further research in this area.

4.3.1   Existing research on terrorist manifestoes

This thesis finds that despite the growing interest in terror manifests and their role, previous research has, so far, not provided an answer as to whether they can be used in counterterrorism preparedness work. However, it is important to point out that this project has limited time and resources and, therefore, cannot be 100% sure that more research has not been done on the same topic. Still, within the framework of this project, I have not found studies that directly address *How the use of terrorist manifestoes can bring advantages for work on terrorism prevention and preparedness work?*

These studies show how manifestos are used, but under different themes:

(Klausen, 2015) looks at the use of social media among Western foreign fighters in the conflict in Syria and Iraq. In this context, the manifestos are mentioned as a tool terrorist groups have adapted to communicate their message in the digital age. (Thorleifsson & Düker, 2021) focuses on lone actors in digital environments within right-wing extremism and mentions manifestos in how extremists use online platforms to announce their worldviews before the attacks. (Ware, 2020) looks at manifestos and their impact on the rise of violent extremism. (McCauley & Moskalenko, 2008) uses manifestos in the context of radicalisation to understand individual and group processes that lead to radicalisation and extremism. Finally, (Meloy & Gill, 2016) uses manifestos to identify ideological inspiration and motivation among extremists.

As you can see, there is a lot of research that uses terrorist manifestos but more supplemental to explain other themes, also within different ideological directions, such as jihadism. It is, therefore, clear that there is a research gap when it comes to how right-wing extremist terrorist manifestos can be used in counter-terrorism preparedness and how they alone provide information. This thesis seeks to address this gap by focusing on the communicative aspects of these manifestos. None of the existing studies provide any concrete answers, and thus, we see a need for targeted research in this area and a new conceptual framework, which I further present below.

4.3.2   A proposed conceptual framework...

Right-wing extremist terrorist manifestos have evolved from being static documents to dynamic, hypermediated narratives that shape, as well as being shaped by the digital landscape in which they operate. Manifestos

are used by terrorists to construct a narrative about themselves and their motives for portraying themselves as martyr in a larger ideological struggle (Wojtasik, 2020). The manifestos that turn out to be the most inspiring have a carefully adapted tone and language to appeal to specific target groups' feelings, values and grievances, i.e. to potential recruits, sympathisers, other audiences and those they see as enemies. We can see this by invoking fear and attempting to mobilise for their cause (Wojtasik, 2020).

We can see in several ways that this works through their predecessors and use previous manifestos as inspiration and training (Wojtasik, 2020). Detailed descriptions of weapons, tactics and planning can lower the threshold for successors to carry out their independent terrorist acts. You can see that there is a kind of echo-chamber effect that reinforces the message by spreading on the internet within the online right-wing extremist environment. This can contribute to the radicalisation of vulnerable individuals and the normalisation of violence as a legitimate political tool.

Although terrorist manifestos pose a threat, they can also be used in counterterrorism intelligence because they provide insights into terrorists' grievances, motivations, and strategic presentations (Brynielsson et al., 2013). This can help form a better understanding of the threat landscape, identify potential risks, and develop effective measures to prevent radicalisation and, thus, possible future terrorist attacks. By uncovering key themes, counternarratives can be established that, in turn, can be used to disrupt the spread of extremist propaganda.

This is possible because of the uniformity of terrorist manifestos because they are inspired and influenced by each other (Harwood, 2021). Today, several terror manifestos have references and structures that are often directly taken from predecessors. This can be seen in the repetition of themes, rhetorical strategies, and linguistic formulations, there is a copy-

cat effect that can be seen through the manifestos of Breivik, Tarrant and Krajčík, among others.

Terrorist manifestos are a powerful tool for radicalisation in today's age. Their dynamic nature and ability to reach a global audience make them a complex challenge. By understanding them and their motives, one can gain a greater overview of how they operate and how to counter them (Wojtasik, 2020).

Drawing upon the insights of George and Bennett (2005), the proposed model functions as a conceptual framework, merging established theoretical concepts with empirical observations collected from the analysis of terrorist manifestos. This framework emerges through an abductive process, where existing theories are adapted and refined based on empirical data, resulting in a novel conceptual tool tailored to address the specific challenges posed by terrorist manifestos in the realm of counterterrorism preparedness.

Based on the theoretical understanding of terrorist manifestos and their role in radicalisation and terrorism, the following model is proposed to systematise and streamline terror manifestos in counterterrorism preparedness work.
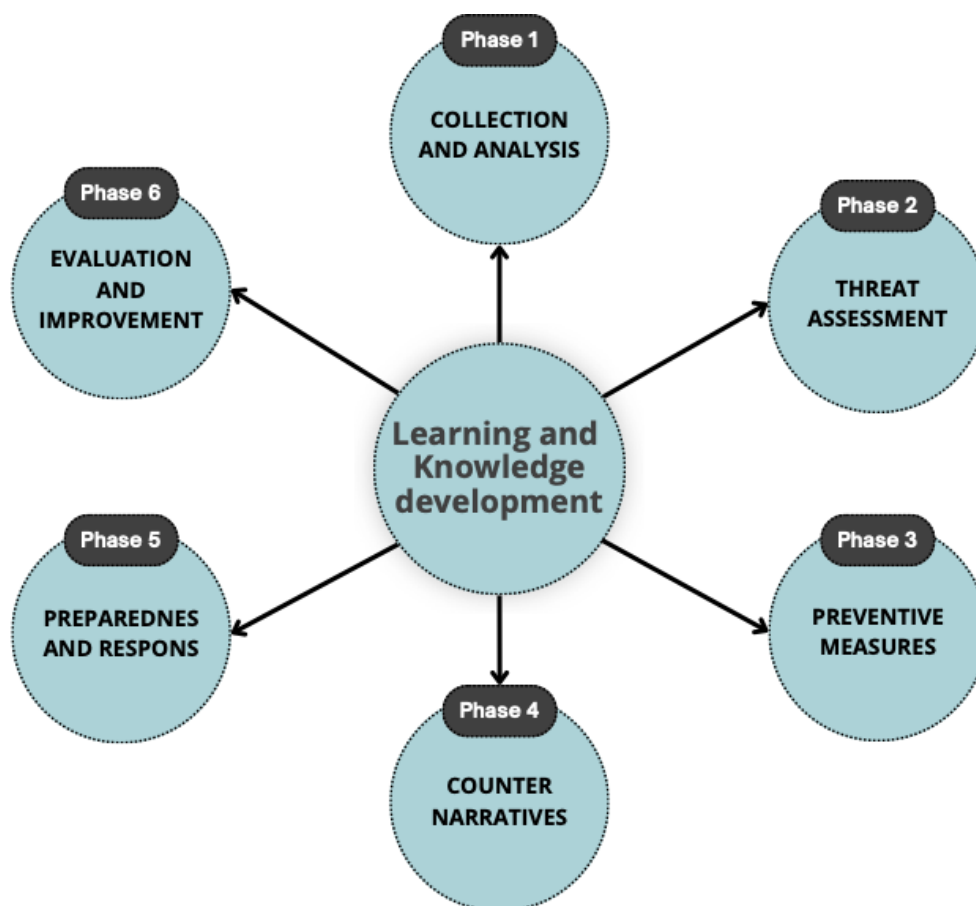
Figure 1 - *A circular model for using terrorist manifestos as tools in the prevention and preparedness of right-wing extremist terrorism. Model created by the author.*

Learning and knowledge development are placed in the middle of this cycle, which refers to how learning is a continuous process that takes place in all the presented phases, not only in the evaluation and improvement phase. Each phase generates knowledge and insights that, in turn, help improve the subsequent phases. This also ensures that the model remains adaptable and responsive to new information and trends in an ever-evolving terror landscape. Therefore, Learning and Knowledge Development is placed in the middle of this model, due to the influence it has on all the surrounding phases, starting with phase 1:

Phase 1: Collection and analysis: In the first phase of the model, the goal is to systematically collect and analyse terrorist manifestos from various sources, including open online forums, closed groups, and seized material. Text analysis, ideological mapping and network analysis are key methods in this phase. The purpose is to identify central themes, concepts, narratives, ideological currents and connections between different manifestos. The results from this phase will form the basis for the threat assessment in the next phase.

Phase 2: Threat assessment: Risk assessment based on the content of the manifests and identification of potential actors and target groups. Scenario analysis to anticipate possible attack forms and targets. Vulnerability analysis to identify societal weaknesses that can be exploited.

Phase 3: Preventive measures: Development of targeted measures to prevent radicalisation and recruitment. Education and awareness of right-wing extremist ideology and its danger. Promote social inclusion and dialogue to reduce polarisation.

Phase 4: Counternarratives: Establishing counternarratives that challenge the extreme narratives and offer alternative perspectives. Spread of counternarratives through various channels (social media, traditional media, education). Collaborate with civil society to strengthen counternarratives.

Phase 5: Preparedness and response: Exercises and training to strengthen preparedness and the ability to respond effectively to terrorist incidents. Cooperation between police, security services, health services and other relevant actors. Plans for crisis communication to inform and reassure the population.

Phase 6: Evaluation and Improvement: After an attack, manifestos are analysed to understand the terrorist's motivations, planning, and execution. Comparing different manifestos reveals common themes, developmental trends, and new tactics. Insights and lessons learned are shared with relevant national and international actors to strengthen collective defences against terrorism.

Every phase in the cycle feeds back into learning and knowledge development. Insights from analysing attacks, implementing preventive measures, preparing responses, crafting counternarratives, assessing threats, and conducting investigations enhance counterterrorism's overall understanding and capability. This iterative process ensures that all actions are continuously refined and improved, making learning and knowledge development the core that drives all activities, as well as the activities drive learning and knowledge development; because of this, learning and knowledge development are placed in the middle of the model.

While not directly derived from a single existing theory, the model integrates various concepts and approaches from social science research, such as text analysis, ideological mapping, network analysis, risk assessment, and scenario analysis. This multidisciplinary approach allows for a comprehensive understanding of terrorist manifestos' multifaceted nature, encompassing their linguistic features, ideological underpinnings, dissemination patterns, and potential impact on radicalisation and violence.

The model's cyclical nature reflects the iterative process of theory development as described by George and Bennett (2005). Each phase of the model: collection and analysis, threat assessment, preventive measures, counternarratives, preparedness and response, and evaluation and improvement, builds upon the knowledge and insights generated in the previous phases. This continuous feedback loop ensures that the

conceptual framework remains adaptable and responsive to new information and emerging trends in the ever-evolving landscape of terrorist threats.

Exploring the intricate details of these manifestos is essential for better understanding the individuals behind them and the ideologies that motivate them. This understanding is crucial for developing effective counterstrategies and preventive measures. In the upcoming chapters, I will delve into the methodologies used in this research, providing a comprehensive overview of the approaches employed to gather and analyse data from intelligence and terrorist manifestos.

5 Methodology

In the following chapters, I will delve into the methodologies employed in this research, providing a comprehensive overview of the approaches used to gather and analyse data. This study employs a mixed-methods approach, combining qualitative interviews with document analysis of terrorist manifestos and intelligence reports. The semi-structured qualitative interviews will allow for flexibility and in-depth exploration of the participants' experiences and perspectives on using terrorist manifestos in counterterrorism efforts. Doing this allows me to capture the nuanced ideological expressions within the manifestoes to perform qualitative content analysis.

In addition, the document analysis will systematically examine terrorist manifestos and intelligence reports, utilising typologies and taxonomies to identify patterns, themes, and potential indicators of radicalisation that again show how manifestoes can or cannot be used in terrorism prevention and preparedness. Next, I will show how these interviews were conducted.

5.1 Interviews

This study interviewed five experts in the field to gain deeper insights into the practical applications and challenges of utilising terrorist manifestos in counterterrorism preparedness. These experts provided valuable perspectives on the current practices, potential benefits, and ethical considerations associated with using these documents. The following chapters present the interview guide and how the interview was conducted.

5.1.1 Interview Guide

The interview guide's primary purpose is to provide structure and guidance throughout the interviews so that the conversation stays on topic and remains focused. This format not only makes straight follow-up questions easier to come up with, but it also allows for some flexibility and spontaneity, which adds essential details to the conversation and enriches it with research-related insights. See appendix: Interview Guide.

I chose a semi-structured framework for the interview guide that emphasises probing questions that deepen our comprehension of the topic by gaining insight into the informants' opinions (Tjora, 2017). Because the subject is still relatively unexplored, this method allows for a more thorough collection of nuanced viewpoints and encourages informants to share their knowledge and ideas openly.

As a result, the questions were designed to be unique and relevant to the informant group, encouraging a lively discussion that mainly draws from the informants' experiences and knowledge. This approach has worked well for fostering an interactive conversation in which the informants' inputs primarily drive the information flow (Brinkmann, 2019, p. 30).

5.1.2 Conducting the Interviews

In keeping with my methodology, I conducted the interviews semi-structured, emphasising spontaneous follow-up questions to expand the discourse and obtain more insights from the informants (Tjora, 2017, pp. 121-122). This technique, necessitated by the exploratory nature of the issue, encouraged a dynamic interchange of information, guided mainly by the informants' opinions and skills.

Before conducting the interviews, I ensured all participants were fully informed about the study objectives, methods, and ethical issues, including using sound recordings and the interview guide. This preliminary phase was critical for preserving transparency and creating clear expectations, which aided the interview process (Tjora, 2017, p. 118).

Interviews were performed online to accommodate geographical and timing restrictions. This format proved beneficial because it allowed informants to select their settings, resulting in a comfortable and informal environment that encouraged open conversation (Tjora, 2017, p. 120). The flexibility of the digital format also allowed informants to participate in the discussions more efficiently, increasing the authenticity and depth of their comments.

The "Diktafon" app was utilised to capture and store data. The University of Oslo developed it, and recordings and transcriptions are kept on online forms rather than on external devices. This decision was taken with data security and convenience in mind. The program instantaneously encrypts phone records and automatically transcribes them via a web form for easy study and reference. After the project, both recordings and transcriptions will be permanently deleted.

5.1.3 Selection and Coding

The informants selected for this research are within the scientific field. Initially, I tried to contact the intelligence service PST but was declined several times. Therefore, the information is gathered through public interviews, documentaries, and reports.

Further, the informants who participated in the interviews are individuals I have met singularly through the snowball method (Tjora, 2017, p. 265).

This means that I recruited participants through other people and from those who have already participated in an interview and have put me in contact with others they believe have knowledge of my chosen topic.

Participant ID	Language, Interview	Data collection method	Seniority Level
P1	Norwegian	Interview	High
P2	Norwegian	Interview	High
P3	Norwegian	Interview	High
P4	English	Interview	High
P5	English	Interview	High

Table 1 *Coding of informants*

This research incorporates interviews and document analysis to uncover the role of manifestos within the right-wing extremist milieu and understand how intelligence agencies approach this issue.

5.1.4   Document Analysis

In addition to interviews, this research is also based on document analysis. This is to reveal the role of manifestos in the right-wing extremist milieu and how intelligence works with this topic (Brinkmann, 2019, p. 153). The selected documents used to gain the highest possible credibility are thus public papers and reports written by researchers looking at right-wing extremism and terrorism, as well as reports written in collaboration with the intelligence services and the police (Brinkmann, 2019, p. 155).

Before we proceed to the typology and taxonomy chapter, I address the validity and reliability of this thesis. This ensures an understanding of the

method's reliability and accuracy before further introducing how the data is classified and organised.

5.1.5 Reliability and Validity

Reliability and Validity are used to evaluate the quality of research. Reliability refers to the consistency of results over time, while validity assesses whether the research measures what it intends to measure.(Bratberg, 2021, p. 138).

5.1.5.1 Reliability

The thesis describes a detailed interview process, including using the app "Diktafon" for secure storage and data transcription. This ensures consistent and reliable data. Furthermore, data analysis methods, such as text analysis, ideological mapping and network analysis, are well-documented and reproducible, strengthening the consistency of the results. A systematic approach to collecting and analysing data from various sources contributes to a reliable process for assessing terrorist manifestos.

