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**GODS VERSUS TITANS: IDEOLOGICAL INDICATORS
OF IDENTITARIAN VIOLENCE**

by

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September 2020

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**GODS VERSUS TITANS:
IDEOLOGICAL INDICATORS OF IDENTITARIAN VIOLENCE**

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ABSTRACT

The identitarian movement is a complex socio-political worldview based on the notion that the European identity must be defended against the onslaught of globalism, replacement, and liberalism. In order to arm current and future identitarians with the courage and resolve they must have to fight this war, identitarian leadership has built a culture of violence founded on ancient heroes, epic battles, and wars between gods and Titans. In some cases, the culture of violence moves from the realm of allusion to the real world, where scores of innocents are murdered in churches, stores, and summer camps. This thesis applies the theory of sensemaking to identitarianism in a series of lenses through which adherents perceive, construct, and then react to the world. The identitarian culture of violence is found in the positioning of each lens, with violence ultimately becoming a lens unto itself. By studying and understanding the various lenses used by identitarians, U.S. law enforcement will be equipped to seek out and identify markers of identitarian violence and intercede before more lives are lost.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ADL	Anti-Defamation League
AIM	American Identity Movement
AWD	Atomwaffen Division
FKD	Feuerkrieg Division
IE	Identity Evropa
LSNS	Ludová strana Naše Slovensko (People's Party of Slovakia)
NA	National Action
ND	Nouvelle Droite (French New Right)
RAM	Rise Above Movement
RIM	Russian Imperial Movement
RTT	Revolt Through Tradition
UN	United Nations

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Identitarianism is a complex anti-liberal ideology based on the desire to preserve traditions, culture, and ethnicity against the perceived tide of ethnic replacement, globalism, and liberalism.¹ While certain identitarian leaders have moved away from violence, adherents like Dylann Roof and Patrick Crusius have committed atrocities in its name.² Law enforcement's focus for the last decade has been on obvious white-supremacist or anti-Semitic markers as leading indicators of identitarian-inspired violence.³ Whether this oversight has been intentional or inadvertent, the fact is, U.S. law enforcement at all levels lacks useful information on the movement. Without a more complete, nuanced understanding of the identitarian world view, rhetoric, and various political platforms, law enforcement will miss opportunities to prevent extremist violence. Law enforcement's incomplete and—to some extent—outmoded conception has allowed homegrown violent extremists to seethe undetected in a culture of violence formed in a latent, frequently coded worldview, the hallmarks of which often are violent battles and heroic deeds in the defense of European lands and ethnicity. The end result is brutal mass killings that shock the conscience.

No single, unrestricted, comprehensive work has addressed the threat of identitarianism in the United States. Therefore, the central mission of this thesis is to understand how identitarians view the world (via ideological lenses) and then link this worldview to violence in the overall movement. Research thus far has provided theories on why violence is a part of the movement, and these theories are important because they reveal motivations, but they do not fully identify why identitarians choose a pathway to violence. Identifying how violence is connected to identitarian ideology—where within the

¹ Jose Zúquete, *The Identitarians* (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2018).

² Chris Meddowes, "Why Identitarians Reject the Old Right," Identitarian Movement, September 1, 2019, <https://identitarianmovement.org/why-identitarians-reject-the-old-right/>.

³ Janet Reitman, "U.S. Law Enforcement Failed to See the Threat of White Nationalism. Now They Don't Know How to Stop It," *New York Times Magazine*, November 3, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/03/magazine/FBI-charlottesville-white-nationalism-far-right.html>.

belief system it is situated and how it is actionable—offers insight into the resources law enforcement should be employing to combat the violence.

This thesis was organized loosely around the concepts of sensemaking theory as explained by Laura McNamara.⁴ The clearest way to understand the overall identitarian ideology and its accompanying violence is to describe how the main players—identitarian leaderships and adherents—see the movement through their respective lenses. Each group builds a lens based on one’s perceptions of the movement; however, the lenses intersect as both sides build a culture of violence around their ideology. This thesis analyzes the lenses through a review of literature, manifestos, and training material. Finally, the thesis reveals that the culture of violence is indeed its own lens, with two different endgames in mind: peace or violence.

This research reveals that while identitarianism is a complex socio-political worldview, it is also an inherently violent movement with the sole mission of ensuring that European culture and ethnicity survive a global onslaught of liberalism, globalism, and mass immigration.⁵ Identitarians see themselves as the literal defenders of Europe and European (white) ethnicity. The identitarian culture of violence is a direct result of viewing the world through the lens of persistent threats. In fact, violence itself has become the lens through which they see the world. In some respects, it is not a far stretch to conclude that identitarians see violence in hegemonic movements like globalism and then decide the only way to survive is to counter the violence with their own, righteous, violence. To identitarians, every election, world event, or social policy change is either ground gained or ground lost in this epic struggle for survival. Even identitarians who espouse tenets of metapolitics, the most peaceful of the strains, use ancient heroes and battles to paint the picture that survival is not guaranteed and that a strong defense is necessary. Finally, the research demonstrates that this culture of violence, combined with the ever-present risk of erasure, is the primary motivator of identitarian killers.

⁴ Laura McNamara, “Sensemaking in Organizations: Reflections on Karl Weick and Social Theory,” *EPIC* (blog), March 24, 2015, <https://www.epicpeople.org/sensemaking-in-organizations/>.

⁵ Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 1.

This thesis provides a good foundation for understanding the overall movement including the ideology, various strains, and the pathway to violence. The research, conclusions, and recommendations of this thesis contribute critical information to the body of work on extremism and domestic terrorism for law enforcement and the broader homeland security enterprise.

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I. THE IDENTITARIAN BATTLEFIELD

Identitarianism is a complex anti-liberal ideology based on the desire to preserve traditions, culture, and ethnicity against the tide of ethnic replacement, globalism, and liberalism.¹ While certain identitarian leaders have moved away from violence, adherents like Dylann Roof and Patrick Crusius have committed atrocities in its name.² Law enforcement's focus for the last decade has been on obvious white-supremacist or anti-Semitic markers as leading indicators of identitarian-inspired violence.³ For example, law enforcement might be drawn to adherents who commit blatant hate crimes or engage in anti-Semitic conspiracy theories.⁴ To fixate on such markers as overt anti-Semitism, however, is to ignore a vast number of other ideological indices of identitarianism, not to mention entire strains that may not be openly devoted to anti-Semitism. This incomplete and—to some extent—outmoded focus has allowed homegrown violent extremists to seethe undetected in a culture of violence formed in a latent, often coded worldview. Within this worldview are reminders of violent battles and heroic deeds in the defense of European lands and ethnicity. The end result is brutal mass killings that shock the conscience.

No single, unrestricted, comprehensive work has addressed the threat of identitarianism in the United States. Moreover, a 2018 *New York Times* investigation into white nationalism, a strain of identitarianism, concluded that law enforcement “ignored” the rise and danger of the movement.⁵ Reitman's critique of law enforcement does not detail how law enforcement ignored a festering problem; rather, she documents a series of provocative incidents, hyped online and perpetuated by one variant of identitarianism, the

¹ Jose Zúquete, *The Identitarians* (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2018).

² Chris Meddowes, “Why Identitarians Reject the Old Right,” Identitarian Movement, September 1, 2019, <https://identitarianmovement.org/why-identitarians-reject-the-old-right/>.

