

The Manifesto as a far-right weapon of war

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This article follows the development of the manifesto as both a tool for radicalization and as a pathway to violence from the 1960s to the present day. It considers the technological innovations that began with the mimeograph machine and the tiny newsletters that once were the sole avenue of dissemination to the internet age from Windows 95 to chat rooms to streaming media. These technological innovations have brought the manifestos of the radical right from the fringes of society to the very corridors of power.

Key words

Manifesto, National Socialism, ANP, NSWPP, NSLF, chat rooms, 4 chan, 8 chan, cultic milieu.

Introduction

Manifestos come in many forms, but all are a statement of intent by an individual or group. The best of them plays on the emotions of the readers by capitalizing on very real issues or grievances. They summarize the issues in simple terms, suggest a course of action to remedy the problem, and paint a utopian vision of what is to come if its prescriptions are followed. This article is a brief description of the development of the manifesto from the 1960s to the present day with a particular focus on the far right in western countries. It is important to note that the manifesto is not a purely western phenomenon. The Islamic world too has produced powerful manifestos such as Abu Bakr Naji's *Management of Savagery: The most critical stage through which the umma will pass*, which became a key text for Daesh and radical Islamists around the world.² This article however focuses entirely on the West.

1- Danube Institute, Budapest, Hungary.

2- An English translation of the text is available. Abu Bakr Naji, *The management of savagery: The most critical stage through which the umma will pass* (2004), <https://scholarship.tricolib.brynmaur.edu/handle/10066/6849>.

In the pre-internet age, the manifesto served the same purpose as it does today. First and foremost, the manifesto publicizes a cause. The cause may be well known or obscure, but it is in a sense a call to the people to awaken to the clear and present danger and to act. It may publicize a particular group or organization, or it may be anonymous. Manifestos of every type however are oppositional, making distribution problematic in some areas. Thus, they may be handed out on street corners, dropped in random locations in the hope that they will be picked up and read by the curious or committed, or if funds were available, sent through the mail.

Manifestos were used to recruit new members or to inspire acts of resistance among sympathizers. They were intended to give authorities or the public the impression that a movement, group, or idea enjoys wider popularity or popular sympathy than was actually the case. In commercially published forms, they could be intended to make money for the author, to entertain the public, to frighten the public or state authorities, or in the worst cases, to frighten the public or state authorities. Should all else fail and the cause be doomed to an ignominious death, the manifesto may serve as a last, despairing epitaph saying that at least 'we existed, we were here'. Ultimately, in the worst case scenario, a manifesto may be unread or fail to move a single reader in its time, but the simple act of committing ideas and dreams to paper that may be found like a message in a bottle launched from a desert island by future generations and become an inspiration to a new generation of true believers.

1960s-1970s

In the 1960s and 1970s, most though not all manifestos were from the left. One of the earliest and most effective was the Port Huron Statement in 1962. The Port Huron Statement both announced the birth of the radical anti-Vietnam War student movement the Students for a Democratic Society and served as a call for university students to organize and oppose the War.³ A manifesto of quite another type, The SCUM Manifesto, was published in 1967, either as satire or serious politics. In retrospect, it was both, as the document offered both an amusing if an often scatological critique of gender relations and suggested that with the development of biological science, men could at last be dispensed with altogether without dooming mankind. SCUM was an acronym for

3- Richard Flacks and Nelson Lichtenstein, *The Port Huron Statement: Sources and Legacies of the New Left's Founding Manifesto* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015). John McMillian, "'Our Founder, the Mimeograph Machine': Participatory Democracy in Students for a Democratic Society's Print Culture," *Journal for the Study of Radicalism* 2, no. 2 (2009): 85-110.

the Society for Cutting Up Men and the text recommended just that, literally or figuratively. The SCUM Manifesto is credited as the starting point of radical feminism in the West.⁴

Leftist manifestos in the 1960s and 1970s, given the technology of the time, had wide distribution nationally and internationally and were read literally by millions of people. Opposition to the Vietnam War, rock music and the youth culture it symbolized, the sexual revolution and the emergence of a myriad of countercultural lifestyles and religious faiths made the left a mass movement and the manifestos that emerged from it thus had considerable impact. This was not true of the far right of the time.