At the same time, a semi-structured interview guide has been used, which provides flexibility and allows the informants to elaborate on their answers. However, this can also lead to the interviews becoming less standardised and more challenging to compare the responses between the informants. The selection of documents is based on publicly available documents and reports, which can limit the data basis and potentially affect the results. There is also a risk that the interpretation of the documents may become subjective and influenced by one's own assumptions and perspectives.

5.1.5.2   Validity

In this thesis, several measures have been taken to ensure high validity. Using mixed methods, which combines qualitative interviews with document analysis, provides an in-depth understanding of the topic and ensures that multiple perspectives and data sources are considered. An abductive approach, which integrates both deductive and inductive methods, strengthens validity by allowing the researcher to adapt theories based on empirical findings. The use of well-established sources in the document analysis, such as public documents and reports from researchers in the field of right-wing extremism and terrorism, also contributes to a high level of validity.

Nevertheless, validity can be discussed from several perspectives, as the limited sample of informants may affect the generalisability of the findings. The informants are mainly recruited through the snowball method, which can lead to a sample that is not representative of the entire population. In addition, there is a possible bias in the sample, as there is a predominance of informants with high seniority and no informants from the intelligence services. This can limit the diversity of perspectives and experiences presented.

5.1.5.3   Strengthening of Reliability and Validity

To strengthen the reliability and validity of this study, it could have been beneficial to have a larger and more representative sample of informants and a more systematic and structured approach to data collection and analysis. Standardisation of the interview guide and more detailed documentation of the interview and analysis process could also have strengthened reliability by making it easier to replicate the study. Furthermore, triangulation of data, using several different methods to

collect data on the same phenomenon, could have strengthened reliability and validity by providing a more comprehensive and nuanced picture of the problem. Unfortunately, this was not possible due to time constraints in the project.

The thesis has several measures that strengthen both validity and reliability. The mixed method, abductive approach, and use of well-established sources contribute to high validity, while a detailed and documented methodology ensures high reliability. At the same time, there are important weaknesses such as limited generalizability, potential bias in the sample, subjectivity in self-reporting, and lack of access to key actors. By addressing these weaknesses, future research can improve the robustness and applicability of the findings.

Now, after addressing the reliability and validity of this thesis, typology and taxonomy will give an insight into how I will later classify and organise the data.

4.1 Typology and Taxonomy

Typologies, as described by Kenneth D. Bailey, are structured systems of classification that categorise entities based on shared traits or features. In social science, typologies are valuable tools for organising data and recognising underlying patterns. They can take various forms, such as conceptual, empirical, verbal, quantitative, or qualitative, and play a crucial role in facilitating the analysis of complex information within a structured framework (Bailey, 1994, pp. 1-2).

According to Bailey, taxonomy is the process or system of classifying entities or categories. It is often used to organise and categorise data or entities in various scientific fields, including social science. Taxonomy is

described as a process and a result of classification that deals with the theoretical study of classification principles, procedures, and rules. This primarily involves categorising empirical entities in an organised system based on observed similarities and differences (Bailey, 1994, pp. 6-7).

In brief, typology and taxonomy differ in their approach to classification. Typology is more conceptual, while taxonomy is empirical. Typology creates categories based on theoretical dimensions or constructs, whereas taxonomy groups entities based on observed similarities or characteristics. Taxonomies are based on measurable similarities or observed variables and allow for the organisation of entities into groups. Typology helps group concepts based on factors derived from theory rather than direct observation. This will later help classify the terrorist manifestoes, but first, we will look at the intelligence reports.

6 Empirical Insight 1 - Analysing the Intelligence Landscape

Understanding the mechanisms and strategies involved in counterterrorism efforts is crucial. This chapter will demonstrate the strategic framework for intelligence operations that underpins Norway's counterterrorism work. By examining reports of past terrorist incidents, we can gain valuable insights. This thesis will emphasise right-wing extremism and accelerationism, providing a broader context for understanding the implications of terrorist manifestos within this framework. This is essential for comprehending how terrorist manifestos not only reflect the ideological and operational aspects of modern terrorism but also influence them.

Furthermore, this will provide a detailed overview of the current threat landscape, the operational situation, the roles of crucial security actors, and the coordinated efforts to prevent terrorist activities.

6.1 Countering Terrorism in Norway: Strategies and Challenges.

In counter-terrorism work, it is essential to understand the strategic framework for intelligence operations that forms the basis of Norway's counter-terrorism work. This includes gaining insight from previous terrorist incidents and contextualising terrorist manifestos within this framework to understand how they reflect and affect modern terrorism. This will provide a detailed overview of the current threat landscape, operational situation, key security actors' roles, and coordinated efforts to prevent terrorist activities.

6.1.1 Extremism and Terror Threats in Norway

The Norwegian threat assessment for 2024 identifies the threat of potential extremism attacks and has, based on a multifactorial assessment, set the terrorist threat level to moderate (PST et al., 2024, p. 29). Here, it is identified that the extreme-rights digital platforms are significant venues for radicalisation and are serving as a catalyst for terror planning. These attacks are believed to be performed by singular actors and are expected to target groups identified as enemies by right-wing extremists (PST et al., 2024, p. 36). It is also specified that individuals may draw inspiration from a wide range of online communities, where many lack an ideological framework, which makes them even more unpredictable.

Based on this, the Norwegian terrorism strategy prioritises prevention, intelligence gathering, management of terrorist incidents, and preparedness (PST et al., 2024). This comprehensive approach includes proactive steps to detect and monitor possible threats, coordination with foreign partners to improve security, and actions to strengthen the country's ability to respond to and minimise the impacts of terrorist attacks. Furthermore, it includes measures to halt radicalisation and a coordinated strategy among police, intelligence services, defence forces, and other relevant organisations to provide a cohesive and effective counterterrorism defence. One informant goes into some of this when he states that:

"When I first started writing about the Atomwaffen Division. I was ridiculed by certain milieu. Because they hadn't realised that this was starting to become a thing on the far right, I was brought in by researchers and, occasionally, police officers who wanted to know what this was. I was a little taken aback because I thought that this was something they knew about. It is quite clear that things have changed somewhat drastically now, but I still have to explain what accelerationism is" (P1).

This shows how accelerationism has not been in the spotlight of intelligence for long. Let's review the registers and look at previous national threat assessments. Based on what this research has found of information, we find that accelerationism was mentioned for the first time in the Norwegian National Threat Assessment 2021 (PST et al., 2021). There has been some coverage of online right-wing extremist environments and sub-environments, but not much has been mentioned about their beliefs and practices. This indicates that intelligence services are now paying more attention to what is being said and spread within these communities and what these statements and wordings mean. This accelerationism is proof of this since it today is considered to be one of the most dangerous ideologies in today's counter-terrorism security landscape by PST. This stream of thought includes individuals who are convinced that society is on the verge of, or already involved in, a civilisation war in which the white race is at risk of being exterminated (Skolsegg, 2023d). However, these individuals may not want to be involved in politically motivated violence.

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¹ Original Language: *"Når jeg først begynte å skrive om Atomwaffen Divisjon og de miljøene der så ble jeg jo latterliggjort av visse miljøer. For de hadde ikke fått med seg at dette begynte å bli en greie på ytre høyre. Jeg ble hentet inn av forskere, og fra tid til annen politifolk, som ville vite hva dette var. Og jeg ble litt paff for jeg tenkte jo at dette var noe de visste om. Det er helt klart at ting har forandret seg noe voldsomt nå, men jeg må fremdeles forklare hva akselerasjonisme er"* (P1).

PST currently links the most significant terrorist threat to the digital accelerationist groups operating on the web (PST et al., 2024). Within these groups, the most extensive mobilisation of violence has been observed. To get a better understanding of accelerationism and why it is not likely that they will achieve their goal of societal collapse, one informant tells me about, among other things, its history:

"Accelerationism, which started as a right-wing Nazi concept in the 1970s in the US, originated from a group dissatisfied with the stagnation of their movement. They couldn't see any progress and were frustrated with the lack of action. Much like the interests of some young men today, they were drawn to violence, gore, and serial killers, themes that weren't part of mainstream counterculture back then. They began to glorify violence perpetrated by fellow Nazis, especially acts they believed might destabilise the state. It was more a fantasy, as substantial terrorist attacks like those on 9/11 have shown, states can endure even severe blows without collapsing. They harbored a fantasy that more violence was better and promoted it as such. This perspective gained significant traction on platforms like 4chan when Brenton Tarrant posted his manifesto, discussing accelerationism. Although the concept had existed for decades in obscure journals, rarely read by the public, it hadn't caught widespread attention ... It was the online release of Tarrant's manifesto, which included detailed discussions on accelerationism, that led to a sharp increase in interest. This wasn't based on thorough scientific analysis but was observable through simple Google search trends. The combination of idea promotion and the notorious act itself, especially the live-streamed atrocity, appealed to individuals seeking notoriety. In the US, there has been extensive research on so-called "fame-seeking mass shooters". Adam Langford's work in this area indicates that these individuals aim for widespread media coverage, sometimes surpassing that of celebrities. For example, Dylann Roof, received more media exposure in the month of his attack than Tom Cruise. It's empirically provable, you know, that they do

achieve that level of fame. They tend to be forgotten quickly, but these individuals are aware of that transient fame" (P5).

Although they may not achieve this goal, they receive enormous attention from general society and the media, and one of the explanations for this is given by informant P1:

[2] *"They have that Italian anarchist concept with the propaganda of the deeds. The act itself becomes a propaganda tool in itself, and the terror itself is done to promote the manifesto. Together with what they publish online, everything becomes a PR package. It is in a way finished, with a call for others to carry out their own terrorist actions" (P1).*

PST also points out that in recent years, there has been an increase in the number of so-called "active clubs" within the far-right subcultures in Europe and the Nordic region (Skolsegg, 2023b). According to Stiernelöf, these subcultures, which combine self-improvement and physical training with right-wing extremist ideology, consist of small, independent groups dedicated to training. These groups justify their existence through a struggle against multiculturalism, LGBTQ rights, feminism, and democratic social structures to restore a white European culture (Skolsegg, 2023b).

One thing that is fascinating in connection with this and set against terror manifestoes is that several of the members within the phenomenon of active clubs express much of the same attitudes when it comes to "preparing for the fight," i.e., a race war (Skolsegg, 2023d). This is often seen in the form of radical individuals, not necessarily extreme. However,

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[2] Original Language: "*De har det der italienske anarkist-konseptet med dådens propaganda. Selve dåden blir et propagandavirkemiddel i seg selv, og selve terroren blir gjort for å promotere manifestet. Sammen med det de publiserer online blir alt en PR pakke. Det er på en måte ferdig laga, med oppfordring til andre om å utføre egne terror aksjoner*"(P1).

PST also expresses that the outer edges of this environment are more likely to be able to carry out politically motivated violence and terrorism (Skolsegg, 2023b).

At the same time, it is important to point out that:

[3] *"It is important to remember that the far-right extremist environments in Norway are quite marginal. That does not mean we should not take the threat they represent seriously, but overall, this is a small marginalized group. And although they share the ideology of terrorists, it is very rare that they commit violence themselves (...) I have interviewed a national socialist activist who expressed that: 'if someone had gone amok on major things with an AG3 or a Kalashnikov, I wouldn't care.' Another anti-Muslim actor has said that members of his group celebrate the shootings in Christchurch in 2019. And that, if Muslims are killed, there are many who think, good, now there are fewer Muslims in the world. These are horrible things to say, but they do not act on it. They support them, but will not do anything about it themselves"* (P2).

Thus, one can also see active clubs in the context of accelerationism in that even though they express the same ideology, some people want to gain political support to get their ideas through, i.e. through democratic processes and not violence. Nevertheless, these are groups that are

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[3] Original Language: *"Det er viktig å huske på at de høyere ekstremmiljøene i Norge er ganske marginale. Det betyr ikke at vi ikke skal ta trusselen de representerer på alvor, men dette er i sum en liten marginalisert gjeng. Og selv om de deler tankegodset til terrorister, så er det veldig sjeldent vi ser at de begår vold selv (...) Jeg har intervjuet en nasjonalsosialistisk aktivist som har uttrykt at: «hvis noen hadde gått amok på store ting med en AG3 eller en Kalashnikov ville ikke jeg brydd meg». En annen muslimfiendtlig aktør har sagt at medlemmer av hans gruppe feirer skytingene i Christchurch i 2019. Og at dersom muslimer blir drept, så er det mange som tenker, fint, nå er det færre muslimer i verden. Dette er grusomme ting å si, men de handler ikke på det. De støtter dem, men vil ikke gjøre noe med det selv"* (P2).

actively working to get more members, and they use rhetorical solid devices to radicalise other individuals, which could lead to terrorism (Skolsegg, 2023a). This is not something that can be ruled out. Nevertheless, there are several who state that they are against violence and terrorism and look down on this, mainly due to the great damage it has on their agenda (Skolsegg, 2023c).

It's important to distinguish between different stages of radicalisation to understand how individuals progress from being a terrorist threat to a terrorist risk. This understanding relies on intelligence to differentiate between various radicalisation processes and methods used in terrorist actions and to identify similarities with previous terrorists. Further research into this topic would be interesting, as it's clear that we need more intelligence professionals with in-depth knowledge to effectively navigate these environments and differentiate between rhetoric and potential actions.

6.1.2 The Norwegian government´s action plan against radicalisation and violent extremism

The Norwegian Government's Action Plan against Radicalisation and Violent Extremism aims to prevent and combat these challenges through a comprehensive and strategic approach. The strategy includes a range of policies and methods tailored to specific regions and social actors to tackle radicalisation and violent extremism effectively.

Following the 2020 review, the Action Plan was reinforced by eight new initiatives, which build on and strengthen previous measures. These measures are designed to identify individuals at risk of radicalisation and offer them adequate interventions. The plan emphasises cross-sectoral cooperation and the importance of early detection, information exchange,

and rehabilitation of radicalised people, as well as a range of stakeholders, including religious groups, NGOs, research communities, and public agencies, to ensure a broad approach (beredskapsdepartementet, 2020, p. 7 & 17). This cooperation is essential for strengthening the fight against all forms of extremism and contributing to a safer and more inclusive society.

The primary measures implemented to ensure success in this endeavour involve enhancing knowledge and expertise on radicalisation and violent extremism among the relevant stakeholders (beredskapsdepartementet, 2020, p. 8). The strategy also aims to foster improved cross-sectoral cooperation to coordinate efforts against radicalisation and violent extremism at national and local levels. Additionally, it includes steps to prevent recruitment to extremist groups and facilitate the reintegration of radicalised individuals. Emphasis is also placed on preventing radicalisation through online platforms and social media and fostering international cooperation to exchange information, experiences, and best practices.

The Norwegian government's action plan demonstrates a thorough and collaborative approach to counter-terrorism. However, it is important to evaluate these strategies' practical implementation and effectiveness. In the next section, we will examine a critique of PST, the Norwegian Police Security Service, to assess its role in achieving the action plan's objectives and to identify potential areas for improvement.

6.1.3   PST – A Critique

To understand how terrorist manifestos might help with preventative and preparedness measures, it is critical to investigate the functioning of intelligence organisations such as PST. The report titled "25 June

Committee - Evaluation of PST and police" provides significant insights into PST's counterterrorism methods and identifies potential areas where terrorist manifestos could be effectively used (Jansen, 2023).

One major conclusion in the paper is that PST frequently refrains from commencing preventive cases unless coercive methods are also explored, resulting in fewer investigative cases being pursued than the agency can handle (Jansen, 2023, p. 63).