³ Janet Reitman, “U.S. Law Enforcement Failed to See the Threat of White Nationalism. Now They Don't Know How to Stop It,” *New York Times Magazine*, November 3, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/03/magazine/FBI-charlottesville-white-nationalism-far-right.html>.

⁴ Reitman.

⁵ Reitman.

American alt-right.⁶ Reitman concludes that these incidents, despite being in various states and at different times, should have been enough of a warning for law enforcement, yet to her dismay, they were not.⁷ Whether this oversight has been intentional or inadvertent, the fact is, U.S. law enforcement at all levels lacks useful information on the movement.⁸ Without a more complete, nuanced understanding of the identitarian world view, rhetoric, and various political platforms, law enforcement will miss opportunities to prevent extremist violence.

A. RESEARCH QUESTION

What do the lenses of ideology reveal about violence in the identitarian movement?

B. RETURN OF THE GODS

Identitarian writers and philosophers often refer to their political and cultural struggle in terms of epic battles, barbarian hoards, or gods fighting the Titans.⁹ While references to ancient gods, Titans, and mythic war may seem like hyperbole to the outsider, the concept of Titanomachy is widely accepted in the identitarian world.¹⁰ Many identitarians see political ideologies like communism and fascism as Titans, which, as Russian philosopher and author Aleksandr Dugin states, have “driven out our gods, imposed their perverted materialistic vision and their unjust and corrupted societies.”¹¹ Similarly, “globalism” and liberalism are viewed as mythological enemies of identitarianism, both gearing up for an epic conflict, which John Mosby equates to “the Greeks and prehistoric people of Atlantis.”¹² For Mosby, the two sides represent a

⁶ Reitman.

⁷ Reitman.

⁸ Reitman.

⁹ Raivis Zelfīts, “Crisis of Western Civilization,” *New Nationalism* (blog), accessed January 26, 2020, <https://thenewnationalism.com/2019/02/08/crisis-of-western-civilization/>.

¹⁰ Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 194.

¹¹ Aleksandr Dugin, “The End of Present World,” *The Fourth Political Theory* (blog), October 14, 2013, pt. 3.7, <http://www.4pt.su/en/content/end-present-world>.

¹² John Cody Mosbey, “Aleksandr Dugin: Philosophical Aspects of the Fourth Political Theory” (Dublin: Trinity College, April 2017), 26, Research Gate.

microcosm of the quintessential identitarian conflict: order versus a degraded society.¹³ To identitarians, every election, world event, or social policy change is either ground gained or ground lost in this epic struggle for survival. Dugin invokes the god imagery in 2016 when he compares “globalist” Hillary Clinton to Cybele, not out of respect but as a reminder that her lover castrated himself in her service and then bled to death.¹⁴ The allusion was clear in the minds of anti-globalists. Invoking such words as war, battle, gods, Titans, and warriors, to name a few, appears an overt effort to ensure that the movement stays on a war-footing and contributes to an overall culture of violence.

Identitarians often embrace the belief that securing the future requires a return of the gods, which is to say tradition and identity. In 2013, Dugin stated, “Let the people resurrect their gods!”¹⁵ In 2019, Olena Semenyaka, a Ukrainian identitarian philosopher, described the gods as “patrons of memory, culture, history, higher values, ethics, poetry,” adding that “they [the gods] stand for everything that is highest.”¹⁶ Conversely, the Titans are commercial—“productivity, Faustian speed . . . and activism”—a similar theory to French identitarian Dominique Venner’s *homo oeconomicus*, defined as a “zombie . . . empty of content and possessed by the spirit of the market.”¹⁷ Chantal Delsol, a French author and philosopher, has invoked Icarus in her commentary on modern man.¹⁸ Delsol describes movements like national socialism and communism as man’s attempt to create a utopia.¹⁹ However, like Icarus flying toward the sun, mankind has faltered in its desire and

¹³ Mosbey.

¹⁴ Aleksandr Dugin, “Clinton Is War, Trump Is Freedom,” *Defend Democracy Press* (blog), October 16, 2016, <http://www.defenddemocracy.press/clinton-war-trump-freedom-alexander-dugin/>.

¹⁵ Dugin, “The End of Present World.”

¹⁶ Olena Semenyaka, “Friedrich Nietzsche as the ‘Founder’ of Conservative Revolution,” *Plomin* (blog), October 18, 2019, <https://plomin.club/olena-semenyaka-friedrich-nietzsche-as-the-founder-of-conservative-revolution/>

¹⁷ Semenyaka, “Conservative Revolution”; Thomas F. Bertonneau, “The Pagan Ordeal of Dominique Venner,” *The Orthosphere* (blog), April 2, 2019, <https://orthosphere.wordpress.com/2019/04/02/the-pagan-ordeal-of-dominique-venner-2/>.

¹⁸ Sahil Handa, “Seeking a Way Out of Our Modern Malaise,” *National Review*, June 4, 2019, <https://www.nationalreview.com/2019/06/chantal-delsol-icarus-fallen-confronting-modern-malaise/>.

¹⁹ Handa.

brought upon itself death and misery.²⁰ To be sure, invoking ancient heroes or pantheons alone are not necessarily calls to violence. For example, Chantal Delsol in no way suggests violence in her ideas; rather, in her case, the invocation of gods and hero archetypes motivates and inspires people to a cause.²¹

In 2020, Raivis Zeltīts, pushed the Titanomachy into the realm of geopolitical strategy when he called for a “new Prometheus.”²² Zeltīts has described the fight of Polish statesman Józef Piłsudski against Russian imperialism as Prometheus: just as Piłsudski was successful in holding off Russia, so too can nationalists around the world hold back globalism.²³ He writes that it is time to adopt a new Prometheus “in the era of globalism, clash of civilizations, and hybrid warfare.”²⁴

C. LITERATURE REVIEW: THREE LENSES OF IDENTITARIANISM

As a movement, identitarianism views the world (and draws up its battle lines) through a series of lenses, the largest of which shows believers they are under constant threat on three fronts: replacement, globalism, and liberalism.²⁵ Thought leaders in the identitarian movement tend to wrap all three in the vaguely millennial rhetoric of an imminent cultural crisis. For example, Guillaume Faye, one of the “fathers” of the modern movement, proposes the idea of a crisis underway that will accelerate in coming years.²⁶ The crisis is brought about by the destruction of European culture and ethnic-European people and will eventually lead to the collapse of civilization—unless, of course, European

²⁰ Handa.

²¹ Sam Bigelow, “Modern and Ancient Heroes Share Common Themes, BYU Professors Say,” *Daily Universe*, August 18, 2017, <https://universe.byu.edu/2017/08/18/modern-and-ancient-heroes-share-common-themes-byu-professors-say1/>.

²² Zeltīts, “Crisis of Western Civilization.”

²³ Raivis Zeltīts, “Ideology of Prometheus—The New Nationalism,” *New Nationalism* (blog), accessed April 16, 2020, <https://thenewnationalism.com/ideology-of-prometheus/>.

²⁴ Zeltīts.