The best known, and universally reviled, leader of the radical right in the United States was George Lincoln Rockwell, who founded the American Nazi Party (ANP) in 1959. Handsome, mediagenic, and leading a ragtag band of misfits and lunatics, he was always dressed in an imitation Third Reich uniform and smoking his trademark corn cob pipe. Rockwell made the round of university campuses and media events which put him in the American and later international spotlight. The manifestos issued by the ANP were in the form of books penned by the Commander as he was then styled, as well as shorter essays. For a more intellectual readership, or at least academics and young grad students studying the group, the ANP's one true intellectual, Dr. William Pierce, a former university physics professor, wrote and published *The National Socialist World*, which offered academic articles replete with interesting footnotes.⁵ With monograph titles like *This time the world* and essays like *In hoc signo vincus* (under this sign we conquer), these books were read by a few true believers but remained unknown to the world at large, who were in any case utterly uninterested if not outright enraged by the Commander's attempts to revive the German Nazi state in contemporary America.⁶

4- The full text is available at

<https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=KG6lvFPmY0YC&oi=fnd&pg=PP13&dq=The+SCUM+Manifesto+&ots=-E7A46cRKT&sig=wwz mh1diCyBAJlzQ6DQdpZ7AmTU>. Sharon L Jansen, "Hell Hath No Fury: Rage in Arcangela Tarabotti's Paternal Tyranny and Valerie Solanas's SCUM Manifesto," in *Reading Women's Worlds from Christine de Pizan to Doris Lessing*, ed. Sharon L Jansen (New York: Springer, 2011), 129-60.

5- These are available from the *Internet Archive* at <https://archive.org/details/ns-world-000>.

6- George Lincoln Rockwell, *This time the world* (Arlington? Va.: ANP, 1961). George Lincoln Rockwell, *In hoc signo vincus* (Arlington, Va.: World Union of Free Enterprise National Socialists, 1960). For a fine biography of Rockwell, see Frederick James Simonelli, *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1999). *In Hoc Signo Vincus* can be found at Jeffrey Kaplan, *Encyclopedia of White Power: a Sourcebook on the Radical Racist Right* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2000), 439-53.

The Commander was assassinated by John Patler, a former ANP member, in 1967. With his passing, the ANP predictably fell into disarray and was succeeded by a host of National Socialist grouplets,⁷ most notably the National Socialist White Peoples' Party (NSWPP) under the incompetent leadership of Matt Koehl. Both the NSWPP and its leader have long since faded into obscurity.⁸ While groups and leaders changed frequently, the dream remained the same; that white men would awaken to the threat to their race and rise in mass against ZOG, the Zionist Occupation Government, so named to symbolize their belief that the the US government is Jewish controlled. In this vision, the enemy was portrayed as Jews, nonwhites, immigrants, and of course 'race traitors' who intermarried or who simply evinced no race consciousness. In short, the movement was delusional and dysfunctional at every level. As a result, their writings, manifestos and fiery speeches remain in utter obscurity and all but Rockwell himself are forgotten today.

One group that crawled from the wreckage of the ANP with a very different outlook on the world, and on National Socialism, was the National Socialist Liberation Front (NSLF), led by Joseph Tommasi. Tomassi, whose thirst for violent action sat no better with Rockwell's self-styled 'Stormtroopers' than did his fashionable 1960s counterculture appearance and style. Tomassi for a time followed Matt Koehl into the NSWPP, but that didn't last long.

The NSLF concept did not really go anywhere until 1973, however, when Tommasi was unceremoniously booted out of the National Socialist White People's Party by Matt Koehl for his un-National Socialist behavior of smoking marijuana in party headquarters and entertaining young women within those hallowed precincts.⁹ In 1973 or 1974, Tommasi's slogan—which remains current to this day in National Socialist circles—became known to such East Coast neo-Nazis as James Mason, and in that year the NSLF held its foundational meeting. Tommasi's dictum—'THE FUTURE BELONGS TO THE FEW OF US WILLING TO GET OUR HANDS DIRTY. POLITICAL TERROR: It's the only thing they understand'—appeared on a poster featuring a .38 calibre pistol and a

7- The concept of grouplets, tiny groups with a tinier shelf life, was introduced by Roger Griffin. Roger Griffin, "From slime mould to rhizome: an introduction to the groupuscular right," *Patterns of Prejudice* 37, no. 1 (2003): 27-50.