The report highlights PST´s strict policy to safeguard democratic principles like privacy, freedom of expression, and assembly, showing the robust organisational standards and culture developed within PST´s counterterrorism department (Jansen, 2023, p. 63). The principles are followed and serve as guidelines for what to do. And underscores the point that strong evidence is required to start an investigation on a group or an individual. However, it turns out that understaffing affects this work even when the evidence is present and there are legitimate reasons for investigation; in several cases, it is not done due to understaffing, which is seen as a weakness (Jansen, 2023, p. 67).

Further, PST staff do not receive training or coursing on threat actor types and their adversary images (phenomenon knowledge), but they receive some general training in intelligence and prevention. According to PST, they receive training on threat actors through participation in daily work, various professional forums, internal presentations, and knowledge sharing across the board (Jansen, 2023, p. 85). One informant ensures that, regarding manifestoes:

[4] *"I can assure you that the intelligence is studying these manifestos quite carefully (...) they are used and will continue to be used" (P3).*

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[4] Original Language: *«Jeg kan forsikre seg om at etterretningen studerer disse manifestene ganske nøye (...) de brukes og vil fortsette å bli brukt» (P3).*

The report also discovered that a broader experience base in PST is more valuable for advancement than in-depth expertise. Consequently, there are many job changes inside the organisation and little in-depth concentration on threat actor archetypes and their hostile personalities, besides daily work tasks.

Thus, we are left with an unanswered question: how much in-depth knowledge is there in this area within PST? During the terrorist attack in Oslo on 25 June, although this was not related to right-wing extremist terrorism, it was seen that PST and the intelligence service had a good flow of information, but:

[5] *"The problem was perhaps that PST was sitting on a lot of other relevant information that they could not connect correctly" (P3).*

[6] *"The main criticism of the counter-terrorism department in PST was that they did not see the connection between the burning pride flag posted on Arfan Bhatti's account, and the fact that it was pride at the time (...) If they had checked who is in Bhatti's network, they would most likely have discovered that Matapour is one of those in the network, and someone who can potentially carry out such an action" (P2).*

If we look at this in the context of manifestos, the manifestos demonstrate the advanced level of operational security and network coordination among extremist groups. PST's challenge lies in strengthening the ability to link different pieces of information, such as

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[5] Original Language: "*Problemet var kanskje at PST satt på mye annen relevant informasjon, som de ikke evnet å koble riktig*" (P3).

[6] Original Language: "*Hovedkritikken til kontraterroravdelingen i PST var at de ikke så sammenhengen mellom det brennende pride-flagget som ble lagt ut på kontoen til Arfan Bhatti, og det faktum at det var pride på det tidspunktet (...) Hadde de gjort en sjekk på hvem som er i nettverket til Bhatti hadde de mest sannsynlig funnet ut at Matapour er en av de som er i nettverket, og en som potensielt kan utføre en slik handling*" (P2).

social media posts, with real-time threat scenarios. The detailed analytics and security measures outlined in these documents highlight the areas where PST needs to focus on real-time data integration, network analytics, and enhanced information-sharing protocols. Therefore, PST must understand and anticipate the methods described in these manifestos. Which I will look at in more detail in the next chapter; Empirics: Part 2 Unveiling Extremist Ideologies: A Deep Dive into Terrorist Manifestoes.

7 Empirical Insights 2 - Unveiling Extremist Ideologies: A Deep Dive into Terrorist Manifestoes

This section will examine terrorist manifestos, exploring their messages, functions, significance, and evolution into documents used today for radicalisation, communication, and inspiration within right-wing extremism. But, before doing that, these documents are strongly debated regarding their relevance, as highlighted by informant P4:

"Manifestos can indeed be fascinating especially for psychologists or psychiatrists working in counterterrorism. They might find these documents provide insightful perspectives. However, I think there's a problem in the field. Typically, these manifestos are analyzed by political scientists—no offense to them—but they often lack the tools for a deep analysis. It's an interesting backstory that gives us some insight into the perpetrator but political scientists international relations experts and even sociologists can only do so much with it (...) Psychiatrists psychologists and anthropologists however can delve much deeper. So yes, manifestos are interesting, but we shouldn't overstate their importance" (P4).

P2 adds that:

[7] *"When it comes to manifestos from the extreme right, I think it can provide an interesting insight into the ideological basis for violent or terror-related acts"* (P2).

And P5 says:

"Although they circulate widely the reality is that only a small fraction of those who read them will act on their contents. Most people even within extremist circles have moral or strategic reasons that deter them from translating violent ideas into action" (P5).

Lastly, P3 further emphasises that:

[8] *"As I have experienced it, there is quite a lot of variation in the extent to which it makes an impression and leads to new attacks or not (...) I think they play a role in some cases, and in some cases bigger, and in many cases less. I don't think they mean everything. They can play a role, and understanding when and why, I think, is a step further." (P3).*

In the upcoming chapter, I will delve into the evolution of manifestos, from their traditional usage to their adaptation in the digital age. Subsequently, I will analyse six manifestos, examining their ideological frameworks, motivations, and potential impact on the landscape of right-wing extremism. Through a detailed examination of these documents, I aim to illuminate the intricate interplay of factors contributing to radicalisation and, ultimately, to terrorist acts.

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[8] Original Language: *"Som jeg har opplevd det så er det ganske stor variasjon i hvilken grad det gjør inntrykk og fører til nye angrep eller ikke (...) Jeg tror de spiller en rolle i noen tilfeller, og i noen tilfeller større, og i mange tilfeller mindre. Jeg tror ikke de betyr alt. De kan spille en rolle, og det å forstå når og hvorfor, det tenker jeg er et steg videre "* (P3).

7.1 Manifestoes

Manifestos have historically been significant tools for molding beliefs and inspiring movements. From pushing for independence to envisioning societal reform, these manifestos have had an unforgettable effect on history. As a result, I believe it is vital to examine these to understand better how some manifestos have had a more significant impact than others. At some point in history, some of these ideas and ideologies were considered extreme; some may have been associated with terrorism, while others were not. However, they all had a significant or modest impact.

Thomas Paine's Common Sense was a rallying cry for American independence from British domination (Editors, 2009b). It was released as a pamphlet in 1776 and firmly pushed for self-rule and forming a distinct American government (Editors, 2009b). Paine's plain style and powerful arguments sparked widespread sympathy for the revolutionary cause (Editors, 2009b). Common Sense affected public opinion and played a critical role in igniting the American Revolution (Editors, 2009b). It fueled the independence movement and formed the ideological foundations of a young United States, with echoes of its beliefs heard when creating the Bill of Rights and the United States Constitution (Kiger, 2021).

Another manifest, The "Communist Manifesto" by Marx and Engels, published during intense political unrest, also a pamphlet, outlined a revolutionary theory of history that saw class conflicts leading to the proletarian revolution (Editors, 2010). The Manifesto's influence extends beyond its initial publication, as seen during the 2008 global financial crisis (Davies, 2017, p. 5). Its ideas remain relevant in contemporary political and economic discourse, even after the fall of the Soviet Union and the Berlin Wall (Davies, 2017, p. 9). Today, it remains a significant

and widely read book, shaping political movements, intellectual history, and worldviews (Davies, 2017, p. 4).

In stark contrast, we have Adolf Hitler's philosophical autobiography, Mein Kampf, released on July 18, 1925 (Editors, 2009a). It was a roadmap for his Third Reich goal and a vivid description of the horror that would engulf Europe from 1939 until 1945 (Editors, 2009a). The book incited extreme nationalism, anti-Semitism, and the idea of Lebensraum (living space) (Museum, n.d). It also promoted the superiority of the Aryan race and the necessity of eradicating groups that threatened the nation's purity, such as Jews, Slavs, and other minorities (Museum, n.d). The Nazi regime continued to circulate and promote the book, educating followers and members of the Nazi Party and defending the regime's practices, including persecuting and annihilating millions of people during the Holocaust (Museum, n.d). Mein Kampf had a significant impact on the development of Nazi ideology, garnering support for Hitler and the Nazi Party, and establishing the foundation for the disastrous measures that defined the Nazi government (Museum, n.d).

Finally, we have the Ventotene Manifesto by Ernesto Rossi and Altiero Spinelli. It significantly influenced European politics during and after World War II, advocating for a European federal state and the removal of authoritarian institutions (Rossi & Spinelli, 1944, p. 8). It emphasized social reform, working-class empowerment, and the rejection of corporatism (Rossi & Spinelli, 1944, pp. 8-10). The manifesto also influenced European integration and cooperation, emphasizing liberty, autonomy, and equal rights of nations (Rossi & Spinelli, 1944). It motivated individuals and organizations to strive for a more cohesive Europe based on democratic values and individual liberties (Rossi & Spinelli, 1944). The manifesto has significantly influenced the development of the European Union, prioritizing member-state collaboration, peace, and unity (Lugarini, 2016). It also promoted social

reform, advocating for the liberation of the working class and a more just society (Lugarini, 2016). The manifesto's goal of a unified Europe remains a source of inspiration for initiatives aiming for a more affluent, peaceful, and interconnected continent (Lugarini, 2016).

These manifestos have significant value in understanding the development of manifestos, including terrorist manifestos. Historically, manifestos like Thomas Paine's "Common Sense" and Marx and Engels's "Communist Manifesto" were powerful tools for distributing ideas and rallying support. Still, they were often lengthy and detailed, outlining elaborate strategies and ideologies. Their physical form, however, limited their reach and speed of spreading.

In contrast, modern manifestos like Adolf Hitler's Mein Kampf and Ernesto Rossi and Altiero Spinelli's Ventotene Manifesto have benefited from the rise of digital technology. While Mein Kampf was still printed and distributed physically, its message was amplified by the Nazi regime's propaganda machine (Museum, n.d). The "Ventotene Manifesto," written during World War II, has seen renewed interest and relevance in the digital age, influencing European integration and cooperation (Lugarini, 2016).

Knowing the advantages and disadvantages of manifestos enables us to see the importance of critically interacting with any stated ideology and the responsibility accompanying strong rhetoric. This all-encompassing perspective emphasises not only the historical value of manifestos but also their continuing applicability in modern political and social situations, though in its original intended way. However, the digital age has also led to a shift in the form and content of manifestos. Modern manifestos tend to be more concise and direct, catering to shorter attention spans. Also, they benefit from the internet's rapid distribution. The focus is on

delivering a clear message effectively, and terrorist manifestoes are direct proof of this.

7.2 Terrorist Manifestoes

In Jacob Ware's article: "Testament to Murder: The Violent Far-Right's Increasing Use of Terrorist Manifestos", Ware points to the trend of publishing terrorist manifestos in connection with terrorist acts, then by right-wing extremists, and that it has increased considerably in recent years (Ware, 2020). Historically, manifestos have been used by various ideological groups, but the very pattern of them being used by extremists on the far right has increased in frequency with the digital age. Ware believes this is due to the potential to reach a global audience quickly and the development of online platforms used by right-wing extremists to spread their ideologies (Ware, 2020).

Ware also highlights that these manifestos, accompanied by a terrorist attack, aim to inspire copycats and are therefore inherently connected with the communicative nature of terrorist violence (Ware, 2020, p. 2). The role of manifestos has thus changed from being rare and isolated to becoming a critical element of the modus operandi of modern right-wing extremists. They are used as a tool to spread hatred, as well as to maintain their ideological representations on a global scale through the internet. This we can see in relation to manifestos written in their original sense, as presented above.

Supplementary, Ware is backed in this by Demir and Çona in; *"Taking stock of far-right terrorism through manifestos: Glorification of identity"* (Demir & Çona, 2024, p. 8). They refer to how terror manifestos function as a tool in which terrorists can communicate and justify their actions but also pass on their ideological framework. Furthermore, they can present

their motives, promote their cause, and recruit others in a political sense or influence them to commit new terrorist acts (Demir & Çona, 2024, p. 8). Informant P4 says:

"Manifestos serve as a curated presentation of how these individuals want to be seen by the world, aiming to control the media narrative" (P4).

Furthermore, Demir and Çona say that manifestos can extend their reach to a wider audience, and their followers can again attract new ones by publishing the manifesto online, if it's not already. The publication of the manifestoes is part of individuals terror strategy, which often correlates closely with the subsequent acts of violence (Demir & Çona, 2024, p. 8). Demir and Çona note an average gap of around 1 hour and 43 minutes from publication until the terrorist acts are carried out. This refers to how the role of manifestos is the first step in terrorist actions carried out by solo actors, as well as highlighting their use as a rallying point for action (Demir & Çona, 2024, p. 8).

7.2.1   The six manifestoes

When selecting the manifestos for analysis in my master's thesis, I was inspired and intrigued by the Norwegian TV series "Det hvite sinnet", the white anger (Gulliksen, 2023). In this documentary series, they presented a leaderboard showing the names of individuals at the top of the list for the number of murders committed within far-right extremist circles. I became curious about what had led these individuals to be on this list, and I discovered that 5 out of 6 of them, according to my research, had written manifestos. At the time, this list included Breivik, Tarrant, Crusius, Bowers, and Roof. From what I could gather, Bowers had posted hateful content online but had not written a manifesto (Turkewitz & Roose, 2018). Therefore, I chose the other 5.

Another reason for my selection was that their attacks occurred within a very short time frame, and I wondered if there was any reason for this. Could they have been inspired by each other? Why so many in such a short period, all by individuals on this leaderboard? Therefore, I found looking at Tarrant, Crusius, and Roof most interesting. Earnest was another who carried out his attack during this time. Therefore, it was interesting to include him in the comparison to see if there were any causal connections between these individuals.

When it comes to Breivik, I had the perception that he was a major leadership figure and that many had likely taken inspiration from him. So, even though his attack occurred a while before the other four, I wanted to look at him more closely to understand his role better. In many ways, he can also be seen as the starting point for this "trend" of publishing a manifesto alongside a terrorist act (Inquiry, 2020). Although manifestos have been published alongside terrorist acts before, there has been a sudden increase in them after Breivik, almost as if the manifesto is now an integral part of the attack itself (Ware, 2020). Therefore, he was included in this research.

As for Krajčík, he carried out his attack in 2022. I, therefore, thought it would be interesting to include someone who had carried out their attack more recently to see if his statements in the manifesto could have been inspired by his predecessors who had carried out their attacks roughly 3, 7, and 10 years earlier. In addition, I had heard that Tarrant inspired him and wanted to investigate this further. Thus, I ended up with these six: Breivik, Roof, Tarrant, Earnest, Crusius, and Krajčík.

These selected manifestos offer a rich dataset for identifying common themes and radicalisation indicators. They can reveal recurring narratives and strategic elements crucial for developing counternarratives and preventive measures that are later used in the analysis. So, in the

upcoming presentation of these individuals, I will proceed chronologically to when they carried out the attacks, starting with Breivik.

7.2.1.1   Anders Behring Breivik

Fjortolf Hansen, better known as Anders Behring Breivik, is known for his terrorist attack in Norway on July 22, 2011, in which he killed 77 people in a bomb attack in the government quarter and in a mass shooting at a youth camp on Utøya (NOU 2012:14, p. 13). In connection with this attack, he published a terrorist manifesto entitled: *"2083 - A European Declaration of Independence".* The manifesto is divided into three parts and was originally intended as a book. The manifesto reveals a deep contempt for multiculturalism and Islamization, which he perceives as a threat to European identity. Based on this, he sees himself as a defender of the European culture:

"The men the European public admires most extravagantly are the most daring liars; the men they detest most violently are those who try to tell them the truth" (Breivik, 2011, p. 4).

Breivik further argues that there is a systematic attempt by politicians and the media to hide the truth about, in his opinion, the harmful effects of Islam and multiculturalism in Europe:

"More than 90% of the EU and national parliamentarians and more than 95% of journalists are supporters of European multiculturalism and therefore supporters of the ongoing Islamic colonization of Europe; yet, they DO NOT have the permission of the European peoples to implement these doctrines" (Breivik, 2011, p. 4).