²⁵ Zúquete, *The Identitarians*; Grégoire Canlorbe, “A Conversation with Guillaume Faye, for American Renaissance,” *Grégoire Canlorbe* (blog), August 4, 2018, <http://gregoirecanlorbe.com/a-conversation-with-guillaume-faye-for-american-renaissance>.

²⁶ Dana Kennedy, “The French Ideologues Who Inspired the Alt-Right,” *Daily Beast*, December 5, 2016, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2016/12/05/the-french-ideologues-who-inspired-the-alt-right>.

civilization fights back.²⁷ The collapse of civilization is so extensive that Olena Semenyaka often refers to it as the aforementioned Titanomachy, or gods fighting Titans.²⁸

Adherents of the identitarian ideology claim that their only defense in the face of this existential crisis is a return to the traditions, heroes, and virility of their ancestors.²⁹ A segment of the identitarian movement sees the crux of the crisis as race preservation; thus, its defense is ethno-centric, racist, and often anti-Semitic. While most of the movement's literature and leadership hail from France and Italy, identitarianism is not bound by borders. Rather, it is an ideological shield that can be wielded by all who identify as ethnically European (white) and who, thus, face the same threats of replacement, globalism, and liberalism.

1. Great Replacement Theory

In 2011 Renaud Camus, a French essayist and author, published a seminal work titled *Le Grand Remplacement*, or *The Great Replacement*.³⁰ Camus's claim was simple, if not fatalistic: Europeans are being stamped out ethnically and economically.³¹ On the ethnic front, Camus argues that mass immigration is literally replacing white Europeans with successive influxes of dark-skinned opportunists seeking, on the economic front, to enrich themselves in the short term, even at the inevitable expense of their organic context or identity.³² To Camus, and many others who later adopted great replacement theory, mass immigration and economics are intimately intertwined to such a degree that they form a

²⁷ Canlorbe, "A Conversation with Guillaume Faye"; Guillaume Faye, *Archeofuturism: European Visions of the Post-Catastrophic Age* (London: Arktos Media, 2010), <https://dinghal.com/bibliotheek/Archeofuturism.pdf>. Notably, the term *European* is more ethnic (or cultural) rather than geographic; very often, this term boils down to being "white-skinned."

²⁸ Semenyaka, "Conservative Revolution."

²⁹ See Guillaume Faye, *Why We Fight* (London: Arktos Media, 2011).

³⁰ Thomas Chatterton Williams, "The French Origins of 'You Will Not Replace Us,'" *New Yorker*, November 27, 2017, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/12/04/the-french-origins-of-you-will-not-replace-us>.

³¹ Camus Président, "Renaud Camus," June 6, 2016, YouTube, video, 13:40, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CMxhMtv1qvE>. Indeed, Camus was very critical of capitalism's tendency to reduce humanity to beings to "infinitely exchangeable units unconnected from home or culture."

³² Andrew Wilson, "Fear-Filled Apocalypses: The Far-Right's Use of Conspiracy Theories," *Oxford Research Group* (blog), March 27, 2019, <https://www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk/blog/fear-filled-apocalypses-the-far-rights-use-of-conspiracy-theory>.

symbiotic relationship whereby one always ushers the other. Often the two are lumped together and referred to as an element of cosmopolitanism.³³ In a self-recorded 2016 video, Camus compared what was occurring in Europe—the well-publicized mass migrations of Syrians fleeing (often on foot) civil war and joined by economic migrants in their number from Africa and South Asia—to what happened to the Native Americans upon the arrival of Europeans. He remarked bitterly, “Maybe the Europeans will one day count themselves lucky to open casinos.”³⁴

Adherents and thought leaders in the identitarian movement seized on great replacement theory—first in Europe, then globally. For example, Dominique Venner, a French historian and prominent identitarian, believed so wholly in the great replacement that he tried to shock the French people with his high-profile suicide.³⁵ Venner killed himself inside Notre Dame cathedral in Paris as a symbol of his dedication to ethnic French lands and people.³⁶ He planned his suicide in the hopes that his drastic act would rouse the French people from their lethargy and inspire them to defend the race.³⁷ He wrote, “While I defend the identity of all peoples in their homes, I also rebel against the crime of replacement of our people.”³⁸

Venner’s act of self-violence may not have galvanized the nation, but it certainly attracted more attention—among leading movement intellectuals and the rank and file alike—to his theory. Robert Fiorini, a French ethno-nationalist, opines that great replacement is so deeply ingrained in European’s minds that they “no longer feel attached

³³ Patrick Hayden, “Albert Camus and Rebellious Cosmopolitanism in a Divided World,” *Journal of International Political Theory* 9, no. 2 (2013): 194–219, <https://doi.org/10.3366/jipt.2013.0055>.

³⁴ Camus Président, “Renaud Camus.”

³⁵ Christian Fraser, “Dominique Venner’s Shock ‘Gesture,’” BBC News, May 22, 2013, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-22628159>.

³⁶ Dominique Venner, “The Reasons for a Voluntary Death,” *Counter-Currents Publishing* (blog), trans. Greg Johnson, May 21, 2013, <https://www.counter-currents.com/2013/05/the-reasons-for-a-voluntary-death/>.

³⁷ John Lichfield, “Far-Right French Historian, 78-Year-Old Dominique Venner, Commits Suicide in Notre Dame in Protest Against Gay Marriage,” *Independent*, May 21, 2013, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/far-right-french-historian-78-year-old-dominique-venner-commits-suicide-in-notre-dame-in-protest-8625877.html>.

³⁸ Venner, “Reasons for a Voluntary Death.”

anymore to our [European] destinies.”³⁹ Latvian politician and journalist Raivis Zeltīts has gone so far as to posit that the great replacement is meant to bring about the end of Western civilization. Specifically, he intones, invoking another chestnut of the far right, “Europeans are facing extinction” due to declining birthrates and what he sees as a steady stream of migrants coming from Africa and the Middle East.⁴⁰

The core fear of replacement in Europe fixates predominantly on Islam. The struggle between Islam and Europe is a common theme for European identitarians, stemming from centuries of conflict. The generally held belief is that Muslims do not respect the cultures, histories, or traditions of their host countries. In his book *Reconquista or the Death of Europe*, Renee Marchand writes that Islam is a community with “a duty to fight . . . Europeans, and destroy their religion and civilization.”⁴¹ Identitarians, especially Faye, focus on the crime that Muslim communities bring to Europe, their resistance to assimilation in new countries, and Islam’s general disregard for non-Muslims.⁴² For identitarian leaders like Venner, Islam represents a literal invasion, as Pedro Zúquete notes in a story about Venner’s reaction to the construction of a mosque in Rome.⁴³ According to Zúquete, Venner believed the mosque revealed a “despicable weakness” and an acquiescence to a “foreigner who in provocation, taunts his [European] gods in their own sanctuary.”⁴⁴ Venner was joined in his disgust with the mosque by English identitarian Michael Walker, who couched his complaint in terms of Islam’s lack of tolerance of Christian churches in Saudi Arabia.⁴⁵

In the United States, great replacement is less ethno-cultural and more about race. Patrick Casey, president of the American Identity Movement (AIM), lists among the group’s principles the need to “staunchly defend the preservation of America’s historical

³⁹ Zúquete, *The Identitarians*.

⁴⁰ Zeltīts, “Crisis of Western Civilization.”

⁴¹ Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 172.