8- On this history, Jeffrey Kaplan, "Real Paranoids Have Real Enemies: The Genesis of the ZOG Discourse in the American National Socialist Subculture," in *Millennialism, Persecution and Violence*, ed. Catherine Wessinger (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 299-322. The histories of all these groups can be found in Kaplan, *Encyclopedia of White Power: a Sourcebook on the Radical Racist Right*.

9- James Mason recalls that a lesser known charge of financial impropriety was lodged against Tommasi by California Koehl loyalists (interview with James Mason, 28 November 1996).

swastika. It would not be the last time Tommasi would borrow slogans, style and eventually even dress and physical appearance from the New Left of the 1960s. Even more striking in this vein was the slogan that opened Tommasi's "Building the Revolutionary Party" pamphlet, the Maoist motto: POLITICAL POWER STEMS FROM THE BARREL OF A GUN.¹⁰ Indeed, even the group's name is strongly reminiscent of the Vietnamese National Liberation Front while the name of the group's journal, *Siege!*, was borrowed from the left wing Weather Underground.

Tomassi, who spun out catchy slogans and fiery manifestos that, while not greatly expanding the NSLF's minuscule following, have stood the test of time. The reason for the NSLF's contemporary influence while its larger rivals have been lost to time stems from Tomassi's realization that there would be no mass awakening of white men to the National Socialist cause in America or anywhere else. To wait for this global transformation of consciousness was tantamount to taking a vow of permanent impotence. Instead, Tomassi argued, was a small, disciplined revolutionary vanguard who would ignite the revolution and as racial violence escalated, force white men to choose one side or the other.¹¹

Tomassi, like Rockwell, was assassinated by a fellow National Socialist in 1975. In reality, the NSLF died with him. There were never more than 40 nominal members, but the core of the group other than Tomassi were David Rust, Carl Hand and James Mason. Mason recalled years later:

Yes, the N.S.L.F. of Tommasi had four persons who carried out the illegal activities. The remainder, the majority, weren't that much different from the N.S.W.P.P. [National Socialist White People's Party] members except they were a lot more forward thinking.¹²

Rust and Hand were quickly incarcerated for acts of pointless violence, leaving Mason to carry on the fight through legal means.

10- Joseph Tommasi, 'Building the revolutionary party', NSLF posters, pamphlets and it's newspaper are published in James Mason, *Siege* (Ironmarch. org, 2015).

11- This history is detailed in Jeffrey Kaplan, "The post-war paths of occult national socialism: from Rockwell and Madole to Manson" *Patterns of Prejudice* 35, no. 3 (2001): 41-67.

12- Letter from James Mason, 16 December 1996. Mason was responding to the suggestion that this core/peripheral membership was at the root of differing claims by both Tommasi and Mason of the level of NSLF support, which was variously reported as either 4 or more than 40.

Mason was a true believer, who for a time added Charles Manson to his list of heroes and National Socialist avatars. However, it was his publication of the *Siege!* volume that would assure not only his place as the eminence grise of the movement but more importantly, bring Tomassi's revolutionary vanguard concept to a new generation of true believers. This new generation, including such violent groups as the American-based Atomwaffen, had an advantage undreamed of by the 1960s generation: the internet and social media, which has spread Tomassi's ideas far and wide.¹³ Indeed, the current trend in right wing extremism, accelerationism, is little more than an updating of Tomassi's revolutionary vanguard in 21st century dress.¹⁴

The Manifesto in the Internet Age

Before Windows 95 and the emergence of social media as a dominant force in opinion formation, the lunatic fringe was called that for a reason. To use the language of the time, looneys, conspiracy theorists and general wingnuts were kept on the periphery of public discourse. In more academic terms, they were denizens of the cultic milieu, a term coined by the British sociologist Colin Campbell and updated and redefined by Jeffrey Kaplan and Heléne Lööw as the realm where forbidden, forgotten or simply rejected ideas reside, are traded and refined, and allowed to circulate to a small community of believers in myriad ideas and philosophies in a milieu that rarely reaches the mainstream.¹⁵