He proposes drastic measures to reverse what he sees as an ongoing conquest of Europe and describes the necessity of organized resistance to what he sees as a deep crisis:

"You cannot defeat Islamisation or halt/reverse the Islamic colonisation of Western Europe without first removing the political doctrines manifested through multiculturalism/cultural Marxism (...) "I am 100% certain that the distribution of this compendium to a large portion of European patriots will contribute to ensure our victory in the end. Because within these three books lies the tools required to win the ongoing Western European cultural war" (Breivik, 2011, p. 5).

He sees the spread of his manifesto as a key to victory in what he describes as a cultural war in Western Europe. Breivik believes that by sharing his ideology, he can mobilise a movement of like-minded individuals willing to fight against those he views as enemies. He emphasises a sense of urgency and immediate need for action, arguing that time is short before he believes that European societies will collapse under the weight of multiculturalism and Islamization:

"We do not only have a right to resist the current development, it is our duty as Europeans to prevent the annihilation of our identities, our cultures and traditions and our nation states! (...) We are in the very beginning of a very bloody cultural war, a war between nationalism and internationalism and we intend to win it. (...) We, the cultural conservatives, will not be able to determine our own future until we seize political and military power in our own countries. The only way of achieving this is to take individual responsibility and to contribute to create more resistance fighters by spreading the truth. Spreading the truth in an efficient way will speed up the ideological journey (the ideological maturity process/ideological confidence level) for mainstream Europeans." (Breivik, 2011, p. 6 & 762).

This rhetoric is designed to create a crisis and urgent need for his proposed solutions, and he goes forth to describe specific strategies and tactics he considers necessary for the upcoming fight against multiculturalism and Islamization, divides this "struggle" into three phased approaches:

*"**Phase 1 (1999-2030):** Open source warfare, military shock attacks by clandestine cell systems, and further consolidation of conservative forces.*

***Phase 2 (2030-2070):** Consolidation continues, more advanced forms of resistance groups and preparation for pan-European coup d'états.*

***Phase 3 (2070-2083):** Pan-European coup d'états, Cultural Communism/multiculturalism defeated in the first European country followed by the rest, the implementation of a Cultural Conservative political agenda begins, execution of cultural Marxist/multiculturalist category A and B traitors initiated, and deportation of Muslims initiated"* (Breivik, 2011, p. 803).

Furthermore, Breivik emphasises the importance of training for the movement's members. This includes physical preparation and tactical and operational training to ensure that the individuals/groups are ready to perform planned operations. He suggests this will require individual and collective efforts to build competence and capacity:

"You have to go through a "physical transformation period" to prepare yourself as a Justiciar Knight before you engage in armed resistance against the cultural Marxist/multiculturalist establishment. As such, the struggle requires determination, courage, and top physical conditioning (...) Consider taking a vacation to a country where you are able to train in marksmanship or join a gun club" (Breivik, 2011, p. 892 & 900).

Another important part of the preparations includes effectively using propaganda to recruit more people to the cause and spread the message. Breivik discusses developing and distributing materials that can inspire and inform potential supporters and emphasises using the internet and social media as key channels for these activities:

"We will in the coming decades (from 2010 and beyond) need leaders/initiative takers/administrators that will use the internet/Facebook and other online networks to preach and propagate armed resistance against the cultural Marxist hegemony (...) Create a Facebook group or fan page and start marketing towards patriotic Facebook groups, or ask your FB contacts to invite their friends etc. You can arrange online presentations on behalf of your own group or be a 'guest presenter' at other groups and forums" (Breivik, 2011, p. 1269).

He is also aware of the need to navigate within the law as far as possible. He discusses strategies to avoid legal challenges, including formulating messages and planning actions that do not directly violate laws while advancing the movement's goals:

"It is a lot you CAN say without breaking any laws. As long as you do not propagate use of violence against specific individuals or specific groups (political parties etc.), you will not break any laws and can therefore call for all Europeans to join our pan-European or national resistance movement" (Breivik, 2011, p. 1269).

Further, I will take a closer look at Breivik's ideological framework. But, before we go into that, there was one perception of this manifesto that came out in several of the interviews, an informant says:

"For me, the first significant manifesto I really examined in detail was Breivik's from 2011... It's often dismissed as gibberish because it's too long and just copied material" (P4).

Although I agree that this manifesto is extremely long and that he could have gotten his message across in fewer pages, I will later argue that this is not "gibberish" and that his words have had an enormous impact on his successors. The manifesto serves as a window into Breivik's worldview, but it is important to note that it is the product of a complex ideology that we will now explore in more detail.

Ideological framework

Breivik promotes an extreme form of nationalism, where European identity is inextricably linked to ethnicity and Christianity. He sees multiculturalism and Islam as existential threats to this identity, arguing that nationalist doctrines are essential for preserving European values and culture (Breivik, 2011, p. 1435):

"We must keep in mind that replacing a cultural Marxist extremist regime with a cultural conservative extremist regime will only fail to break the cycle where history always repeats itself (...) As such, we should limit the executions of category A and B traitors to 200 000 in Western Europe. A better alternative than execution of the remaining, the category C traitors, would be to establish a large multiculturalist zone in southern/eastern Europe, perhaps Anatolia, or on other territories which has been invaded and occupied by Muslims" (Breivik, 2011, p. 1435).

He believes that the lack of nationalism is the root of Europe's problems and that it is systematically undermined by a cultural Marxist elite. In addition, he says that European nations should preserve their ethnic purity, something that multiculturalism threatens. He sees immigration, especially from Muslim countries, as a form of cultural and demographic warfare, which is consistent with ethnonationalism (Breivik, 2011, p. 1382).

Furthermore, he considers multiculturalism to be a destructive ideology that leads to Islamization and undermines European nation-states. He accuses multiculturalists of operating under the guise of humanism while, in reality, they seek to deconstruct European identity and traditions (Breivik, 2011, p. 1393):

> *"Oslo used to be a peaceful city. Thanks to the Norwegian cultural Marxist/multiculturalist regime they have transformed my beloved city into a broken city, a bunkered society, a multiculturalist shit hole where no one is safe anymore (...) Our major cities will remain "broken" as long as multiculturalism is allowed to be the prevalent ideology, as long as cultural Marxists are allowed to set the agenda " (Breivik, 2011, p. 1393).*

He believes that multiculturalism is a deliberate strategy to weaken European societies and make them vulnerable to Islamic influence. He argues that Islamization is the result of a deliberate policy supported by European elites that do not have the people's mandate. He warns of a future conflict between Muslims and Europeans and believes that Islam is incompatible with Western values (Breivik, 2011, p. 1385). What this culminates in is an incitement to violence and terrorism as legitimate means of combating what he perceives as an existential threat to Europe. He sees himself as a warrior in a cultural struggle and believes radical measures are necessary to save European civilisation:

> *"I know I will die fighting the overwhelming cultural Marxists/multiculturalist forces in phase 1 and that's not a problem for me at all. I have prepared mentally for a very long time and I will gladly sacrifice my life for the benefit of my European brothers and sisters (...) Make sure you have many children or fight for the armed resistance movement. You may fight with the pen or with the sword, every effort counts!" (Breivik, 2011, p. 1403).*

Breivik is often associated with right winged extremism, but, here, we can see why Breivik is moving inside the realm of accelerationism, even though he may not be in the strictest sense, one informant says that:

[9] *"Breivik was also a proto-accelerationist. He says that his action was to make it more uncomfortable for other national conservatives so that they would become radicalized"* (P1).

Breivik can be interpreted as a proto-accelerationist because his ideological foundation, while primarily rooted in radical nationalism, includes accelerationist elements. Accelerationism in Breivik's context refers to his belief in hastening the collapse of current political systems to bring about a desired cultural revolution. This is evident in his phased strategy for the cultural war, designed to create chaos and instability, which he believes will lead to the eventual triumph of his nationalist and anti-Islamist ideology.

Based on this, Breivik's ideological framework expresses a far-right extremist ideology characterised by elements of nationalism, anti-Islamism, cultural conservatism, proto-accelerationism, and ethnonationalism.

7.2.1.2   Dylann Roof

Dylann Roof's manifesto spans over 5 pages and provides a detailed account of Roof's racial awakening and evolving beliefs about race and patriotism (Roof, 2015). Several of Roof's reflections on historical narratives, racial disparities and the perceived threats to the white race are the focus combined with personal anecdotes, societal observations,

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[9] Original Language: «Breivik var jo også en proto-akselerasjonist. Han sier jo jo selv at hans aksjon var for å gjøre det mer ukomfortabelt og ubehagelig for andre nasjonalkonservative, så at de igjen skal bli radikaliserte» (P1).

controversial opinions, race relations, patriotism, and historical injustices (Roof, 2015).

On 17 June 2015, Dylann Roof, then 21 years old, performed a church massacre at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) in Charleston, South Carolina, killing 9 people (Lynch, 2015, p. 5). He chose this church because it predominantly had African-American members and was significant to the people of Charleston, South Carolina. (Lynch, 2015, p. 2). Right before the attack, he published a manifesto that detailing his racial awakening and evolving beliefs about race and nationalism (Roof, 2015).

In his manifesto, Dylann Roof expresses an intense contempt for black people, Jews and Hispanics. However, he sees East Asians in a positive light due to what he perceives as their inherent racism. He argues for the superiority of the white race and denies historical injustices committed against blacks, Jews, and Hispanics, dismissing these as fabrications. His manifesto is steeped in racist stereotypes and claims about intellectual and behavioural differences between different races:

"Niggers are stupid and violent. At the same time they have the capacity to be very slick" (Roof, 2015, p. 1). He also expresses concerns about what he calls a "Jewish problem", which he believes undermines white society from the inside: "In my opinion the issues with jews is not their blood, but their identity... The problem is that Jews look White, and in many cases are White, yet they see themselves as minorities" (Roof, 2015, p. 3).

Roof goes on to advocate segregation and lists what he considers to be the benefits of this. He considers segregation to be a security measure for white people and is opposed to integration, as he believes this will have a detrimental effect on white society. He argues that white culture is

superior and should be promoted globally to ensure its continued dominance. The manifesto concludes with a call to action, in which Roof gives strong hints at the necessity of violent action to restore and maintain white dominance, which he believes is threatened:

"It is far from being too late for America or Europe. I believe that even if we made up only 30 percent of the population we could take it back completely. But by no means should we wait any longer to take drastic action" (Roof, 2015, p. 3).

Ideological framework

Roof identifies as a white nationalist who sees the white race as superior and believes that white people need to be aware of racial differences to protect themselves, and shows strong anti-Semitism:

"The problem is that Jews look White, and in many cases are White, yet they see themselves as minorities" (Roof, 2015, p. 3).

The patriotism he presents is selective and more reminiscent of nationalism; it is based on a nostalgic longing for a white America. Thus, he rejects modern American patriotism and sees it as inauthentic and corrupt:

"I hate the sight of the American flag. Modern American patriotism is an absolute joke (...) How about we protect the White race and stop fighting for the jews" (Roof, 2015, p. 4). He wants a return to a time when, in his view, America was a nation that protected white interests.

In addition, Roof sees multiculturalism and immigration as existential threats to the white race, both in the United States and Europe. He

believes that these threats are part of a larger conspiracy to undermine white supremacy:

"As an American we are taught to accept living in the melting pot (...) But Europe is the homeland of White people (...) From here I found out about the Jewish problem and other issues facing our race" (Roof, 2015, p. 1).

He fears that white people will become a minority in their own countries and that this must be combated with drastic measures.

Lastly, Roof reveals a white supremacist ideology with a primary goal of inciting a race war in the United States. His motivations were rooted in racist beliefs and a desire to provoke a racial conflict, aimed at reinstating what he saw as proper racial dynamics, which he believed favoured white people. He focused on reinstating a racist order rather than collapsing the current system entirely to rebuild from scratch. Thus, his actions, while intended to be catalysts for racial strife, do not entirely align with accelerationism. Roof's manifesto and actions were geared towards restoring a perceived past order, not accelerating the downfall of society to create a new one.

Thus, we can see how Roof establishes extreme nationalism, racism, and anti-Semitism as his argumentative elements within his ideological framework.

7.2.1.3   Brenton Tarrant

Brenton Tarrant's "The Great Replacement" manifesto spans 74 pages and presents his beliefs and motivations regarding ethnonationalism, immigration, and the preservation of white European identity (Tarrant, 2019). He discusses his background, experiences, and the events that led to a shift in his worldview, expressing a sense of urgency to address what he perceives as threats to the existence and future of the European

population (Tarrant, 2019). The manifesto also touches on topics such as cultural preservation, demographic change, and the wide-ranging impact of immigration on society (Tarrant, 2019).

On 15 March 2019, Brenton Tarrant attacked two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, killing 51 people and attempted murder 40 during the attack (Kolberg, 2020). In the lead-up to the attack, he published his manifesto, which deals with his views on birth rates, immigration, and demographic changes in Western countries. He believes these changes will lead to cultural and ethnic replacement, ultimately resulting in the loss of the cultural and national identity of the European population if current trends continue. Tarrant aims to mobilise readers through ethnic solidarity and fear of ethnic shifts:

"It's the birthrates. It's the birthrates. It's the birthrates. If there is one thing I want you to remember from these writings, its that the birthrates must change (...) This crisis of mass immigration and sub-replacement fertility is an assault on the European people that, if not combated, will ultimately result in the complete racial and cultural replacement of the European people (...) "To most of all show the invaders that our lands will never be their lands, our homelands are our own and that, as long as a white man still lives, they will NEVER conquer our lands and they will never replace our people" (Tarrant, 2019, p. 3 & 5).

The manifesto is driven by claims and does not rely on scientific supporting literature but rather anecdotal evidence and selective use of statistics. Tarrant uses emotionally charged language to appeal to outrage and fear:

"This is ethnic replacement. This is cultural replacement. This is racial replacement. This is WHITE GENOCIDE (...) Rage, rage against the dying of the light (...) Not a single Western country, not a single white nation,

reaches these levels [of replacement fertility rates]" (Tarrant, 2019, pp. 4, 2 & 3).

Tarrant emphasises birth rates and immigration data, using hyperbole and rhetorical questions to reinforce his message. Tarrant's solutions to these perceived problems include stricter immigration controls and encouraging higher birth rates among white Europeans. He tries to create a polarising effect by encouraging ethnically based nationalism and social division:

"To maintain a population the people must achieve a birthrate that reaches replacement fertility levels (...) Even if we were to deport all Non-Europeans from our lands tomorrow, the European people would still be spiraling into decay and eventual death (...) We must ensure the existence of our people, and a future for white children (...) The truth of the political situation in Europe was suddenly impossible to accept. My despair set in. My belief in a democratic solution vanished" (Tarrant, 2019, pp. 3, 7 & 8)

Ideological framework

At the core of Tarrant's ideology is the belief in European ethnic and cultural superiority. He argues that Europeans must preserve their identity to avoid extinction through what he sees as an ongoing demographic replacement (Tarrant, 2019). This view is evident in his repeated claim that the European population is being replaced by non-European immigrants:

"This crisis of mass immigration and sub-replacement fertility is an assault on the European people that, if not combated, will ultimately result in the complete racial and cultural replacement of the European people" (Tarrant, 2019, p. 3).

Tarrant sees globalization and multiculturalism as forces that contribute to this replacement by promoting cultural and ethnic homogenization (Tarrant, 2019, p. 67). He describes global capitalism as an enemy of ethnic autonomy, because it encourages mass immigration to satisfy the needs of a global market:

"Globalized capitalist markets are the enemy of racial autonomists"
(Tarrant, 2019, p. 67).