⁴² Faye, *Archeofuturism*, 9, 36, 45.

⁴³ Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 169.

⁴⁴ Zúquete, 168.

⁴⁵ Zúquete, 168–169.

demographics in the face of mass immigration.”⁴⁶ In a 2020 podcast, Casey announced resistance to mass immigration as the primary focus of AIM.⁴⁷ Similar to Camus, Casey has taken the replacement argument to the point of saying that Americans want to avoid becoming minorities in “their own country.”⁴⁸

Aside from AIM, great replacement is a frequently visited topic on the popular white nationalist blog *American Renaissance*.⁴⁹ A search for the term “great replacement” on the website yields more than 10,000 references.⁵⁰ *American Renaissance* journalists see great replacement as not only an ethnic threat but also a metapolitical strategy. For example, in a January 2020 article, Michelle Malkin calls a caravan of refugees from Honduras “low-wage workers, pew-fillers, and future ethnic-bloc voters being exploited by . . . the Democrat party.”⁵¹ She later dubs the caravans a “deliberately orchestrated, relentlessly executed, slow-motion criminal invasion.”⁵²

Within white nationalist circles, immigration and replacement are self-evident political tools. Gregory Hood, another contributor to *American Renaissance*, uses a 2019 article to insist that racial great replacement at the state level has been a tactic wholly embraced by the U.S. Democratic Party.⁵³ Greg Johnson, curator of the *Counter-Currents* blog and avowed white nationalist, used his 2018 book, *The White Nationalist Manifesto*, to highlight the “extinction” faced by white Americans through immigration, increased

⁴⁶ Patrick Casey, “5 Principles of AIM,” *American Identity Movement* (blog), accessed January 26, 2020, <https://www.americanidentitymovement.com/principles/>.

⁴⁷ Patrick Casey, “Groypcast,” Dlive, accessed January 20, 2020, https://dlive.tv/p/groypcast+7_04EgyZR.

⁴⁸ Casey.

⁴⁹ “Amren.Com Traffic Overview,” SimilarWeb, accessed September 4, 2020, <http://similarweb.com/website/amren.com>. In December 2019, this page had more than 84,000 visits, approximately 17,700 of which were from inside the United States.

⁵⁰ “Search Results,” *American Renaissance* (blog), accessed September 9, 2020, <https://www.amren.com/search/>.

⁵¹ Michelle Malkin, “Illegal Immigrant Caravans and Criminal Catholics,” *American Renaissance* (blog), January 22, 2020, <https://www.amren.com/commentary/2020/01/illegal-immigrant-caravans-and-criminal-catholics/>.

⁵² Malkin.

⁵³ Gregory Hood, “The Great Replacement Is Not a Conspiracy,” *American Renaissance* (blog), September 11, 2019, <https://www.amren.com/commentary/2019/09/the-great-replacement-is-not-a-conspiracy/>.

death rates among white Americans, and drug use.⁵⁴ He maintains that white Americans already feel the impending doom, and many have given up.⁵⁵ In this regard, he echoes Robert Fiorini’s fatalism about Europeans.⁵⁶

Very few within the identitarian movement dispute great replacement, especially in the face of its global efficacy in uniting identitarians. Still, one notable departure from great replacement is Alain de Benoist, author and founder of the French nationalist group *Nouvelle Droite* (New Right). Benoist sees the utility of great replacement’s shock value when discussing nationalism; however, he all but dismisses it as a literal replacement of European peoples. In fact, his writings suggest the claims of literal replacement are tantamount to a conspiracy theory, possibly racially motivated, and largely unhelpful to the cause.⁵⁷ According to Zúquete, Benoist sees the great replacement more as a “transformation” of European mindsets that encourages the casting aside of traditions, social habits, and heritage in order to accept globalism and homogenization.⁵⁸

Benoist notwithstanding, most identitarians find proof of great replacement in public policy, immigration, and politics. The most cited example within French political circles—including the National Front, whose leader Marine Le Pen has emerged as a startlingly credible presidential candidate at times—is the United Nations (UN) report titled *Replacement Migration: Is It a Solution to Declining and Ageing Populations?*⁵⁹ In the report’s executive summary, the authors list eight countries, including the United States, where declining birth rates and an aging population present the real possibility of critical demographic decline—insufficient young people to man the economy or otherwise sustain

⁵⁴ Greg Johnson, *The White Nationalist Manifesto*, vol. 1 (Seattle: Counter-Currents Publishing, 2018).

⁵⁵ Gregory Hood, “The White Nationalist Manifesto,” *American Renaissance* (blog), November 15, 2018, <https://www.amren.com/commentary/2018/11/the-white-nationalist-manifesto/>.

⁵⁶ Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 148.

⁵⁷ J. Lester Feder and Pierre Buet, “They Wanted to Be a Better Class of White Nationalists. They Claimed This Man as Their Father,” *BuzzFeed News*, December 26, 2017, <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/lesterfeder/the-man-who-gave-white-nationalism-a-new-life>.

⁵⁸ Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 150.

⁵⁹ United Nations, Population Division, *Replacement Migration: Is It a Solution to Declining and Ageing Populations?* (New York: United Nations, 2001), <https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/ageing/replacement-migration.asp>.

older generations. To answer the crisis, the UN has examined migration as a solution for the eight countries; the report even suggests how many migrants would be needed to keep a consistent working-age population.⁶⁰ To be fair to the UN report, the context of replacement migration is fixed on “international migration that would be needed to offset declines . . . in the population of working age” individuals, not replacement based on ethnicity.⁶¹ Either way, the report led one political insider from the National Front to say great replacement is mathematical fact.⁶²

Nationalist authors and journalists like Raivis Zeltīts and Ritvars Eglājs use similar statistics to focus on declining populations in Europe. In a 2019 article for *New Nationalism*, Eglājs details declining ethnic populations in Latvia, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden, using UN numbers as proof of an “on-going colonization of Europe with third world immigrants.” Eglājs ends his examination of ethnic European populations with this statement: “This shows that hate, indifference, and cowardice, by the bulk of Western European rulers towards their own people, are comparable to that of the Communists and russificators in Latvia, or even higher.”⁶³

The use of statistics and literature are a tactic identitarians in the United States are also embracing to prove that great replacement is not a conspiracy theory but a settled fact, if not an official policy. *American Renaissance*'s Gregory Hood has, for example, focused on segments of the published political strategy of Stacy Abrams, a prominent African-American politician from Georgia, which focuses almost exclusively on racial demographics. For example, he highlights that Abrams's political playbook hypothesizes voters of color will soon replace white voters in Georgia.⁶⁴ A first-hand review of her report confirms that Abrams claims Georgia has experienced an electorally advantageous

⁶⁰ United Nations, Population Division. For example, in one scenario, Germany would need 24 million migrants at a rate of 487,000 per year while Italy would need 12.6 million at 251,000 per year.

⁶¹ United Nations, Population Division, 97.

⁶² Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 151.

⁶³ Ritvars Eglājs, “The Latest Statistics of the Colonisation of Europe,” *New Nationalism* (blog), accessed January 29, 2020, <https://thenewnationalism.com/2019/01/27/the-latest-statistics-of-the-colonisation-of-europe/>.