Today, the lunatic fringe reached the White House and remains a force in American politics. Globally, far right parties that once were explicitly racist or neo-Nazi and were kept beyond the pale of polite society are the king makers in EU parliaments and in Italy have broken

13- Jacob Ware, "Siege: The Atomwaffen Division and rising far-right terrorism in the United States," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 20(2008): <https://www.icct.nl/app/uploads/2019/07/ICCT-Ware-Siege-July19.pdf>. Bethan Johnson and Matthew Feldman, "Siege Culture After Siege:: Anatomy of a Neo-Nazi Terrorist Doctrine," (ICCT, 2021), <https://icct.nl/app/uploads/2021/07/siege-culture-neo-nazi-terrorist-doctrine.pdf>.

14- Maura Conway, Ryan Scrivens, and Logan McNair, "Right-wing extremists' persistent online presence: History and contemporary trends," (ICCT, 2019), http://doras.dcu.ie/23960/1/Conway%20et%20al_RightWingExtremistOnlinePresence.pdf.

15- Jeffrey Kaplan and Heléne Lööw, *The cultic milieu: oppositional subcultures in an age of globalization* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002).

through to take power in their own right.¹⁶ Even in such liberal bastions as Sweden and Finland, the Sweden Democrats, previously a loose collection of Hitler cultists and National Socialist fanatics, and the True Finns, previously a group of far right mystics who idealized the national epic, the *Kelleva*, have become near majority parties in their national parliaments.¹⁷ In Israel, a coalition under Benjamin Netanyahu includes not only West Bank settlers from the National Religious community, but followers of the late Rabbi Meir Kahane's politics, openly espousing racism and violence.¹⁸ Windows 95 was the beginning of it all.

Before Windows 95 made the internet easily accessible to even the most technologically challenged, Texas Ku Klux Klansman Louis Beam published two seminal articles. One was circulated only within movement circles and dealt with pre-internet ways to publicize the cause such as setting up a telephone bulletin board or leaving flyers in public places. The second, "Leaderless Resistance," revolutionized the movement.¹⁹

"Leaderless Resistance" recognized the futility of trying to create a mass movement in the United States based on racism and anti-Semitism. Instead, it urged its readers to take up arms and fight as individuals, doing what they could to inflict damage on the system and creating pockets of resistance characterized by lone wolf and autonomous cells. The ideas were based on the post-Civil War Reconstructionist era

16- Michelle Williams, *The impact of radical right-wing parties in West European democracies* (London: Springer, 2006). Jean-Yves Camus and Nicolas Lebourg, *Far-right politics in Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017). Tarik Abou-Chadi and Werner Krause, "The causal effect of radical right success on mainstream parties' policy positions: A regression discontinuity approach," *British Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 3 (2020): 829-47. Vasiliki Georgiadou, Lamprini Rori, and Costas Roumanias, "Mapping the European far right in the 21st century: A meso-level analysis," *Electoral studies* 54(2018): 103-15.

17- Gabriella Elgenius and Jens Rydgren, "Frames of nostalgia and belonging: The resurgence of ethno-nationalism in Sweden," *European Societies* 21, no. 4 (2019): 583-602. Tuukka Ylä-Anttila, "Social media and the emergence, establishment and transformation of the right-wing populist Finns Party," *Populism* 3, no. 1 (2020): 121-39.

18- David M. Halbfinger, «Netanyahu Sparks Outrage Over Pact With Racist Party,» *New York Times*, February 24, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/24/world/middleeast/benjamin-netanyahu-otzma-yehudit-jewish-power.html>. Nari Zibler, «Far-Right Party Will Push Anti-Arab Agenda in New Israeli Government,» *Foreign Policy*, November 2, 2022, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/11/02/israel-government-election-far-right-anti-arab-netanyahu/>. «Itamar Ben-Gvir: Israeli far-right leader set to join new coalition,» *BBC News*, November 25, 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-63754806>.