Further, Tarrant, like several others, directs his hatred at immigrants, especially Muslims, whom he sees as occupiers. According to him, these groups are replacing the European population, as well as destroying culture (Tarrant, 2019, p. 12). This is also what can be seen as the driving force behind his terrorist acts since he justifies the actions by saying that:

"The invaders must be removed from European soil, regardless from where they came or when they came (...) How they are removed is irrelevant, peacefully, forcefully, happily, violently or diplomatically. They must be removed" (Tarrant, 2019, p. 50).

As one can see, Tarrant sees violence as the only effective method of countering what he sees as an existential threat to Europeans. He rejects democratic and peaceful solutions, believing them to be ineffective, then calls for radical and violent actions to achieve his goals (Tarrant, 2019, p. 66):

"Do not suffer under the delusion of an effortless, riskless democratic victory. Prepare for war, prepare for violence and prepare for risk, loss, struggle, death. Force is the only path to power and the only path to true victory" (Tarrant, 2019, p. 20).

In addition to his violent and racist outlook, Tarrant's ideology also includes a form of environmental awareness. He argues that the preservation of nature is inextricably linked to the preservation of ethnic identity and culture (Tarrant, 2019, p. 38). He believes that overpopulation, driven by high birth rates among immigrants, is a major threat to the environment:

"There is no Conservatism without nature, there is no nationalism without environmentalism" (Tarrant, 2019, p. 38).

Finally, Tarrant criticizes modern Western society for its nihilism, individualism, and moral decay. He accuses Western societies of having lost their core and direction after rejecting traditional values and belief in God (Tarrant, 2019, p. 35):

"The truth that the West killed the notion of god, and proceeded to replace it with nothing" (Tarrant, 2019, p. 34).

Therefore, Tarrant aligns with accelerationism through his desire to create further political and societal division, particularly around issues of race and immigration. He hoped to accelerate conflicts leading to societal collapse or radical transformation. He aimed to use violence to deepen existing social and political divides, thereby hastening what he saw as an unavoidable cultural and racial conflict. This is evident in his call for violence and rejection of peaceful solutions (Tarrant, 2019, p. 20).

This emphasis on using violence to accelerate societal change is a core element of accelerationist ideology, distinguishing Tarrant from other extremists who may focus solely on maintaining or restoring a perceived past order without necessarily seeking to hasten societal collapse.

To conclude, Tarrant possesses an extreme ideology that is built on nationalism, racism, and a violent resistance to globalisation and multiculturalism and is, therefore, an accelerationist.

7.2.1.4   John Earnest

John Earnest's six-page manifesto expresses several different themes and beliefs that shed light on his motivations and justifications for his actions (Earnest, 2019). Earnest goes into his heritage, influences, and ideological attitudes and extents on topics like religion, race, and violence (Earnest, 2019). Earnest reflects a deep-rooted conviction about the superiority of the European race and therefore proclinate a call to action against his perceived threat (Earnest, 2019). Through a series of questions and statements, Earnest articulates his views on religion, and the need for a revolution (Earnest, 2019).

On April 27, 2019, John Earnest, known as the Poway Synagogue Shooter, entered the Chabad of Poway, killing one person, wounding three, and attempting to kill 50 others present (Ko & Harrigan, 2021). He published a six-page manifesto, named "An Open Letter," before the attack.

Earnest expresses a strong anti-Semitism with a violent appearance in his manifesto. He, like many others, expresses that he identifies himself as someone who possesses a European identity, due to his European descent, which also seems to be the motivation for his actions:

> *"My name is John Earnest and I am a man of European ancestry"*
> *(Earnest, 2019, p. 1).*

He argues that Jews are collectively responsible for historical and contemporary evils and justifies his actions on this basis. To support his views, he uses religious and historical rhetoric and references to biblical

texts for further legitimation, which refers to a mixture of religious conviction and conspiratorial thinking. The language is filled with provocative and hate speech against Jews, Hispanics and African-Americans. He believes these minorities are being used by Jews to replace or undermine the white population. This is a well-known conspiracy theory, namely the great replacement theory:

"Every Jew is responsible for the meticulously planned genocide of the European race. They act as a unit, and every Jew plays his part to enslave the other races around him—whether consciously or subconsciously (...) The Jew—with his genocidal instincts—is insistent on poking the bear until it tears his head off. The Jew has forced our hand, and our response is completely justified (...) I did not choose to be a Christian. The Father chose me. The Son saved me. And the Spirit keeps me" (Earnest, 2019, p. 1 & 2).

Moreover, he also rejects those he sees as political or ideological opponents and denies any guilt or remorse for his actions, expressing pride in them. He also encourages others to commit similar acts, and with this wants to be an inspiration to others:

"You mean that Zionist, Jew-loving, anti-White, traitorous cocksucker? Don't make me laugh (...) I feel no remorse. I only wish I killed more. I am honored to be the one to send these vile anti-humans into the pit of fire—where they shall remain for eternity (...) To my brothers in blood. Make sure that my sacrifice was not in vain. Spread this letter, make memes, shitpost, FIGHT BACK" (Earnest, 2019, p. 4 & 3).

Ideological framework

John Earnest's manifesto is founded on a combination of white nationalism, anti-Semitism, and a distorted interpretation of Christianity.

Throughout the manifesto, Earnest refers to his conviction that he is about saving the European race from what he perceives as an existential threat from Jews, Muslims, African Americans, and Latin Americans.

Earnest's emphasis on his own lineage shows how big he has on bloodlines and heritage. This reflects a deep-rooted belief in racial superiority and destiny, which is a recurring theme in white nationalist ideology:

"The blood that runs in my veins is the same that ran through the English, Nordic, and Irish men of old. (...) Truly, I am blessed by God for such a magnificent bloodline" (Earnest, 2019, p. 1).

He also says that self-sacrifice for the greater good is an important part of his ideological framework, where he sees violence as a necessary act to combat what he perceives as an existential threat:

"What value does my life have compared to the entirety of the European race?" (Earnest, 2019, p. 1).

He justifies his violent actions as a necessary sacrifice to save the European race. He compares his life's value to saving his race, concluding that it is worth sacrificing his own life for this cause. Further, he accuses the Jews of several global problems and historical crimes. In his opinion, the Jews are a unitary group working against Europeans (Earnest, 2019, p. 1). He uses this image of the enemy to justify the violent actions against them, and present anti-Semitic conspiracy theories, like:

"Every Jew is responsible for the meticulously planned genocide of the European race" (Earnest, 2019, p. 1).

The Jews are a unitary group working against Europeans. He uses this image of the enemy to justify the violent actions against them (Earnest,

2019, p. 1). He also expresses hatred of Muslims, African Americans, and Latin Americans, and sees them as tools used by Jews to weaken and replace white people:

"Spics and niggers are useful puppets for the Jew in terms of replacing Whites (...) "I scorched a mosque in Escondido with gasoline a week after Brenton Tarrant's sacrifice" (Earnest, 2019, p. 3&4).

He believes that these groups are being manipulated by the Jews to contribute to what he sees as an ongoing war of popular exploitation against white people. Earnest believes that these minorities are either conscious or unconscious participants in a larger conspiracy to undermine and destroy the European race (Earnest, 2019, p. 4).

Simultaneously, Earnest uses Christian references and theology to further justify his actions, believing that his belief in God supports his violent ideology. He interprets these texts as a divine authorisation to use violence against Jews, which shows a distorted interpretation of the message of Christianity:

"They answered and said unto him, Abraham is our father. Jesus saith unto them, If ye were Abraham's children, ye would do the works of Abraham... Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do (John 8:37-45)" (Earnest, 2019, p. 2).

Finally, violence for Earnest is both a necessary and a just solution to what he perceives as problems caused mainly by Jews. He describes his desire to inspire others to act in the same way:

"There is at least one European man alive who is willing to take a stand against the injustice that the Jew has inflicted upon him, That my act will inspire others to take a stand as well" (Earnest, 2019, p. 2).

Earnest exhibits elements of accelerationist ideology, hoping his actions would accelerate societal divisions and lead to larger conflicts or transformation by targeting Jews, whom he blamed for various societal issues. He aimed to create further political and societal division, hastening what he saw as an unavoidable cultural and racial conflict. This emphasis on using violence to accelerate societal change aligns with accelerationist ideology.

With this, one can see that Earnest represents an ideological combination of nationalism, anti-Semitism, anti-multiculturalism, accelerationism, and the fight against violence, all framed in a distorted interpretation of Christianity.

7.2.1.5   Patrick Crusius

Patrick Crusius, the author of the manifesto "The Inconvenient Truth," was a white nationalist terrorist driven by xenophobia, racism, anti-immigrant sentiments, and a desire for racial purity and separation (Crusius, 2019). On 3 of August 2019, Patrick Wood Crusius carried out a mass shooting at the Cielo Vista Walmart in El Paso, Texas, killing 23 people and injuring 22 others (N.A, 2023). Crusius's manifesto is a response to what he describes as a "Hispanic invasion" of Texas, and he argues that he would defend his country against cultural and ethnic reparation from this invasion. America is "rotting from the inside" (Crusius, 2019, p. 1), and peaceful solutions are deemed impossible since the Hispanic population in the United States will lead to democratic dominance in the future, changing the United States to a one-party state. He accuses both Democratic and Republican leaders of failing America for decades by allowing uncontrolled immigration:

"This attack is a response to the Hispanic invasion of Texas. They are the instigators, not me. I am simply defending my country from cultural and

ethnic replacement brought on by an invasion (...) Due to the death of the baby boomers, the increasingly anti-immigrant rhetoric of the right and the ever increasing Hispanic population, America will soon become a one party-state (...) The inconvenient truth is that our leaders, both Democrat AND Republican, have been failing us for decades. They are either complacent or involved in one of the biggest betrayals of the American public in our history" (Crusius, 2019, p. 1).

Crusius contends that immigration exacerbates the labour market and increases competition for both low- and high-skilled jobs, especially considering increasing automation:

"Continued immigration will make one of the biggest issues of our time, automation, so much worse. Some sources say that in under two decades, half of American jobs will be lost to it" (Crusius, 2019, p. 2).

He expresses a deep personal fear for the future, especially for Texas, and sees his act of violence as a patriotic duty to protect his country:

"My whole life I have been preparing for a future that currently doesn't exist. The job of my dreams will likely be automated. Hispanics will take control of the local and state government of my beloved Texas" (Crusius, 2019, p. 4).

He also describes his preparations for purchasing weapons and ammunition based on their effects and potential for mass destruction. This seems like a description of how someone can make an attack better after him:

"Main gun: AK47 (WASR 10) – I realized pretty quickly that this isn't a great choice since it's the civilian version of the ak47. It's not designed to shoot rounds quickly, so it overheats massively after about 100 shots fired

in quick succession. I'll have to use a heat-resistant glove to get around
this (Crusius, 2019, p. 3).

He concludes the manifesto by justifying his actions due to the struggle for America's future and refers to a feeling of inevitable death. He refers to what he sees as invasion and destruction and expresses a desire to reduce the number of people in America to preserve the country's resources and lifestyle.

"I can no longer bear the shame of inaction knowing that our founding
fathers have endowed me with the rights needed to save our country from
the brink of destruction (...) America can only be destroyed from the
inside-out. If our country falls, it will be the fault of traitors. This is why I
see my actions as faultless. Because this isn't an act of imperialism but an
act of preservation" (Crusius, 2019, p. 4).

Ideological framework

The ideological framework of Crusius is characterized by white nationalism and racism, in which he justifies his violent action as a defence mechanism against what he sees as a cultural and ethnic replacement.

Crusius sees he sees immigration as detrimental to America's future. He believes that a high birth rate and immigration are why the labour market and economy are deteriorating and that universal welfare schemes and health care have a greater chance of success if immigrants are removed:

"Achieving ambitious social projects like universal healthcare and UBI
would be far more likely to succeed if tens of millions of dependents are
removed" (Crusius, 2019, p. 2).

He feels threatened by the changes in politics and society that favour Hispanic interests, Crusius proclaims himself the defender of his European heritage and argues for separatism based on race, and that this will be the solution to America's challenges:

"The natives didn't take the invasion of Europeans seriously, and now what's left is just a shadow of what was (...) The best solution to this would be to divide America into a confederacy of territories with at least 1 territory for each race. This physical separation would nearly eliminate race mixing and improve social unity by granting each race self-determination with their respective territory(s)" (Crusius, 2019, p. 1).

Additionally, he goes into the environment and resource use and believes that the American way of life is unsustainable due to overpopulation and overconsumption (Crusius, 2019, p. 3). He sees the reduction of the population as a solution to make the lifestyle more sustainable:

"So the next logical step is to decrease the number of people in America using resources. If we can get rid of enough people, then our way of life can become more sustainable" (Crusius, 2019, p. 3).

He also includes his opposition to racial mixing, which he believes destroys genetic diversity and creates identity problems:

"I am against race mixing because it destroys genetic diversity and creates identity problems" (Crusius, 2019, p. 4).

The manifesto concludes with a justification for his actions, explaining the struggle for America's future, which refers to a feeling of inevitable death. He refers to what he sees as an invasion and destruction and expresses a desire to reduce the number of people in America to preserve the country's resources and lifestyle.

"I can no longer bear the shame of inaction knowing that our founding fathers have endowed me with the rights needed to save our country from the brink of destruction (...) America can only be destroyed from the inside-out. If our country falls, it will be the fault of traitors. This is why I see my actions as faultless. Because this isn't an act of imperialism but an act of preservation" (Crusius, 2019, p. 4).

Crusius aligns with accelerationism by wanting to accelerate conflicts leading to societal collapse or radical transformation. He aimed to use violence to deepen existing social and political divides, hastening what he saw as an unavoidable cultural and racial conflict. This emphasis on using violence to accelerate societal change aligns with accelerationist ideology:

"I didn't spend much time at all preparing for this attack. Maybe a month, probably less. I have to do this before I lose my never. I figured that an under-prepared attack and a manifesto is better than no attack and no manifesto" (Crusius, 2019, p. 3).

Consequently, Crusius`s ideological framework is deeply rooted in nationalism, racism, and a fear of cultural and political replacement. He justifies violence as a necessary means of protecting the nation from immigration and sees himself as a defender of American culture and identity against a perceived threat from immigrants, and is, because of this, an accelerationist.

7.2.1.6   Juraj Krajčík

Juraj Krajčík, on the 12 of October 2022, opened fire outside a gay bar in Bratislava, Slovakia, killing two individuals and harming three others (Basha, 2022). With this attack, he published a 65-page long manifesto, titled "A Call to Arms" (Krajčík, 2022). His manifesto delves into his

ideological stance and call to action. He addresses the perceived threats facing the white race and advocates for drastic measures to combat these challenges. The manifesto touches on mental preparation for operations, goal selection strategies, and the necessity of violence to achieve desired goals. It also emphasises the importance of decentralisation and individual action in the face of what Krajčík perceives as a relentless assault on the white race (Krajčík, 2022).

Krajčík calls for violence against Jews, those he refers to as non-white immigrants, Muslims, and LGBTQ+ people; with this, he presents several conspiracy theories and accusations against these minority groups. He believes that it is Jews who control the media, finance, and politics and that they are, therefore, guilty of promoting cultural and ethnic degeneration in Western societies. This is the basis for his further argumentation in the manifesto:

"Destroy the invaders! Target invasive non-Whites; target their families; target their children; target their property. Target invader-owned businesses, restaurants and corner stores; kill the invaders inside and burn down the property to leave nothing for their families (...) "Who to blame for the rise of degeneracy, faggotry, transgenderism, deviancy of all forms (...) Who to blame for the mass brainwashing of the public through media, newspapers, and now social media. Who to blame for enslaving us financially. And more recently, who to blame for pushing a form of complete social control, a 'good boy pass' for people who just take a totally safe jab, so that ZOG knows they are good obedient cattle"
(Krajčík, 2022, p. 6 & 1).

Further, the manifesto outlines a belief that the White race is facing significant challenges, including infiltration, demoralisation, and subjugation by what he refers to as Zionist Occupation Governments (ZOG) and Jewish interests. It calls for removing perceived threats, such as alien races and traitors.