⁶⁴ Stacy Abrams, *The Abrams Playbook* (Atlanta: Fair Fight, 2019), 3–4, <https://fairfight.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/TheAbramsPlaybook.pdf>.

demographic shift not seen in other states.⁶⁵ According to the *Abrams Playbook*, the demographic shift is unique to Georgia, thereby making it a viable political target for multiple Democratic candidates up and down the ballot.⁶⁶ The *Playbook* identifies racial demographics in Georgia several times as leading indicators of pro-Democratic voters.⁶⁷ Abrams states, “The white share of the electorate is steadily declining, [while] . . . the African American share has been significantly growing.”⁶⁸ She adds that “Asian Americans, Pacific Islander, and ‘Latinx’ voters” are increasing to a level that could affect elections.⁶⁹ Abrams’s election playbook appears to frame the ongoing demographic shift as a potential benefit for Democrats, not commentary on replacing white voters. Hood, however, seizes on the overall tactic, deeming it proof that Abrams sees replacement as a valid political tactic.⁷⁰

Beyond Abrams, Hood cites a 2019 *Salt Lake Tribune* article written by Michelle Goldberg that lauds demographic shifts in the U.S. electorate as almost certainly benefitting the Democratic Party in the 2020 election and beyond.⁷¹ She writes that the “rising American electorate—including millennials, people of color, and single women—will ensure a Democratic victory.”⁷² In the follow-on discussion, she describes these demographics as heralding a new, enlightened political dispensation.⁷³ Almost a year later, *American Renaissance* journalist Chris Roberts again pushes the idea of great replacement as a political strategy, listing 13 books, written by left-wing authors, on the political benefits to the American left of a declining white demographic.⁷⁴ Some of the titles he lists

⁶⁵ Abrams, 2.

⁶⁶ Abrams, 2.

⁶⁷ Abrams, 3.

⁶⁸ Abrams, 4.

⁶⁹ Abrams, 4.

⁷⁰ Hood, “The Great Replacement Is Not a Conspiracy.”

⁷¹ Hood.

⁷² Michelle Goldberg, “Dare We Dream of the End of the GOP?,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 6, 2019, <https://www.sltrib.com/opinion/commentary/2019/09/06/michelle-goldberg-dare-we>.

⁷³ Goldberg.

⁷⁴ Chris Roberts, “Is the Great Replacement a Conspiracy Theory?,” *American Renaissance* (blog), December 8, 2019, <https://www.amren.com/blog/2019/12/is-the-great-replacement-a-conspiracy-theory/>.

include Robert P. Jones's book *The End of White Christian America* and Steve Phillips's *Brown is the New White: How the Demographic Revolution Has Created a New American Majority*.⁷⁵

Less scientific but just as effective is the use of hyperbole or political grandstanding in promoting great replacement theory. In a 2019 YouTube video, Jared Taylor, a self-described white nationalist and curator of *American Renaissance*, provides a factual basis for great replacement theory. He states, in part, "The United States was 90 percent white in 1964. We are down to just over 60 percent now."⁷⁶ He further claims whites in California represented 90 percent of the state's population 50 years ago but are approximately 40 percent of the population today. His recitation of statistics related to a declining population accompanies photographs of tattooed gang members and Muslims praying in the streets, which play into his argument of higher crime and cultural decay.⁷⁷ Putting to rest any question about Taylor's views on linking replacement with time, in a 2015 article, he explains why a person would want to start a race war in the United States.⁷⁸ Taylor blames the government and the media for not "acknowledging the true dimensions of interracial crime," by which he means black-on-white crime.⁷⁹ Moreover, he suggests that the media and government are intentionally covering up the statistics of black-on-white crime, and this intentional cover up of the facts leads to frustration and anger when someone discovers them. Taylor goes on to describe how white people are shamed of slavery, made to destroy symbols of their culture and history, and forced to watch as their importance in society is physically replaced by minorities.⁸⁰ To Taylor, lashing out is expected.

⁷⁵ Roberts.

⁷⁶ Jared Taylor, "Demographic Change: Imagined or Inevitable?," accessed January 29, 2020, YouTube, video, 8:47, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sKBRHE-pkM8&t=80s>.

⁷⁷ Taylor.

⁷⁸ Jared Taylor, "The Mind of the Killer: How We Can Prevent Future Dylann Roof's?," *Unz Review* (blog), July 27, 2015, <https://www.unz.com/article/the-mind-of-the-killer/>.

⁷⁹ Taylor.

⁸⁰ Taylor.

2. Globalism

In identitarian circles, “globalism” is the pejorative variant of “globalization,” which refers to the economic system based on global trade.⁸¹ To the identitarian, globalism is a two-pronged threat, economic and cultural, with the economic side being the more lethal of the two because it predates a cultural death. In such books as *Why We Fight* and *Archeofuturism*, Guillaume Faye explains that universal egalitarianism spawned globalism.⁸² He calls egalitarianism “a utopian revolt against life itself,” which he claims is inherently unequal.⁸³ To explain this further, Faye illustrates that Western societies, especially those adopting Judeo-Christian theology, secularized the concept of equality, focusing on the sovereignty of man as a creation made in the image of God.⁸⁴ Man, being ultimately equal to God, has a spark of the divine and must then see other men as equally divine.⁸⁵ Thus, the logical conclusion of anyone reading Faye is that all mankind must be equally treated and equally rewarded—hence, universal egalitarianism. In secularizing the concept, Faye argues, egalitarianism has become a form of totalitarianism. For example, in the name of equality, globalism has replaced equal opportunity with a focus on equal results.⁸⁶ On the cultural front, globalism has eradicated individual identity in favor of a universally equal global identity. As Zúquete writes, according to identitarians, “Globalism will kill identity, or identity will kill globalism.”⁸⁷

Globalism, to the identitarian, entails giving preference to global economies over autarkic markets at the expense of the individual spirit. Furthermore, according to white nationalist author Greg Johnson, the globalization of economies has stripped away national

⁸¹ Gideon Rachman, “Why Globalism Is Good for You,” *Financial Times*, October 29, 2018, <https://www.ft.com/content/e4593f96-d937-11e8-ab8e-6be0dcf18713>.

⁸² Faye, *Why We Fight*; Faye, *Archeofuturism*.

⁸³ Faye, *Why We Fight*, 174.

⁸⁴ Faye, 293.

⁸⁵ Faye, *Why We Fight*, 175.

⁸⁶ Faye, 174.

⁸⁷ Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 167.

identity, personal pride, and the very spirit of mankind.⁸⁸ As global markets stall, flourish, or die, the individual is left in a soulless space where either the pursuit of riches or the demise of a product dictates behavior.⁸⁹ Benoist also takes issue with globalism's focus on the market: "There is [a] big difference between a market society and a society with a market."⁹⁰ Benoist seems to suggest that within a "market society," there is no room for the individual. Venner takes this idea of the market's eradicating the individual a step further, saying mankind is to be considered "homo oeconomicus" under the market system rather than individual people with inherent value.⁹¹ Even worse, the eventual outcome of globalism is the economic leveling of nations. As Johnson argues, globalism means that "first world living standards" will decline to meet the modest gains in third-world living standards.⁹² In other words, unchecked globalism will eventually lead to a global decline into an almost post-apocalyptic world where the ultra-elite thrive while the workers barely survive.