19- The text of "Leaderless Resistance" can be found at Kaplan, *Encyclopedia of White Power: a Sourcebook on the Radical Racist Right*: 503-12. On its importance to the movement, see Jeffrey Kaplan, "Leaderless resistance," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 9, no. 3 (1997): 80-95.

sources (1867-1877), as well as on the model of Joseph Paul Franklin who for more than a decade crisscrossed the nation carrying out shootings and assassination attempts ranging from interracial couples to such high profile figures as civil rights leader Vernon Jordan and Hustler magazine publisher Larry Flint.²⁰ These actions were fictionalized in a novel very popular in movement circles written pseudonymously by former ANP house intellectual Dr. William Pierce, who would become the most important National Socialist figure in America following the Commander's death.²¹ So important was the "Leaderless Resistance" idea that President Barack Obama declared lone wolf violence, taken up also by radical Islamist groups after the killing of Osama bin Laden and the rise of Daesh, to be the greatest threat facing the nation.²²

While the ideas in "Leaderless Resistance" were important, so too was its timing. With the failure of the Order²³ in the 1980s to create a true revolutionary organization and the increasing use of force by the federal government against such far right compounds as that of the Covenant, Sword and Arm of the Lord (CSA) and individuals such as Randy Weaver whose wife and son were killed in a standoff with the FBI, the movement was at low ebb.²⁴

Less visible but equally important in retrospect was the timing of the publication itself. Louis Beam wrote "Leaderless Resistance" just at the cusp of the Windows 95 revolution. Originally published in an obscure Klan journal and copied and circulated by hand from believer to believer, the text started as samizdat, but became one of the most circulated radical right wing texts on the internet, vastly expanding its reach and influence. Until the era of streaming live actions some three

20- Mel Ayton, *Dark soul of the South: the life and crimes of racist killer Joseph Paul Franklin* (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2011).

21- Andrew (William Pierce) MacDonald, *Hunter* (Hillsboro, WV: National Vanguard Books, 1989).

22- The literature on Lone Wolf terrorism is voluminous today. See for example Jeffrey Kaplan, Heléna Lööv and Leena Malkki, ed. *Lone Wolf and Autonomous Cell Terrorism*, vol. 26, No. 1, *Terrorism & Political Violence* (London: Routledge, 2014). Ramon Spaaij, *Understanding Lone Wolf Terrorism: Global Patterns, Motivations and Prevention* (Dordrecht Springer, 2011). Bart Schuurman et al., "End of the lone wolf: The typology that should not have been," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 42, no. 8 (2019): 771-78. Raffaello Pantucci, "A typology of lone wolves: Preliminary analysis of lone Islamist terrorists," (ICSR, 2011), https://www.academia.edu/download/24801864/1302002992icsrpaper_atypologyoflonewolves_pantucci.pdf.

23- Kevin Flynn and Gary Gerhardt, *The Silent Brotherhood: Inside America's Racist Underground* (New York: Free Press, 1989).

24- On CSA, see the book by the repentant second in command of the group, Kerry Noble, *Tabernacle of hate: Seduction into right-wing extremism* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2011). On Randy Weaver, Jess Walter, *Every Knee Shall Bow* (New York: Harper Collins, 1996).

decades later, it would remain the most important manifesto of the far right in the internet era.

As a manifesto, “Leaderless Resistance” became popular reading and motivated a few to take action, but it neither ignited significant violence nor did it unite the warring tribes of the radical right. Most important, it became even more obvious that there would be no mass movement as all these groups operated on the lunatic fringe, or more politely, the cultic milieu. Mainstream society held them all in contempt. The movement itself, always divided, further balkanized into warring tribes as Christian Identity, National Socialism, Ku Klux Klan and other racial movements that could find no common ground.²⁵ The greatest violence, all street level and as much common crime as racial violence, were centered in youth movements based around white power music and skinhead culture which turned off most of the far right and got such leaders as tried to embrace it into serious trouble. Tome Metzger, whose attempts to recruit skinheads became the model for the film “American History X” learned this to his cost.²⁶