In addition to being speculative, the manifesto contains direct calls for violence and murder against Jews, Muslims, homosexuals, and transgender people. Krajčík calls for ethnic cleansing and nationalism to achieve the goal of establishing a society dominated by whites without the influence of other ethnic groups. He believes that this is the only solution to save the white race from Jewish domination, which he believes is superior and under attack:

> "As a Race, we find ourselves in a critical situation. What the Jews and their traitorous allies is power and wealth. For them, the destruction and subjugation of the White race is simply logical (...) There is no way to achieve even one of these required goals, without the use of violence at a large scale (...) The expulsion or physical removal of all alien races from our lands. The expulsion or physical removal of all White traitors, who aided ZOG in its destruction of our people" (Krajčík, 2022, p. 2 & 4).

Krajčík is trying to dehumanise these groups to justify violence, as well as their elimination. He has an apocalyptic appearance characterised by desperation. This further refers to his perception of an immediate and existential threat. He glorifies previous acts of terror/violence and then his predecessors whom he sees as heroes and role models.

Ideological framework

Krajčík's ideological framework, as expressed in the manifesto, is deeply rooted in extreme nationalism and racism, with a strong emphasis on anti-Semitism. He argues that Jews weaken and undermine white societies to secure their own power and dominance (Krajčík, 2022, p. 3). ZOG is an oppressive power regime dominated by Jews, who he believes seek to destroy the white race through various means, including mass immigration and cultural degeneration:

"These plans is currently being implemented all over the White European world, in the west by the United States and in the east by Russia, the two jewish centers of power. This is ZOG (Zionist Occupation Government). This is JOG (Jew Occupation Government). This is the System. The New World Order, if you prefer that term" (Krajčík, 2022, p. 3).

He emphasises race as the primary criterion for society. Therefore, all white people must stand together regardless of national differences to combat what he sees as an existential threat from other races and ethnic groups:

"The reason is simple: our enemies see us as a collective, and thus we must fight as a collective" (Krajčík, 2022, p. 24).

Violence is necessary to achieve his goal of a pure white nation and any form of violence is acceptable to secure this future:

"There is no way to achieve even one of these required goals, without the use of violence at a large scale" (Krajčík, 2022, p. 4)

With this, we can see that he has a strategy of decentralised resistance in which individual cells will carry out acts of violence without direct connection to larger groups to avoid infiltration and detection by the authorities (Krajčík, 2022, pp. 5-6).

"Say goodbye to named, public-facing groups that get infiltrated by ZOG agents and dismantled from within. Each man forms his own group, from within his close real life friends" (Krajčík, 2022, p. 5).

As can be seen, Krajčík expresses a strong distrust of peaceful political processes and believes that such approaches are ineffective and cowardice:

"The least that can be done, is forcing people to vent in real life. To share their disdain with the modern world with their friends and acquaintances. Make them express their frustration in the physical world" (Krajčík, 2022, p. 40).

Seeing all this in relation to accelerationism, it becomes clear that Krajčík's views can be seen through his advocacy for violent actions to bring about radical change and his rejection of non-violent methods such as political solutions or peaceful protests. He emphasises the need for targeted violence against specific groups and institutions to destabilise the existing system. Additionally, Krajčík's call for decentralised resistance, where individual cells carry out acts of violence independently to avoid detection by authorities, reflects an accelerationist approach to inciting societal upheaval. These elements collectively indicate Krajčík's alignment with accelerationist ideology.

Finally, Krajčík's ideological framework refers to radicalism as well as a violent form of nationalism that calls for direct action against those, he considers enemies of the white race. His manifesto lays the foundation for an ideology that completely rejects peaceful means and sees violence as the only effective tool to achieve its goals. This framework is a manifestation of deep anti-Semitism, racism, and extreme nationalism.

7.2.2   Influence, ideology, and distinctive features in right-wing extremism manifestoes

The manifestos presented above reveal a complex interplay of mutual inspiration, ideological variety, operational emphasis, and strategic communication. By examining references, the balance between promoting violence and justifying it through ideology, and the range of solutions to achieve their objectives, we can gain insight into how terrorist manifestos

can have an impact, how they work as radicalisation tools, and how they develop their extremist mindset.

In several of the manifestos, we can see how direct recognition highlights how acts of violence feed extremist ideologies and actions. Examples of this are when Crusius and Earnest praise Tarrant and his manifesto, in theirs, and demonstrate how this influenced their radicalisation process:

"In general, I support the Christchurch shooter and his manifesto" (Crusius, 2019).

"Tarrant was a catalyst for me personally. He showed me that it could be done. And that it needed to be done" (Earnest, 2019).

This context reveals how manifestos can act as catalysts for future violence and tools to bolster extremist representations.

Manifestos show major differences in emphasising outlining one's actions versus providing ideological justifications for them. Tarrant, on the other hand, outlines both in his manifesto. There, he shows both his motivations and the planning of his attack (Tarrant, 2019). This suggests that Tarrant intended his manifesto to serve as a statement of his faith and a guide for potential followers. On the other hand, Roof's manifesto focuses primarily on racial grievances and personal experiences (Roof, 2015) And presents it more as a proclamation of an ideology, than specific incitement to violence:

"I see all this stuff going on, and I don't see anyone doing anything about it. And it pisses me off" (Roof, 2015).

"I have no choice. I am not in the position to, alone, go into the ghetto and fight... Well someone has to have the bravery to take it to the real world, and I guess that has to be me" (Roof, 2015).

Within the distributed theme, one can see how it is white supremacy and ethnic nationalism that reveal the nuances of the enemy image in the manifestos, but also tactical approaches and "solutions". Crusius, in his manifesto, focuses on what he describes as a Latin American invasion (Crusius, 2019), while Tarrant portrays his struggle as a global conflict of civilisations (Tarrant, 2019). Roof, as mentioned earlier, highlights internal racial conflict (Roof, 2015). What is clear is that these variations help illustrate the spectrum of extremism within an ideological framework.

When going through these manifestoes, one stands out: "The Great Replacement" of Tarrant (Tarrant, 2019). It's telling about the white demographic decline gives a broad entry point for potential supporters, compared to manifestoes centred on regional or historical grievances (Tarrant, 2019).

It also appears that Tarrant's manifesto is the one manifesto with the most inspirational power, as seen in the subsequent attacks by Crusius and Earnest, who explicitly cite Tarrant. He also provided practical advice and tactical instructions which arguably, to the right persons, could work as a kind of blueprint for violence (Tarrant, 2019). Tarrant manifestoes emphasis on nationalism and demographics resonates with contemporary global discussion, increasing its "relevance" and potentially widening its reach within extremist circles (Tarrant, 2019). The fact that Tarrant live-streamed his attack reflects a calculated use of modern media for maximum impact and dissemination, a strategy absent from earlier manifestoes, underscoring his understanding of contemporary communication dynamics (Demir & Çona, 2024, p. 9). Though this was not explicitly foretold in the manifesto itself, it may have had an underlying agenda.

This reveals how manifestos spread ideology, inspire violence, and expose variations within extremist thought. Understanding these nuances, particularly the unique danger posed by "The Great Replacement," is vital for counter-extremism efforts focused on mitigating the harm driven by these documents.

8 Analysis

In this chapter, I will further investigate how the terrorist manifestos are influenced by each other. Among other things, I will establish a framework for categorising the terrorist manifestos based on ideological focus to get an overview of their similarities and differences. This will be done by looking at the ideological framework presented in the previous chapter and the terrorists' depictions in the manifestos. By doing so, we can gain a deeper understanding of the ideological landscape that has inspired these acts of violence.

This study's findings are consistent with previous research but also provide new insights into how these manifestos can be exploited in counterterrorism work. By analysing the recurring themes and strategies used in these documents, we can better understand how to prevent radicalisation and develop measures to counter the spread of extremist ideologies. These manifestos reveal how right-wing extremists communicate their ideas and motives, and by understanding this, we can develop better methods to counter their message.

8.1 From Breivik to Krajčík: Tracing the Lineage of Influence in Modern Extremists Right-Wing Terrorist Manifestos

Placing terrorists like Breivik, Roof, Tarrant, Earnest, Crusius, and Krajčík within a single online subculture is challenging because they draw inspiration from a wide range of sources online. If we were to categorise these, it might be more explanatory to look at nationalist trends within the radical and extreme right in relation to depictions from the manifestos.

Bjørgo and Ravndal present a family tree for "the far right" that divides into radical and extreme right (Bjørgo & Ravndal, 2019, p. 3). On the radical right, we find cultural and ethnic nationalism; on the extreme right, we find ethnic and radical nationalism (Bjørgo & Ravndal, 2019, p. 3). By looking at the ideological framework and utilising this family tree as a foundation, instead of subcultures, we can, in a more general way, see what part of the far-right spectre, and then the nationalist category, the terrorists fall under.

By looking at this, we may gain a better understanding of what attitudes, opinions and values may be applied, based on the terrorists' depictions in the manifesto. But one thing to consider here, and therefore important for further research, is that while useful for academic and analytical purposes, these categories should be considered part of a broader, more nuanced discussion about right-wing extremism. These lines tend to be extremely blurred, so placing them in the following way can provide an overview but excluding them for fitting into other nationalist categories can be a mistake and thereby not give a realistic representation of these individuals for intelligence purposes. When I, in this thesis, compiled an overview of the six terrorist manifestoes, I ended up with this:

THE FAR RIGHT

Radical Right — Extreme Right

Cultural Nationalism — Ethnic Nationalism — Racial Nationalism

(A) BREIVIK:
Ethnic and Racial nationalist

(A) TARRANT:
Ethnic and Racial nationalist

ROOF:
Racial nationalist

(A) EARNEST:
Racial nationalist

(A) CRUSIUS:
Racial nationalist

(A) KRAJČÍK:
Racial nationalist

(A) = Accelerationist
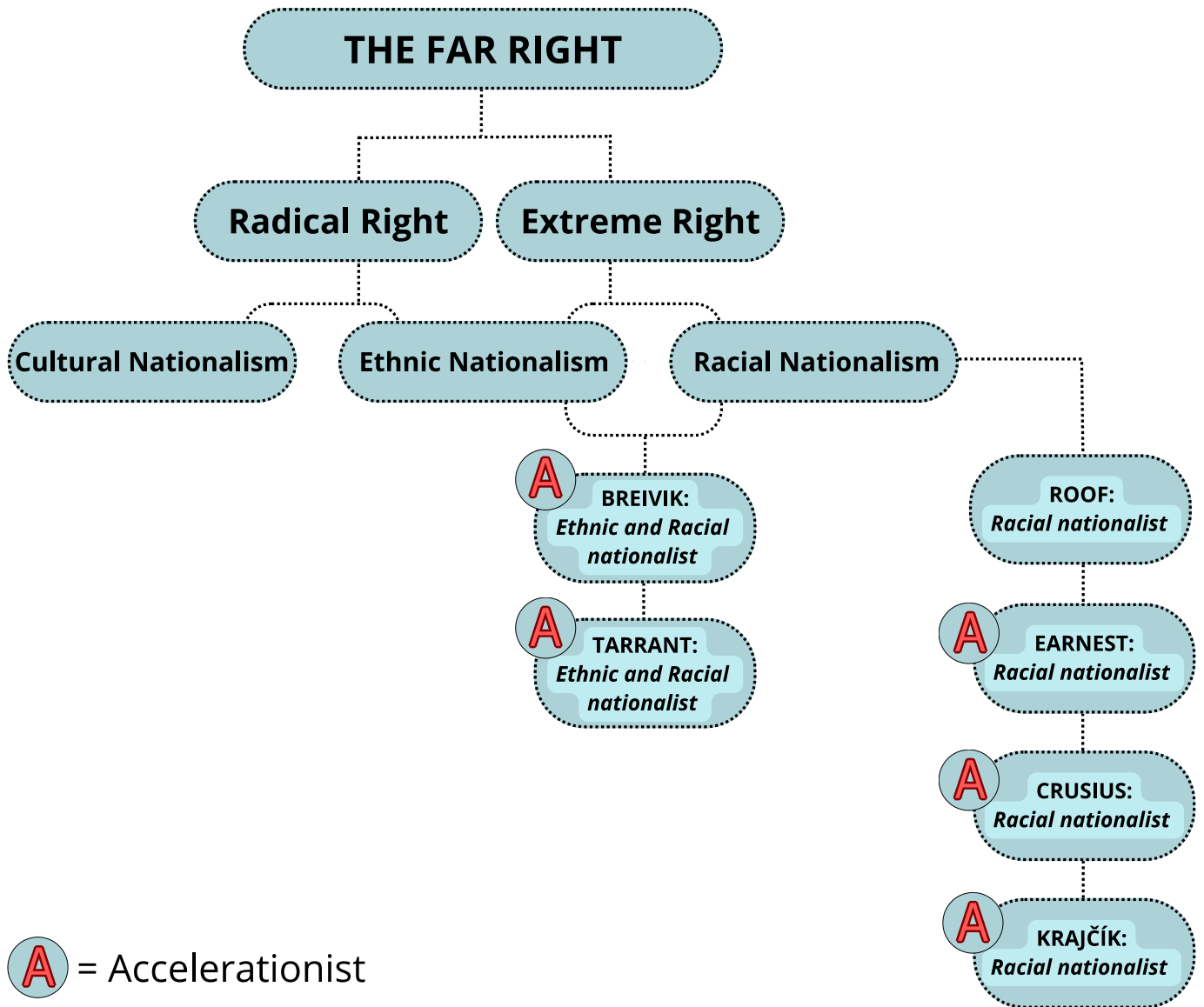
Figure 2 - Originally developed by (Berntzen, 2018), further developed from the revised version of (Bjørgo & Ravndal, 2019).

8.1.1   Predecessor influence:

Within the spectrum of nationalist ideology, two figures are particularly influential: Breivik and Tarrant. Researchers like Bjørgo and Macklin highlight their significant role in shaping the ideologies and actions of potential lone-actor terrorists (Bjørgo & Macklin, 2021, p. 20). Manifestos, like those produced by Breivik and Tarrant, often provide strategic and operational advice, detailing attack preparations and organisational structures (Bjørgo & Macklin, 2021, p. 20).

Breivik's manifesto aimed to arm and inspire other would-be terrorists to engage in what he perceived as a cultural war in Western Europe (Bjørgo & Macklin, 2021, p. 19). It served as a declaration of war and a means to instil a fighting spirit among potential followers (Bjørgo & Macklin, 2021, p. 19). Bjørgo and Macklin suggest that Tarrant drew inspiration from Breivik, particularly for the practical aspects of his attack (Bjørgo & Macklin, 2021, p. 20). Having accessed it online, Tarrant was familiar with Breivik's manifesto and seems to have applied some of Breivik's guidance during his attack preparations (Bjørgo & Macklin, 2021, p. 20).

"And Breivik, in his desperation to prove himself, basically tried to show us everything (...), but those who came after him (...) still end up copying elements of his approach" (P4).

The Royal Commission supports this connection, stating:

"We see the individual's use of steroids and testosterone as relevant to his preparation for the terrorist attack in terms of assisting him in bulking up and possibly also as imitating the preparation undertaken by the Oslo terrorist" (Inquiry, 2020, p. 372).

Breivik's own manifesto encourages this type of preparation:

"There are tens of various combinations out there with multiple brands and types of steroids. Just find an option that suits you" (Breivik, 2011).

The Royal Commission also states that:

"The Oslo terrorist's manifesto and his actions provide considerable guidance for would-be extreme right-wing terrorists. To a very large extent, the individual's preparation was consistent with that guidance. This was evident in his joining a gym and bulking up with steroids, joining rifle clubs to gain firearms expertise, attempts at operational security

generally, cleaning up electronic devices to try to limit what counter-terrorism agencies might discover after a terrorist attack and might detract from the "optics" of the exercise and the preparation of a manifesto to be released at the same time as the attack. In these respects, the guidance offered by the Oslo terrorist was largely operational in nature" (Inquiry, 2020, p. 197).