In 2017, Ricardo Duchesne delivered a speech at the University of New Brunswick on globalism later published on *Counter-Currents*.⁹³ To Duchesne, globalization is the benevolent unification of economies whereas globalism is an abhorrent ideology such as "feminism, transsexualism, or communism."⁹⁴ Duchesne theorizes that the terms globalism and globalization are used interchangeably as a plot to fool Americans into accepting the ideology as inevitable.⁹⁵ Duchesne describes globalism as an ideology with the goals of mass immigration, open borders, and the destruction of Western identities, including

⁸⁸ Greg Johnson, "The End of Globalization," *Counter-Currents Publishing* (blog), December 2015, <https://www.counter-currents.com/2015/12/the-end-of-globalization-2/>.

⁸⁹ George Monbiot, "The Age of Loneliness," *New Statesman*, October 24, 2016, <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/health/2016/10/age-loneliness>.

⁹⁰ Alain de Benoist, *Reflechir & Agir*, no. 44 (Summer 2013): 33–37, quoted in Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 123.

⁹¹ Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 114.

⁹² Johnson, "The End of Globalization."

⁹³ Ricardo Duchesne, "Trump & the Globalist Convergence of the Left & Right against Nationalism," *Counter-Currents Publishing* (blog), April 11, 2017, <https://www.counter-currents.com/2017/04/trump-the-globalist-convergence-of-the-left-and-right-against-nationalism/>.

⁹⁴ Duchesne.

⁹⁵ Duchesne.

European cultures.⁹⁶ Moreover, he opines that *globalization* could coexist with nationalism whereas *globalism* could not because the latter's underlying goals include the eradication of culture, roots, borders, and identities, all in an effort to sell more goods.⁹⁷

In a much earlier article, conservative journalist Robert Locke declares the ultimate goal of globalism is to eradicate borders in an effort to achieve egalitarianism.⁹⁸ Echoing Faye, Locke avers that the American left sees borders as a function of oppression.⁹⁹ Thus, erasing borders allows open immigration and equal sharing of resources and wealth.¹⁰⁰ Locke goes a step further in stating that globalism nefariously seeks the eradication of national, cultural identity with the secondary goal of installing global governmental bodies, which further erode identity.¹⁰¹ Therefore, Locke reaffirms the threat posed by globalism as one that would, or could, erase that which identitarians fight so strongly to maintain: a sense of self. Western identitarians like Pat Buchanan join Locke, Duchesne, and others in pronouncing globalism a universal threat.¹⁰²

3. Liberalism

The third enemy of identitarians the world over is Western liberalism. According to Aleksandr Dugin, Western liberalism positions the individual as the “normative subject within the framework of all mankind.”¹⁰³ Dugin further writes that the focus on the individual has allowed Western liberalism to defeat two ideological Titans: communism

⁹⁶ Duchesne.

⁹⁷ Duchesne.

⁹⁸ Robert Locke, “Nation Busting,” *American Conservative* (blog), June 2, 2003, <https://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/nation-busting/>.

⁹⁹ Locke.

¹⁰⁰ Locke.

¹⁰¹ Locke.

¹⁰² Pat Buchanan, “Globalists & Nationalists: Who Owns the Future?,” *American Renaissance* (blog), March 13, 2018, <https://www.amren.com/commentary/2018/03/globalists-nationalists-who-owns-the-future/>. Pat Buchanan, who was once a mainstream political voice, has since joined the ranks of the identitarian movement in their conclusion that globalism's primary threats are open borders and mass immigration.

¹⁰³ Aleksandr Dugin, *The Fourth Political Theory* (London: Arktos Media, 2018), 162.

and socialism.¹⁰⁴ He explains that Western liberalism’s victory was also its eventual undoing—and the reason it is an enemy of the identitarian movement.¹⁰⁵ Specifically, Western liberalism’s penultimate victory was freeing the individual from all “collective identity and any membership.”¹⁰⁶ To the identitarian, liberalism’s goal of freeing individuals means a forced uncoupling from tradition, family, national or ethnic identity, and all forms of structure which heretofore had been a benefit to mankind.

In almost all corners of the identitarian world, the defeat of Western liberalism also means the end of Western liberal democracies. Removing liberal democracy, and replacing it with a stricter government system, is a key factor in understanding the eventual goal of many identitarian groups: a government system designed around strict nationalism, a rejection of liberal social ideals—social justice theory, for instance—and a return to autarkic market systems. Interestingly, as author Edward Luce and journalist Patrick Lee Miller point out, the extreme left also advocates for the end of liberal democracy, but this replacement is collectivist and likely something similar to communism.¹⁰⁷ Ironically, the far left and the far right, including identitarians, arrive at the conclusion that the future lies outside the bounds of liberal democracy.¹⁰⁸

Within Western liberalism’s ecosystem, there are several sub-movements, including feminism, gender queering, and social justice. Identitarians writ large believe each of the sub-movements poses some level of existential threat to culture, tradition, objective truth, identitarian ideology, and in some cases, their very existence. For example, Zúquete summarizes the identitarian view on transgenderism as not only a threat to objective truth—a man turning into a woman, for example—but also an attempt at

¹⁰⁴ Dugin, 166.

¹⁰⁵ Dugin, 178.

¹⁰⁶ Dugin, 166.

¹⁰⁷ Patrick Lee Miller, “The Implosion of Western Liberalism,” *Quillette* (blog), November 5, 2017, <https://quillette.com/2017/11/05/implosion-western-liberalism/>.

¹⁰⁸ Hilary Wainwright, introduction to *State of Power 2016: Democracy, Sovereignty and Resistance*, ed. Nick Buxton and Deborah Eade (Amsterdam: Transnational Institute, 2016), <https://www.tni.org/files/publication-downloads/state-of-power-2016.pdf>; Shawn Rosenberg, “Democracy Devouring Itself: The Rise of the Incompetent Citizen and the Appeal of Right Wing Populism” (Irvine: University of California, 2019), 36, https://www.academia.edu/38564962/Democracy_Devouring_Itself_The_Rise_of_the_Incompetent_Citizen_and_the_Appeal_of_Populism_docx.

“massification,” removing all human uniqueness in an attempt for sameness.¹⁰⁹ Dugin concurs, alleging further that Western liberalism and its sub-ideologies have led to “cultural, national, social and religious ties being broken” while at the same time erasing “culture, language, morality, tradition . . . and family.”¹¹⁰

Many in the identitarian community feel feminism is the most egregious of the sub-movements of liberalism because it is “anti-male, anti-family, and anti-white.”¹¹¹ Indeed, Benoist states the dominant form of feminism is based on a malevolent egalitarianism in that it strives to erase the differences between men and women in a misplaced effort to equalize power and influence.¹¹² Silver Roses, a Ukrainian identitarian-based organization, accuses feminism of intentionally moving away from the “fundamental truth” that men and women are different on all levels, and the roles attributed to one or the other should not be so easily exchanged.¹¹³ Silver Roses touches on traditional views of men and women, which is something the group promotes with vigor.

While Benoist and Silver Roses appear to be addressing perceived power dynamics, the truth is, both claim men and women are at their best when they understand their roles and responsibilities and work in tandem—something they maintain feminism rejects. To the identitarian, feminism’s rejection of male/female roles threatens the basic family structure.¹¹⁴ None of the identitarian literature on feminism is specifically hostile to first- and second-wave feminists, with the exception of abortion, which is attributed to the latter

¹⁰⁹ Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 117.