Worse, the movement never had charismatic leaders who could rally more than a few followers and who were in competition with each other for members and funds. Finally, the movement was thoroughly infiltrated with informers for the local police, the FBI and private watchdog groups like the Jewish Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Poverty Law Center.²⁷

Chat Rooms and Streaming Media

With the emergence of social media and closed chat rooms like 4 chan, 8 chan, and Parler in the 21st century there was a deadly change. Not only could texts and ideas circulate in relative seclusion from the outside world, but believers could form virtual communities and in talking to each other in isolation, greatly accelerate the radicalization process.²⁸ Rather than inhibit violence by endless closed cycle chatter

25- Jeffrey Kaplan, “Right – Wing Violence in North America,” *Terrorism & Political Violence* 7, no. 1 (1995): 44 – 95.

26- George Michael, “This Is War! Tom Metzger, White Aryan Resistance, and the Lone Wolf Legacy,” *Focus on Terrorism* 14(2016): 44 – 95.

27- On the watchdog movements, Jeffrey Kaplan, “The Anti-Cult Movement in America: An History of Culture Perspective,” *Syzygy: A Journal of Alternative Religion and Culture* 2, no. 3-4 (1993): 267-96. On the milieu as a whole, including the watchdogs, see Jeffrey Kaplan, *Radical religion in America: millenarian movements from the far right to the children of Noah* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1997).

28- Daniel Koehler, “The radical online: Individual radicalization processes and the role of the Internet,” *Journal for Deradicalization*, no. 1 (2014): 116-34. Jackson T Grasz, “Tweeting Terror: Evaluating Changes to the Terror Recruitment and Radicalization Process in the Age of Social Media,” *Pepperdine Policy Review* 13, no. 1 (2021): <https://digitalcommons.pepperdine.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1194&context=ppr>.

however, an inevitable dynamic took place where one community member would undertake, after suitable hints to others in the chats, an act of spectacular violence and, when captured, dare others to ‘top this’ by doing something even more spectacular.²⁹

Live-streamed attacks have occurred in the US, Germany, and New Zealand in recent years, but the paradigmatic attack was that of Brenton Tarrant, who on 15 March 2019, attacked a mosque in Christchurch, New Zealand, killing 51 Muslims and injuring 49 others.³⁰ He live-streamed the event, and his manifesto, “The Great Replacement” has become a kind of holy writ in the movement, to be quoted and referenced by the rash of copycat killers that followed.³¹ Although few viewed the live feed, the event quickly generated no less than 722,295 Tweets, commenting pro and con on the action.³² The video feed was quickly stuffed down the online memory hole by providers, leaving it to float hand to hand among the faithful like the samizdat of another era. But the manifesto circulates freely, including through such academic channels as Academia.edu.³³

“The Great Replacement” opens with style, including an academicese subtitle “Toward a New Society,” a pinwheel chart that well illustrates the bricolage of beliefs commonly held in the far right as well as some idiosyncratic additions of his own. The inclusion of Dylan Thomas’ poem “Do Not Go Gentle Into That Good Night”³⁴ demonstrates that Tarrant was an independent thinker with a broad range of influences and ideas.

Foremost among his beliefs is the threat of immigration, which is a common enough trope for the far right and is the focus of the “Great

29- Tiana Gaudette, Ryan Scrivens, and Vivek Venkatesh, “The role of the internet in facilitating violent extremism: Insights from former right-wing extremists,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 34, no. 7 (2022): 1339-56. Florian Hartleb, *Lone wolves: The new terrorism of right-wing single actors* (New York: Springer Nature, 2020).

30- For articles on various post-Christchurch attacks in Europe and the US, see the special issue of the *CTC Sentinel*, vol 12, no. 11, (December 2019), <https://ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/CTC-SENTINEL-112019.pdf>.

31- For example, Stephan Balliet who attacked a synagogue in Halle, Germany and broadcast the carnage on Twitch, a gaming app popular among the radical right. «Germany shooting: 2,200 people watched on Twitch,» *BBC*, October 10, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-49998284>.

32- Hanif Fakhurroja et al., “Crisis Communication on Twitter: A Social Network Analysis of Christchurch Terrorist Attack in 2019” (paper presented at the 2019 International Conference on ICT for Smart Society (ICISS), 2019), <https://ieeexplore.ieee.org/abstract/document/8969839/>.