Based on this, one can assume that Breivik`s manifesto, which basically presents a recipe for how to perform a terrorist attack, can, in some instances, be used as a kind of "how-to guide" for preparation, as seen with Tarrant. Therefore, he is one of the bigger actors who has had or will, potentially in the future, influence other new terrorists.

One thing becomes clearer, and that is that the terrorists do take inspiration from each other. Breivik's section in the manifesto where he shows how to prepare oneself has proven to be successful, especially through Tarrant. Therefore, it may not be a coincidence that these two are the ones that have carried out two of the most successful terrorist attacks seen in the last 13 years by extreme right activists.

There is no indication that the other manifestoes discussed in this thesis have been directly influenced by Breivik the way Tarrant has, but we see several that took inspiration from Tarrant. One of the reasons for this, according to one informant is that:

[10] *"Tarrant is (...) more pedagogical, and he also has a target group"* (P3).

Following Breivik, Tarrant has taken over the main influence. Krajčík, like Tarrant, an accelerationist, references him 11 times as Tarrant, 5 as Brenton Tarrant, 4 as Saint Tarrant, 1 as Saint Brenton Tarrant and Saint Brenton Tarrant of Christchurch (Kupper et al., 2023, p. 11). In addition,

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[10] Original language: *"Tarrant er jo (...) mer pedagogisk lagt opp, og han har jo også en målgruppe" (P3).*

he also mentions John Earnest and Saint Earnest once, as well as Saint Crusius twice (Kupper et al., 2023, p. 11). In addition, Krajčík outlines his manifesto, similarly to Tarrant's, particularly in the first three sections (Kupper et al., 2023, p. 13). Krajčík begins with: "It's the birthrates, It's the birthrates, It's the birthrates," but Tarrant's manifesto begins with: "It's the Jews, it's the Jews, it's the Jews." Furthermore, the second section's opening phrases, "about me," share the same name as Tarrant's second section (Kupper et al., 2023, p. 13).

Earnest mentions Tarrant in his manifesto:

"I remember a specific moment in time after Brenton Tarrant's sacrifice that something just clicked in my mind. 'If I won't defend my race, how can I expect others to do the same" (Earnest, 2019, p. 5).

Earnest also includes a questionnaire in his manifesto, similarly to Breivik and Tarrant.

Several of the terrorists agree and present similarities in ideological beliefs as previously presented. Tarrant and Crusius also pinpoint with the use of their titles that they share the narrative about an "invasion" or "replacement" of Europeans and white Americans by non-European immigrants. Tarrant's attack on mosques in Christchurch and Crusius's attack on a Walmart in El Paso, Texas, targeting Hispanics, reflect a similar pattern of choosing locations symbolic of the "invaders" they mention in their manifestos. This shows Crusius adopting a similar method of targeting what they perceive as symbols of demographic and cultural change threatening their ethnic or racial groups. Tarrant's manifesto includes descriptions of his tactical gear, the weapons he selected, and even his practice sessions. This level of detail likely provided a blueprint for Crusius, even though he pinpoints that he took minimal preparation beforehand.

"They are fully aware that they copy each other in some of the manifestos. Brenton Tarrant is copied directly with Q&A, etc. It is quite clear that they are not independent of others" (P1).

To summarize, Breivik inspired Tarrant, Tarrant inspired Earnest and Crusius, and Krajčík was inspired by Tarrant and Earnest.

Terrorists	Influenced/Mention predecessors?	Quotes:
Breivik	NO	
Roof	NO	
Tarrant	YES, mentions Breivik and Roof.	*"I have only had brief contact with Knight Justiciar Breivik, receiving a blessing for my mission after contacting his brother knights"* (Tarrant, 2019, p. 18). *«I have read the writings of Dylan Roof and many others, but only really took true inspiration from Knight Justiciar Breivik"* (Tarrant, 2019, p. 18).
Earnest	YES, mentions Tarrant.	*"Tarrant was a catalyst for me Personally"* (Earnest, 2019, p. 3).
Crusius	YES, mentions Tarrant.	*"I support the Christchurch shooter and his manifesto (...) My motives for this attack are not at all personal. Actually the Hispanic community was not my target before I read The Great Replacement."* (Crusius, 2019, p. 1).
Krajčík	YES, mentions Tarrant and Earnest.	*"My main two inspirations to carry out an operation, and the main reason I even opened my eyes to the kikes and their plans and decided to resist them, were Brenton Tarrant and John Earnest"* (Krajčík, 2022, p. 11).

Table 2 *– Citations that show predecessor influences.*

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[11] Original language: *"De er helt bevisste på at de kopierer hverandre i noen av manifestene. Brenton Tarrant blir kopiert direkte med spørsmål og svar osv.. Det er helt klart at de ikke er uavhengig av andre"* (P1).

The manifestos presented are in chronological order. Therefore, it is interesting to see who was inspired by whom in these manifestos. Is anyone inspired by one or more predecessors? The answer is clearly yes.

"Breivik seemed to aspire to emulate thinkers like Ted Kaczynski yet lacked originality in his own ideological contributions. You see a similar pattern with followers post-Tarrant such as the Buffalo shooter who directly copied parts of Tarrant's manifesto. There's a noticeable lack of original thought. It's somewhat tragic how they echo each other reducing their manifestos to mere repetitions without new ideological depth" (P5).

The similarities in ideology among the different terrorists are striking. Despite their varied approaches, there is a common thread that ties them together. It's possible that Roof drew inspiration from his predecessors, as he expresses a similar ideology. The influence and inspiration they draw from each other is particularly evident through the actions of Breivik, Tarrant, Earnest, Crusius, and Krajčík.

Breivik's manifesto served as a detailed account of his ideological standpoint and as a practical guide for other potential terrorists, of which Tarrant is an example. He continued Breivik's influence by offering a more educational and goal-oriented approach. Tarrant's manifesto was structured to appeal directly to a wider audience and provided detailed tactical instructions, making it a recipe for subsequent attackers. This is evident as Tarrant's manifesto was quoted by both Earnest and Crusius in their writings. After him, we see a clear pattern where later terrorists drew inspiration not only ideologically but also strategically from their predecessors. For example, Krajčík's manifesto refers largely to Tarrant, showing a direct influence in terms of ideology and the structural presentation of the manifesto itself. Krajčík's opening lines and the

subsequent sections are noticeably like Tarrant's manifesto, indicating a deliberate imitation.

This chain of influence emphasises the role these manifestos play in maintaining a cycle of violence. By examining these documents, it becomes evident that each terrorist seeks to position himself within a line and draws inspiration from his predecessors' ideological rationales and practical methodologies to strengthen his actions and inspire future attacks. This pattern of mutual inspiration highlights the need for targeted counterterrorism efforts that address individuals and their broader communicative strategies.

Thus, through the analysis of right-wing extremist terrorist manifestos, one can see how previous manifestos and ideologies have influenced their descendants and created continuity in extremist thought and action. This influence manifests itself in common themes, rhetorical strategies, and ideological standpoints that recur in the manifestos. Further, I will implement the circular prevention and preparedness model to fully understand how this can be used in prevention and preparedness.

8.1.1.1 Implementing the Circular Model

The following section will use the circular model to analyse right-wing extremist manifestos. Here, it is demonstrated how each phase of the model can contribute to understanding and counteracting the threat posed by terrorist manifestos. At the same time, we will show how learning and knowledge development are pervasive in all phases and how this can contribute to a comprehensive and continuous improvement of counterterrorism measures.

Phase 1: Collection and Analysis

The initial phase involves systematically collecting and analysing terrorist manifestos from various sources, including open online forums, closed groups, and seized material. For this task, manifestos from six right-wing extremists have been used: Anders Behring Breivik, Dylann Roof, Brenton Tarrant, John Earnest, Patrick Crusius and Juraj Krajčík. With the help of text analysis, ideological mapping and network analysis, we identify key themes, concepts, narratives and ideological currents. This analysis reveals common ideological motivations and radicalisation indicators present in these documents.

The continuity of emerging themes helps us understand the evolving nature of right-wing extremism and its spread patterns. Learning and knowledge development are integrated by updating methods for text analysis and ideological mapping based on the latest findings and insights.

Phase 2: Threat assessment

The threat assessment phase relies on content analysis to identify potential actors and target groups. Scenario analysis predicts possible attack forms and targets, while vulnerability analysis identifies societal weaknesses that extremists can exploit. By comparing the manifestos, we can assess the risk of future attacks and identify specific communities or locations that may be targeted.

For example, the manifestos often mention synagogues, mosques, and immigrant communities as potential targets. Understanding these preferences makes it possible to prepare better and more targeted preventive measures. This also helps us identify which groups are most vulnerable to radicalisation or attacks from right-wing extremists.

This is underlined by PST's concern for the outer edges of the right-wing extremist milieu. Individuals who have not found their place in society in general, nor their belonging in the right-wing extremist environment. Furthermore, in several of the manifestos, an intense fear is expressed that the white race is being replaced by non-Western immigrants. This may indicate that right-wing extremist groups that share this ideology may pose a threat to immigrant communities and minorities. Several also call for violence, directly or indirectly, against political opponents. This was shown through Breivik's actions. Finally, the manifestos often criticise multiculturalism and globalisation, seeing it as a threat to Western culture and identity. This can lead to increased polarisation and conflict between different groups in society. These are examples that appear in the manifestos and can be used in the preventive measures phase.

In addition, learning and knowledge development in this phase involve updating and improving threat assessment methods based on new information and analysis of new manifestos.

Phase 3: Preventive measures

This phase is about developing targeted measures to prevent radicalisation and recruitment. This can be done, among other things, by taking a closer look at different radicalisation processes and based on this, introducing, for example, education and awareness-raising programs about right-wing extremist ideology and its dangers, as well as promoting social inclusion and reducing polarisation.

To return to phase 2, which mentions exclusion, this can be done something about e.g. in the local population by creating more social offers or events both in school and society in general. You can also look at low threshold offers to strengthen dialogue and social inclusion. In episode 3

of Sons of the North, Emil, who talks about his right-wing radical opinions, says that:

> [12] *"I am not willing to use violence (...) But I do have some friends who have been black-pilled (...) It's dangerous to get that kind of thinking, then you're close to doing extreme things (...) There is no one willing to listen to you when you have gone this far (...) There are people who do not have the largest social circles (...) Fortunately, I have friends who continuously challenge what I believe. In discussions, I must explain myself to them, and often, I also think that they have a point. But without friends, I think it's easy to end up off the edge"* (Skolsegg, 2023c)*.*

This helps to emphasise the need for social contact and belonging. Based on this, one can, for example, implement measures such as creating more social offers or events, both in school and society in general, to counteract exclusion. Low threshold offers to strengthen dialogue and social inclusion are also important.

These are some examples of preventive measures. Through learning and knowledge development, these measures can be continuously developed to adapt to society's needs. One assesses the effect of our preventive measures and adjusts them based on feedback and new findings.

Phase 4: Counternarratives

Establishing counternarratives is essential to challenging the extreme narratives presented in the manifestos. These counternarratives should offer alternative perspectives and be spread through various channels,

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[12] Original Language: *"Jeg er ikke villig til å bruke vold (...) Men, jeg har jo enkelte venner som har blitt svartpilla (...) Det er farlig å få en sånn tankegang, da er man nær til å gjøre ekstreme ting (...) Det er ingen som er villig til å høre på deg når du har gått så langt (...) Det er folk som ikke har de største sosiale omkretsene (...) Jeg har heldigvis venner som kontinuerlig utfordrer med på det jeg mener. I diskusjoner må jeg forklare meg til dem, og ofte tenker jeg også at de har et poeng. Men uten venner tror jeg det er lett å havne utenfor kanten" (Skolsegg, 2023c)* .

such as social media, traditional media, and educational institutions. Cooperation with civil society organisations is important to strengthen these counternarratives.

For example, counternarratives that highlight successful multicultural societies or immigrants' contributions to national prosperity can undermine the manifestos' xenophobic rhetoric. Engaging community leaders to promote these narratives can increase their reach and impact. To use the manifestoes one can see that Roof's manifesto contains explicit racist ideology and a distorted view of African American history. Counternarratives should focus on celebrating the achievements and contributions of African Americans throughout history. For instance, Roof's claims can be countered with stories of outstanding African American individuals and their impact on societal development.

Learning and knowledge development in this phase involves continuously assessing which counternarratives are most effective and adjusting strategies accordingly.

Phase 5: Preparedness and Response

This phase shows how exercises and training to strengthen preparedness and the ability to respond effectively to terrorist incidents are crucial. This phase involves cooperation between the police, security services, health services and other relevant actors. Crisis communication plans are also necessary to inform and reassure the population during and after an attack.

Regular exercises and simulations based on scenarios derived from manifest analyses can help governments respond more quickly and effectively.

Some of the manifestos partly reveal the terrorists' planning of the attacks, e.g. by weapon selection. This knowledge can be used to improve security measures, e.g., by introducing better security of vulnerable targets and preparing contingency plans. Furthermore, I have previously referred to how the media also captures terrorist attacks and extensively mentions them. It is important to consider that this is something the terrorists want. Encouraging media houses to have strict guidelines for what they share and do not share can also help limit the spread of propaganda and the terrorist's presence in the media.

This phase shows how learning and knowledge development takes place through the further development of preparedness exercises and how these can be adjusted based on information or previous events, which in turn can be used as "training" for terrorist scenarios.

Phase 6: Evaluation and Improvement

After an incident, the manifests are analysed to understand the terrorists' motivation, planning and execution. As pointed out earlier, it is not necessarily possible to prevent a terrorist act through the associated manifesto of that terrorist act since it is published shortly in advance as part of the action. This shows how preparedness and response play an incredibly important role. With previous manifestos associated with other actions, they can prepare and possibly clarify and reduce the scale of the attack itself. Then, they should have trained and made themselves more prepared for elements that may emerge from other evaluations. But this is only one element. To be better prepared, one must also acknowledge the deviations that are present. Whether this is within the scope of emergency services or intelligence. The knowledge base must be continuously developed and improved, and by seeing the shortcomings internally, new approaches can also be developed to meet threats. And then, we are back to learning and knowledge development.

Learning and knowledge development

By applying the circular model to the analysis of far-right terrorist manifestos, we gain a comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted nature of these documents. Each phase of the model contributes to a holistic approach to counterterrorism, from initial analysis to post-incident evaluation, ensuring that prevention measures and responses are continuously refined and improved. This iterative process is essential to stay ahead of the evolving terrorist threats and strengthen society's resilience. There are always new strategies or methods that can be considered to reduce the spread of propaganda or prepare for action, and several elements come into play. Here, I have tried to show how manifestos are one of the elements in a larger intelligence picture.

We have learned that even though the terrorist authors mentioned in this thesis are not Norwegian, their manifestos can still be used in this work. Propaganda knows no national borders, and the message often remains the same—targeting minorities. Therefore, the words presented are equally valid regardless of the perpetrator's nationality. This highlights the importance of transnational cooperation. Based on all these learnings, several areas would be interesting to further research.

9 Further Research

There are several exciting areas that should be explored further to strengthen counter-terrorism efforts and the prevention of radicalisation. These areas include:

1. Law enforcement measures and practical use of the model:

Training and Competence Development:
Further research can examine how law enforcement personnel can be trained and developed to effectively understand and use the circular model. This includes developing specialised training programs that ensure officers have the necessary expertise to analyse and apply information from terrorist manifestos in their threat assessments and preventive work.

Evaluation of Preventive Measures:
There is a need for research that evaluates the effectiveness of various preventive measures that can be used by law enforcement to prevent radicalisation. This may include:

Community-Based Programs: Programs that build trust between communities and law enforcement agencies.