¹¹⁰ Aleksandr Dugin, “Global Revolutionary Alliance (Manifesto) (Program, Principles, Strategy),” *Geopolitica* (Russia), January 4, 2017, <https://www.geopolitica.ru/en/article/global-revolutionary-alliance-manifesto-program-principles-strategy>.

¹¹¹ Andrew Hamilton, “Feminism versus Marriage in Virginia Van Upp’s *Honeymoon in Bali* (1939),” *Counter-Currents Publishing* (blog), November 2013, <https://www.counter-currents.com/2013/11/>.

¹¹² Alain de Benoist, “Benoist on Feminism, IQ, & the Wealth of Nations: Interview on the Human Sciences, Part 4,” trans. Greg Johnson, *Counter-Currents Publishing* (blog), February 2011, <https://www.counter-currents.com/2011/02/>.

¹¹³ Olena Semenyaka, “Silver Rose: Difference between Men and Women,” *Telegram-Micro Blog*, August 21, 2018, <https://t.me/sriblotroyandy>.

¹¹⁴ Silver Rose, “Срібло Троянди,” Facebook, September 5, 2019, <https://www.facebook.com/sriblo.troyandy/posts/2452099618342573>. Silver Rose defines its brand of feminism as the struggle to return to the glory of woman as seen in Athena and Penelope, and not a struggle to maintain “the ability to have an abortion, to bare our own body in public, or to have the highest consumption capacity.”

end of the second wave.¹¹⁵ Third- and fourth-wave feminists are indeed threats to identitarian ideology, according to this material, with the fourth wave being the worst of the two because of its belief in erasing gender lines, “queer theory,” suppression of male talent and usefulness, and “the total feminization of male human material.”¹¹⁶ To identitarians, writers like Kristen Sollee, a “sex-positive” journalist, provide plenty of fuel for the identitarian arguments against feminism. Sollee describes third-wave feminism as being sex-positive—meaning incorporating sex into everyday life—and fourth-wave as being gender queer.¹¹⁷

As Dugin points out, the goal of Western liberalism is the freeing of an individual from all collective identity; however, identitarians tend, instead, to see these trends as depriving mankind of its own culture, families, and even historical perceptions. According to author and journalist Kevin Baldeosingh, “woke culture,” for example, which is based on the concept of shaming en masse, treats Western history and culture skeptically.¹¹⁸ Further explaining woke culture, Vox journalist Matthew Yglesias writes that the movement shows an unmistakable desire for “white liberals” to move even further left in their political ideology and away from their own history and culture.¹¹⁹ For example, woke Westerners are accustomed to hearing that capitalism, the U.S. criminal justice system, and even American life are full of systemic racism. Explaining the idea of pervasive racism in American life, Bo Winegard and Ben Winegard summarize this tenet of woke theory thusly: “Almost all disparities among demographic groups are caused by bigotry.”¹²⁰ All of these examples of woke culture, shame, and claims of systemic racism aggravate

¹¹⁵ Kristen Sollee, “6 Things to Know About 4th Wave Feminism,” *Bustle*, October 30, 2015, <https://www.bustle.com/articles/119524-6-things-to-know-about-4th-wave-feminism>.

¹¹⁶ Olena Semenyaka, “Silver Rose: Medusa,” *Telegram-Micro Blog* (blog), August 31, 2018, <https://t.me/sriblotroyandy>.

¹¹⁷ Sollee, “6 Things to Know About 4th Wave Feminism.”

¹¹⁸ Kevin Baldeosingh, “A Short History of Wokeness,” *Spiked*, August 5, 2019, <https://www.spiked-online.com/2019/08/05/a-short-history-of-woke-ness/>.

¹¹⁹ Matthew Yglesias, “White Liberals Are Embracing Progressive Racial Politics and Transforming America,” *Vox*, March 22, 2019, <https://www.vox.com/2019/3/22/18259865/great-awakening-white-liberals-race-polling-trump-2020>.

¹²⁰ Bo Winegard and Ben Winegard, “The Preachers of the Great Awakening,” *Quillette* (blog), September 21, 2018, <https://quillette.com/2018/09/21/the-preachers-of-the-great-awakening/>.

identitarians and prove their point of a world gone awry. For example, Yglesias’s aforementioned article was featured in the white nationalist–leaning *American Renaissance* publication in April 2019 as a shameful reminder of what liberalism has done to white Americans: causing them to be ashamed of their culture.¹²¹

Finally, according to identitarians, the damage of Western liberalism manifests in the youth of the west, who use it to demean and cast aside white people en masse. For example, in 2018, then–Texas State University student Rudy Martinez wrote an opinion piece that he later published on his own website, “Your DNA Is an Abomination.”¹²² Martinez used the article to display his absolute disdain for white Americans, openly admitting his goal was to “deconstruct whiteness and everything attached to it.”¹²³ He warned white people that their cultural death was imminent and announced: “White death will mean liberation for all.”¹²⁴ The essay was found to be so objectionable that Texas State University President Denise Trauth allegedly ordered the school paper to issue an apology and delete the article from its website.¹²⁵ It was too late for that, as white nationalists had already learned of the article and spread in online.¹²⁶ Jared Taylor quoted Martinez’s essay in a 2018 speech as proof of “irreconcilable differences” between black and white America.¹²⁷ For identitarians, articles like Martinez’s are all the proof they need that higher education is inundated with liberalism.

¹²¹ Matthew Yglesias, “The Great Awakening,” *American Renaissance* (blog), April 5, 2019, <https://www.amren.com/news/2019/04/the-great-awakening/>.

¹²² “Home Page,” *Sybil* (blog), accessed September 4, 2020, <https://www.sybiljournal.com>.

¹²³ Rudy Martinez, “Your DNA Is an Abomination,” *Sybil* (blog), November 25, 2017, <https://www.sybiljournal.com/work-2/2018/11/12/your-dna-is-an-abomination-by-rudy-martinez>. See also Rudy Martinez, “When They Came for Me,” *Sybil* (blog), November 26, 2018, <https://www.sybiljournal.com/work-2/2018/11/26/when-they-came-for-me-by-rudy-martinez>.

¹²⁴ Martinez, “Your DNA Is an Abomination.”

¹²⁵ “A Message from the Editorial Board,” *University Star*, November 30, 2017, <https://universitystar.com/21736/opinions/a-message-from-the-editorial-board/>; Martinez, “When They Came for Me.”

¹²⁶ Greg Norman, “Texas Student Newspaper Blasted Over Anti-White ‘Your DNA Is an Abomination’ Column,” *American Renaissance* (blog), November 30, 2017, <https://www.amren.com/news/2017/11/texas-student-newspaper-blasted-anti-white-dna-abomination-column/>.

¹²⁷ *American Renaissance*, “Jared Taylor: ‘Irreconcilable Differences: We Need A Divorce,’” May 25, 2018, altCensored, video, 37:11, <https://altCensored.com/watch?v=J1-qijZbdW4>.