33- https://www.academia.edu/38978739/The_Great_Replacement.

34- The poem complete with dramatic reading can be found at Poets.org: <https://poets.org/poem/do-not-go-gentle-good-night>.

Replacement's" introduction. But where racist movements commonly fear miscegenation, Tarrant's concern is more practical—the low White birth rate as opposed to the much higher fertility rates among immigrant families.

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.³⁵

Thus:

This is ethnic replacement.

This is cultural replacement.

This is racial replacement.

This is WHITE GENOCIDE.³⁶

What follows is a mock interview in which the author poses the kind of questions to himself that an impartial journalist might ask. A very brief bio is followed by a justification for the action he is about to undertake. The text is written on multiple levels, accessible to a mainstream audience but chock full of terms, witty asides, and in-jokes that would be understood only by the movement cognoscenti. For example, Tarrant describes his means of livelihood as some marginal Bitcoin investments and a side job as a "kabob removalist," which is a reference common on 4 chan and 8 chan chat rooms to the killing of Bosnian Muslims in the Yugoslavian Civil War of the 1990s.³⁷

Tarrant then posits grandiose and utterly ridiculous geopolitical goals for his act, ranging from simple revenge on non-White immigrants to driving a wedge between NATO states and securing the future of the White race in North America while ending America's "melting pot dream." The US is much on his mind as he segues into another uncredited quote: David Lane's famous "14 Words": "We must ensure the existence of our people, and a future for white children."³⁸

35- "The Great Replacement." Educators reading this will be pleased that Tarrant sources his demographic fears, but may blanch at the sole use of *Wikipedia* for the purpose.

36- Ibid.

37- For a brief dictionary of these terms, see Tess Owen, «Decoding the racist memes the alleged New Zealand shooter used to communicate,» *Vice News*, March 15, 2019, https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/vbwn9a/decoding-the-racist-memes-the-new-zealand-shooter-used-to-communicate.

38- "The Great Replacement." On Lane and the internet era radical right, see Mattias Gardell, *Lone Wolf Race Warriors and White Genocide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

Radicalization leading to taking up arms is a gradual process, but in many years of fieldwork with radical movements of many stripes, there is one commonality—a triggering event that forces an individual to decide that he or she must take action is always a factor; that passive belief, hope, and fervent prayer is no longer enough. For Tarrant, whose zeitgeist is international in scope, it was the death of a young girl in Stockholm, Ebba Akerlund, who was killed by accident when struck by a car driven by a fleeing Islamist terrorist.³⁹ He concludes that the final push was his tour through France in which he observed the rundown appearance of French towns with large refugee populations.

That very little of Tarrant's justification of his actions centers on New Zealand is important. The international character of the 21st century race movements is remarkable⁴⁰ and remarkably ironic as it unconsciously mirrors the 'rootless cosmopolitans' trope of historic anti-Semitism. In stark contrast to the racist screeds of the 20th century, Jews are hardly mentioned in the document. In fact, Tarrant is at pains to dissociate himself from anti-Semitism. Posing the question to himself on the topic, he states: "No. A Jew living in Israel is no enemy of mine, so long as they do not seek to subvert or harm my people."⁴¹ He is however aware of the continued prevalence of anti-Semitism in the movement, thus in a kind of racist political correctness, he is careful not to capitalize the words 'Jew' or 'Israel'.

This awareness of movement sensibilities—born of his immersion in the hothouse of chat rooms and social media—is reflected in a section in which he poses to himself hostile questions that he assumes will flow like a river in internal discussions. The most acute perhaps is:

**Are you a Fed/shill/mossad agent/false flag/patsy/
infiltrator/antifa/glow in the dark etc?**

No, but the next person to attack could be, so a healthy scepticism [sic] is a good thing. Just [sic] do not allow your scepticism to turn to paranoia and keep you from supporting those that want the best for you.⁴²

39- «Stockholm quietly remembers victims of terror attack,» *The Local*, April 8, 2019, <https://www.thelocal.se/20190408/stockholm-quietly-marks-two-year-anniversary-of-terror-attack>. The death is a touchstone for the far right as well. See the unauthorized Facebook page titled "Refugees Not Welcome" with a picture of both the little girl and her grave. <https://www.facebook.com/1004579652932069/posts/1871595482897144/>.