Social Inclusion and Dialogue: Initiatives that promote social inclusion and dialogue to reduce radicalisation.

2. Counternarratives and Counter-radicalisation:

Effectiveness of Counternarratives:
Research can focus on how different counternarratives work in practice to counter extremist propaganda and reduce radicalisation. This includes

studying the most effective types of narratives and how they can best be conveyed through various channels such as social media and educational programs.

Role of Terrorist Manifestos:

Explore how terror manifestos can be used to identify and prevent radicalisation and develop counternarratives that challenge extremist ideologies.

3. Interdisciplinary Analysis of Terrorist Manifestos:

Interdisciplinary cooperation:

This thesis reveals that terrorist manifestos and their role are perceived differently within different social science disciplines such as political science, psychology, social anthropology and sociology. It would be useful if researchers from these disciplines could work together to analyse the terrorist manifestos. This can contribute to a more comprehensive approach to counterterrorism work and the prevention of radicalisation.

4. Siege Culture and Accelerationism:

Influence of Siege Culture:

Research can focus on how siege culture affects the content and structure of terrorist manifestos. This includes analyses of how ideas from siege culture are promoted in the manifestoes and how they contribute to radicalisation.

Preventive measures against accelerationism:

Explore and test measures that can counter the influence of accelerationist ideology, including technological solutions to monitor and counter the spread of extremist content.

5. Right-wing extremism and social belonging:

Social Factors:

Explore what social factors contribute to some individuals not finding their place in the social society or within the right-wing extremist environment and how this can lead to violent radicalisation.

Measures for social inclusion:

Examine measures that can promote social inclusion and reduce feelings of marginalisation among vulnerable groups. This can include programs that promote community, support, and belonging, as well as strategies to counteract discrimination and social exclusion.

By exploring these areas more closely, future research can help strengthen law enforcement's ability to prevent and combat terrorism, as well as improve society's overall resilience to radicalisation and violent extremism.

10 Conclusion

This thesis has investigated how the use of terrorist manifestoes can benefit terrorism prevention and preparedness, how the manifestos are linked, to what extent they are considered a tool for radicalisation, and whether terrorist manifestos can be used to counteract terrorist acts and thereby strengthen terrorist prevention.

It is revealed that radicalisation and propaganda activities affect a marginalised group and that manifestos, in this sense, have a limited influence effect. Even though many within the right-wing extremist milieu draw similar attitudes. With this, we can establish that terrorist manifestos can be used and bring advantages in counter-terrorism intelligence, and possibly to a greater extent than it is today, but this is something only the intelligence can answer and put to another perspective.

Thus, based on what this thesis has found, it is that terrorist manifestos, with their direct insight into the terrorists' ideology, can identify patterns and indicators of radicalisation. This makes it possible to develop targeted prevention measures before they lead to violent acts. The plans and goals set out in the manifestos can be used to assess and prioritise threats to vulnerable groups in society. If there is one thing these manifestos tell us, it is that the main targets are often minorities, so developing good contingency plans in collaboration with these communities can be an example of measures to protect them against politically motivated violence.

In addition, understanding the ideological arguments in the terrorist manifestos can help authorities develop effective counternarratives that can curb the spread of extremist ideas. The content of the manifestos can also be used to train security forces and develop contingency plans that

consider the specific methods and strategies used by right-wing extremists, improving the response to potential attacks. Furthermore, by identifying the social and political factors mentioned in the manifestos, governments can implement preventive measures that address these issues, thereby disrupting the radicalisation process.

Further, through analysis of the six manifestos, we have seen how these documents not only justify terrorist acts but also how they serve as effective tools for spreading far-right ideology, recruiting new followers, and inspiring violence. The study shows that some manifestos are based on a strong ideological framework, while others are more personal. Nevertheless, there is a clear connection between them, where terrorists are inspired by their predecessors and carry on their ideology and methods. This underlines the importance of the manifestos as a link in a chain of radicalisation and violence.

Breivik and Tarrant appear to be particularly influential actors in this context. With its detailed instructions, Breivik's manifesto has served as a kind of handbook for successors, as seen with Tarrant. He, in turn, reached a wider audience through his manifesto, which focuses on demographic change and fear of cultural replacement. His manifesto has become a template for his descendants, ideologically and structurally, of which Krajčík is an example. As can be seen from this thesis, terror manifestos such as Breivik's have a long lifespan, not necessarily as an independent document, but through their successors. They operate in a way that makes them part of the terrorist operation itself and thus cannot necessarily stop the subsequent operation to which they are associated. Still, they can be a lesson for posterity.

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Appendix

Sikt

Vurdering av behandling av personopplysninger

Referansenummer	Vurderingstype	Dato
551652	Automatisk ❓	20.02.2024

Tittel
Bruken av manifester i beredskapsarbeid

Behandlingsansvarlig institusjon
UiT Norges Arktiske Universitet / Fakultet for naturvitenskap og teknologi / Institutt for ingeniørvitenskap og sikkerhet

Prosjektansvarlig
Monika Gabriela Bartoszewicz

Student
Elise Reinholdtsen

Prosjektperiode
19.03.2024 - 30.06.2024

Kategorier personopplysninger
Alminnelige

Lovlig grunnlag
Samtykke (Personvernforordningen art. 6 nr. 1 bokstav a)

Behandlingen av personopplysningene er lovlig så fremt den gjennomføres som oppgitt i meldeskjemaet. Det lovlige grunnlaget gjelder til 30.06.2024.

Meldeskjema 🔗

Grunnlag for automatisk vurdering
Meldeskjemaet har fått en automatisk vurdering. Det vil si at vurderingen er foretatt maskinelt, basert på informasjonen som er fylt inn i meldeskjemaet. Kun behandling av personopplysninger med lav personvernulempe og risiko får automatisk vurdering. Sentrale kriterier er:

- De registrerte er over 15 år
- Behandlingen omfatter ikke særlige kategorier personopplysninger;
    - Rasemessig eller etnisk opprinnelse
    - Politisk, religiøs eller filosofisk overbevisning
    - Fagforeningsmedlemskap
    - Genetiske data
    - Biometriske data for å entydig identifisere et individ
    - Helseopplysninger
    - Seksuelle forhold eller seksuell orientering
- Behandlingen omfatter ikke opplysninger om straffedommer og lovovertredelser
- Personopplysningene skal ikke behandles utenfor EU/EØS-området, og ingen som befinner seg utenfor EU/EØS skal ha tilgang til personopplysningene
- De registrerte mottar informasjon på forhånd om behandlingen av personopplysningene.

Informasjon til de registrerte (utvalgene) om behandlingen må inneholde

- Den behandlingsansvarliges identitet og kontaktopplysninger

Appendix 2 – Samtykkeskjema: Norsk

Vil du delta i forskningsprosjektet: Bruken av manifester i beredskapsarbeid?

Dette er et spørsmål til deg om å delta i et forskingsprosjekt hvor formålet er å finne ut om manifester kan/brukes i beredskapsarbeid, og om det er en fordel å bruke dem. I dette skrivet gir jeg deg informasjon om målet for prosjektet og hva deltakelse vil innebære for deg.

Formål

Formålet med prosjektet er å finne ut om det er fordelaktig å bruke manifester i beredskapsarbeid. I hvilken grad de blir brukt i dag, og generelt om manifester kan brukes til å motvirke terrorhandlinger og dermed styrke terrorforebygging?

Dette prosjektet er min masteroppgave som jeg skriver ved UiT.

Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?

UiT er ansvarlig for prosjektet.

Hvorfor får du spørsmål om å delta?

Denne oppgaven er avhengig av fagkompetanse og erfaring innenfor tema som beredskap og kontraterror. Du er derfor sentral i å kunne gi informasjon om hvordan beredskap og kontraterror foregår i praksis, samt fremgangsmåten i en eventuell etterforskning. Dine erfaringer og kompetanse er noe jeg ser på som nyttig i det videre arbeidet i denne oppgaven.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?

Du blir informant i min masteroppgave.

Det er frivillig å delta

Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet. Hvis du velger å delta, kan du når som helst trekke samtykket tilbake uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle dine personopplysninger vil da bli slettet. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg.

Under intervjuene vil det bli tatt lydopptak. Disse vil transkriberes og anonymiseres. Ved å trekke samtykke vil denne dataen slettes.

Ditt personvern – hvordan vi oppbevarer og bruker dine opplysninger

Vi vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene vi har fortalt om i dette skrivet. Vi behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Personene som vil ha tilgang til dataene er kun meg og min veileder.

Måten jeg vil anonymisere data på er ved å generalisere deg gjennom yrke. Eksempelvis kan dette skje på følgende måte:

Jeg har intervjuet X antall personer som jobber innenfor beredskap og kontraterror:
Person 1 forteller ...
Person 2 forteller ...
Person 3 oppgir ...

Dette er et eksempel på en måte å anonymisere innhentet data. I min oppgave vil jeg ikke gå ut med noen form for personopplysninger eller annen informasjon som kan knyttes til deg som privatperson eller til jobb/arbeidsplass.

Hva skjer med personopplysningene dine når forskningsprosjektet avsluttes?

Prosjektet vil etter planen avsluttes 30. juni 2024. Etter prosjektslutt vil dataene dine anonymiseres, blant annet ved bruk av metoden over, og lydopptak vil slettes.

Hva gir oss rett til å behandle personopplysninger om deg?

Vi behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke.

På oppdrag fra *UIT,* har Sikt – Kunnskapssektorens tjenesteleverandør vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Dine rettigheter

Så lenge du kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til:

- innsyn i hvilke opplysninger vi behandler om deg, og å få utlevert en kopi av opplysningene
- å få rettet opplysninger om deg som er feil eller misvisende
- å få slettet personopplysninger om deg
- å sende klage til Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger

Hvis du har spørsmål til studien, eller ønsker å vite mer om eller benytte deg av dine rettigheter, ta kontakt med:

- UiT ved veileder *Monika Gabriela Bartoszewicz* (monika.bartoszewicz@uit.no) eller masterstudent *Elise Reinholdtsen* (ere045@uit.no) .

- Vårt personvernombud: personvernombud@uit.no

Hvis du har spørsmål knyttet til vurderingen som er gjort av personverntjenestene fra Sikt, kan du ta kontakt via:
- Epost: personverntjenester@sikt.no eller telefon: 73 98 40 40.

Med vennlig hilsen,

Monika Gabriela Bartoszewicz   *Elise Reinholdtsen*
(Forsker/veileder)   (Masterstudent)

Samtykkeerklæring

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet *[sett inn tittel]*, og har fått anledning til å stille spørsmål. Jeg samtykker til:

☐ å delta i *intervju*

Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet

----
(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

Appendix 3 – Consent form: English

Do you want to participate in the research project: The use of terror manifests in emergency work?

This is a question for you about participating in a research project where the purpose is to find out whether manifestos can/are used in emergency work, and whether there is an advantage to using them. In this letter, I give you information about the project's aim and what participation will mean for you.

Purpose

The purpose of the project is to find out whether it is beneficial to use manifests in emergency work. To what extent are they used today, and in general whether manifestos can be used to counter terrorist acts and thus strengthen terrorism prevention?
This project is my master's thesis that I am writing at UiT – The artic university of Norway.

Who is responsible for the research project?

UiT is responsible for the project.

Why are you being asked to participate?

This task is dependent on professional expertise and experience in topics such as preparedness and counter- terrorism. You are therefore central in being able to provide information on how preparedness and counter- terrorism take place in practice, as well as the procedure in any investigation. Your experiences and expertise are something I see as useful in the further work in this assignment.

What does participating mean for you?

You will be an informant in my master's thesis.

Participation is voluntary

Participation in the project is voluntary. If you choose to participate, you can withdraw your consent at any time without giving any reason. All your personal data will then be deleted. There will be no negative consequences for you if you do not want to participate or later choose to withdraw. Audio recordings will be made during the interviews. These will be transcribed and anonymized. By withdrawing consent, this data will be deleted.

Your privacy - how we store and use your information

We will only use the information about you for the purposes we have described in this information letter. We process the information confidentially and by the privacy regulations.

The only people who can access the data are me and my supervisor. The way I will anonymize data is by generalizing you through occupation. For example, this can happen in the following way:

I have interviewed X number of people who work in preparedness and counterterrorism:
Person 1 tells ...
Person 2 tells...
Person 3 states...

This is an example of a way to anonymize collected data. In my assignment, I will not share any kind of personal data or other information that can be linked to you as a private person or to a job/workplace.

What happens to your personal data when the research project ends?

The project is scheduled to end on 30 June 2024. After the end of the project, your data will be anonymized, when using the method above, and audio recordings will be deleted.

What gives us the right to process personal data about you?

We process information about you based on your consent. On behalf of *UIT,* Sikt - the Knowledge Sector's service provider has assessed that the processing of personal data in this project is in accordance with the privacy regulations.

Your rights

If you can be identified in the data material, you have the right to:

- access to the information we process about you, and to be given a copy of the information
- to have information about you corrected that is incorrect or misleading
- to have personal information about you deleted
- to send a complaint to the Norwegian Data Protection Authority about the processing
  of your personal data

If you have questions about the study, or want to know more about or exercise your rights, please contact:

- UiT by supervisor *Monika Gabriela Bartoszewicz* (monika.bartoszewicz@uit.no) or. master's student *Elise Reinholdtsen* (ere045@uit.no).
- Our data protection ombudsman: personvernombud@uit.no

If you have questions related to the assessment made of the privacy services from Sikt, you can get in touch via:

- Email: personverntjenester@sikt.no or telephone: 73 98 40 40.

With best regards,

Monika Gabriela Bartoszewicz   *Elise Reinholdtsen*
(Researcher/supervisor)   (Master's student)

Declaration of consent
I have received and understood information about the project *[insert title],* and have been
given the opportunity to ask questions. I agree to:
☐ to participate in *an interview*
I agree to my information being processed until the project is finished

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(Signed by project participant, date)

Appendix 4 – Intervju guide: Norsk

1. Har du lest terror manifester?

2. Syntes du terror manifester er viktige?

3. Hvorfor tror du folk leser terror manifester?

4. Hva er dine tanker om å gjøre terror manifester ulovlige for offentligheten?

5. Tror du terror manifester spiller en rolle for om et individ går fra en terror trussel til risiko?

6. Er manifester et radikaliseringsverktøy?

7. Brukes terror manifester i forebyggings- og beredskapsarbeid i dag?

8. Kan manifester brukes til å motvirke terrorhandlinger og dermed styrke terror beredskapen?

Generelle oppfølgingsspørsmål

1. Kan du dele noen spesifikke eksempler eller tilfeller der analysen av terror manifester har vist seg gunstig i terrorforebygging/beredskapsarbeid?

2. Hva tror du er hovedutfordringene eller begrensningene knyttet til å utnytte terror manifester i kontraterror strategier/beredskap?

3. Hvordan ser du for deg den fremtidige rollen til manifester når det kommer til å styrke vår forståelse av terrortrusler og utvikle forebyggende tiltak?

Appendix 5 – Interview Guide: English

1. Have you read a terrorist manifesto?

2. Do you think manifestoes are important?

3. Why do you think people read them?

4. What are your thoughts about de-legalization?

5. Do you think terrorist manifestoes play a role in making an individual go from a terror risk to a threat?

6. Are manifestoes a radicalization tool?

7. Are terrorist manifestoes used in prevention and preparedness work today?

8. Can manifestoes be used to counter terrorist acts and thereby strengthen terrorism prevention?

General follow-up questions

1. Can you share any specific examples or cases where the analysis of terrorist manifestoes has proven beneficial in terrorism prevention or preparedness efforts?

2. In your opinion, what are the main challenges or limitations associated with utilizing terrorist manifestoes in counter-terrorism strategies?

3. How do you envision the future role of manifestoes in enhancing our understanding of terrorist threats and informing preventive measures?