40- The internationalization of Black Lives Matter after the death of George Floyd is another case in point. Today for example, all Premier League football games begin with taking a knee and decrying racism in every form.

41- "The Great Replacement."

42- Ibid. The misspellings are left intact from the original.

Similarly, detractors are also anticipated, but this soon morphs into the realm of fantasy and childish dreams, which are included here to again drive home the observation that the internationalization of the White race movement may soon enter into a truly post-nationalist phase when the true believers will at last despair of saving their individual nations. The comic book fantasy here is where Tarrant posits himself as a kind of Joe Ledger rogue American Special Forces operative.⁴³ The American mythos of all this clear, with peaceful and still largely pastoral New Zealand rating nary a mention.

What follows are about fifty pages of historical observations, strategic suggestions to those who would follow, and much more of interest. “The Great Replacement” ends with a reprise of the beginning with another poem, “Invictus” by William Ernest Henley, which concludes:

It matters not how strait the gate,
How charged with punishments the scroll,
I am the master of my fate:
I am the captain of my soul.⁴⁴

Tarrant closes the manifesto with the slogan “Europa Rises” and a pastiche of photographs that beautifully illustrates Tarrant’s dreams. There are idealized pastoral images of White country life, hunting scenes, a little girl with her mother, a baby with her mother, and of course American soldiers on patrol in what appears to be the mountains of Afghanistan.

In the years that followed the Christchurch attacks, “The Great Replacement” has become so ubiquitous that it has moved from movement circles into more mainstream discourse. Donald Trump uses it regularly and through him a substantial number of Republicans have embraced what has come to be called Replacement Theory.⁴⁵ At his speech at Tusványos, Romania, in June 2022, Prime Minister Viktor Orbán went further, urging his audience to read a 1960s era racist tome from France, recently translated into Hungarian, *The Camp of the*

43- Joe Ledger is the main character in a long running series of novels by Jonathan Mayberry. Ledger and his associates fight comic book good vs. evil scenarios featuring zombies, vampires, aliens, mad scientists and much more.

44- <https://poets.org/poem/invictus>.

45- Domenico Montanaro, «How the «replacement» theory went mainstream on the political right,» *NPR*, May 17, 2022, <https://www.npr.org/2022/05/17/1099223012/how-the-replacement-theory-went-mainstream-on-the-political-right>. Philip Bump, «Nearly half of Republicans agree with ‘great replacement theory’,» *Washington Post*, May 9, 2022, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/05/09/nearly-half-republicans-agree-with-great-replacement-theory/>.

Saints, which was a French dystopian novel written in 1973 to decry the threat that immigration posed to French culture, the Christian faith, and ultimately the western world.⁴⁶ The Camp of the Saints is the first in what half a century later would become a burgeoning genre of dystopian literature which foresees the white race in Europe being overrun with immigrants from Africa and the Middle East who seize their women and their land, transforming Europe from a Christian to an Islamic continent.

Manifestos still have power, even in the age of the internet.

Conclusion

The manifestos of the radical right are many and varied, but few have had lasting influence. Those that have, “Leaderless Resistance” and “The Great Replacement” being only two of the most influential, have done so because of the confluence of timing and historical circumstance. Each reflected the perceived longings and needs of their readers, and each provided simple bromides with utopian outcomes. In the age of the internet, they were able to reach larger, global audiences than was possible in the days of the mimeograph machine and the newsletter, while the advent of closed chat rooms facilitated the rapid radicalization and allowed for the global, real time dissemination of violent acts. In their myriad forms, the manifesto will remain a far-right weapon of war for some time to come.

46- Speech by Prime Minister Viktor Orbán at the 31st Bálványos Summer Free University and Student Camp, » *About Hungary*, 23 July 2022, <https://abouthungary.hu/speeches-and-remarks/speech-by-prime-minister-viktor-orban-at-the-31-st-balvanyos-summer-free-university-and-student-camp>.

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