D. RESEARCH DESIGN

The central mission of this thesis was to understand how identitarians view the world via ideological lenses and then link this worldview to violence in the overall movement. Research thus far provides theories on why violence is a part of the movement, and these theories are important because they reveal motivations, but they do not fully identify why identitarians have chosen a pathway to violence. Identifying how violence is connected to identitarian ideology—where within the belief system it is situated and how it is actionable—offers insight into the resources law enforcement should be employing to combat the violence.

1. Selection Criteria

The identitarian movement is extremely large, and elements of the movement exist in numerous other belief systems. The present analysis focused on the larger identifiable strains, which were chosen based on several criteria. The first was how closely the strain aligns with the primary identitarian ideology. There was no empirical rating system for measuring proximity to the core ideals; rather, alignment was factored through published mission statements and goals. The second measurement factor was the relative popularity of the identitarian sub-ideology. Again, there were no data markers for measuring popularity; rather, the focus of the research was on well-known strains like white nationalism as opposed to “groyperism,” for example.¹²⁸ The final selection criterion was that each strain must have history in the United States or Europe.

2. Limitation and Scope

Primary elements like great replacement theory, anti-globalism, and anti-liberalism were points of focus because the ideas transcend multiple strains of the larger movement, and identitarian leaders focus disproportionately on them. The minutiae of each of the strains of identitarianism or the micro-level differences among them, such as iconography and lexicon, were not points of focus. An additional limitation was that this thesis meant to

¹²⁸ Ben Sixsmith, “What the Heck Is a ‘Groyper’?,” *Crisis Magazine*, November 19, 2019, <https://www.crisismagazine.com/2019/what-the-heck-is-a-groyper>.

address the violence in the United States linked to identitarianism. As such, solutions were geared toward law enforcement and the intelligence apparatus, not churches, schools, or social services. Finally, a prevailing limitation throughout the thesis research and writing process was access to identitarian sources online. In several instances, blogs, videos, or entire webpages were removed, censored, or otherwise rendered inaccessible.

The limitation of information includes a paucity of scholarly work completed on the subject. While there are numerous theses and reports on white nationalism, which is indeed a part of the identitarian movement, there are very few works on the global identitarian movement. Most of what literature exists comes from Europe, where the movement is older and has taken on forms that may or may not obviously correlate with the U.S. movement.

3. Method

This thesis was organized loosely around the concepts in sensemaking theory as explained by Laura McNamara.¹²⁹ The clearest way to understand the overall identitarian ideology and its accompanying violence was to describe how the main players—identitarian leaderships and adherents—see the movement through their respective lenses. Each group builds a lens based on one’s perceptions of the movement; however, the lenses intersect as both sides build a culture of violence around their ideology. This thesis analyzed the lenses through a review of literature, manifestos, and training material. Finally, the thesis revealed that the culture of violence is indeed its own lens, with two different endgames in mind: peace or violence.

The first step was to gather and analyze literature, speeches, and essays written by identitarian leadership. Specifically, research focused on how the leadership describes the movement currently and into the future. Additionally, the research delved into opinions regarding current and future violence. The second step entailed exploring how the general body of the movement, including those who have carried out acts of violence, views the

¹²⁹ Laura McNamara, “Sensemaking in Organizations: Reflections on Karl Weick and Social Theory,” *EPIC* (blog), March 24, 2015, <https://www.epicpeople.org/sensemaking-in-organizations/>.

movement into the future. Manifestos written by particular individuals who have been connected with violence served as the main objects of this analysis.

E. CONCLUSION

Chapter II explores the foundations of the identitarian movement by examining the movement's European roots, including an explanation of the lenses through which identitarians view and respond to an increasingly chaotic world. The foundations of the identitarian culture of violence also emerge in the discussion of the European strains. Chapter III covers how American identitarians have copied certain European lenses but also created their own to answer the threats posed to them. The role of violence in American identitarianism is evident from the beginning and crescendos into the violent strain of the movement. Chapter IV details how identitarianism has built a culture of violence through repeated allusions to ancient heroes, epic battles, and wars against its enemies that equal the magnitude of wars between the gods. Chapter V reveals how violence itself is a lens through which many in the movement view the world.

II. ANCIENT FOUNDATIONS: IDENTITARIANISM IN EUROPE

Identitarianism is a complex socio-political worldview with the sole mission of ensuring European culture and ethnicity survive a global onslaught of liberalism, globalism, and replacement through mass immigration.¹³⁰ Zúquete has compared the identitarian movement to a religion, complete with levels of devotion and sacredness.¹³¹ The comparison is appropriate when one considers the vast amount of symbolism and focus on a righteous struggle within the movement. Nevertheless, identitarians have built an entire culture of violence based on their current struggle. They find inspiration in ancient Greek and Roman war heroes and take their motivation from stories of epic struggles, glorious battles, and wars between gods and Titans. In the identitarian world, conflict is an axiomatic state, and survival is not guaranteed, so any allusion to historical conflict—especially ending in victory—is welcomed. The identitarian world is one of duty. Many adherents feel personally akin to Horatius and can think of no better way to live, or die, than in defense of their culture, race, history, or land.¹³²

Identitarianism, crafted and refined in Europe, is based on the idea that the continent and its people face unique threats—replacement, globalism, and liberalism—that jeopardize everything they consider uniquely and ethnically European.¹³³ To counter these threats, purveyors of this ideology focus their lenses on European history and culture but also on ethnic survival. Their focus on European history has led to a warrior culture within identitarianism whereby violence permeates their claims as defenders of the European way of life. To ensure not only survival but indeed the ability to thrive, European identitarians have built three strains of the movement: French metapolitics, Italian fascism, and Ukrainian blood and soil. The purpose of this chapter is to explain each strain of European

¹³⁰ Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 1.

¹³¹ Zúquete, 370.

¹³² Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Lays of Ancient Rome*, 7th ed. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1846), Google Books; Markus Willinger and Philippe Vardon, *Die identitare generation* [Generation Identity] (London: Arktos Media, 2013), 9.

¹³³ Michael O'Meara, "The West's Symbols," *The West's Darkest Hour* (blog), November 5, 2015, <https://chechar.wordpress.com/category/dominique-venner/>; Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 148; Faye, *Why We Fight*, 55; Dugin, *The Fourth Political Theory*, 166.

identitarianism and show how the culture of war and violence pervades each strain, which could lead to violence in Europe and beyond. This chapter is also important in that it shows how concepts like great replacement are dealt with in real life among the people who live in fear each day.

A. FRENCH METAPOLITICS

Identitarians emphasize on many occasions that the way to lead the world forward is not through violence but through a slow, methodical winning over of hearts and minds, in other words, metapolitics. Guillaume Faye defines metapolitics as “the social diffusion of ideas . . . for the sake of provoking a profound, long-term, political transformation.”¹³⁴ In 2018, identitarian columnist John Bruce Leonard noted that metapolitics speaks to one’s “higher self” and expands the horizons of political discourse.¹³⁵ Jose Pedro Zúquete has concluded that metapolitics is “an occupation of thoughts and spirits, aiming for a cultural revolution.”¹³⁶ As such, identitarian metapolitics does not have space for such notions as nationalism. Rather, it is a *European* movement based on the collective tradition, history, and identity of Europeans.

Many identitarians across Europe who seek a metapolitical solution are often united in what is called the “European Lambda Movement.”¹³⁷ *Lambda* has dual significance: both its meaning and prominence on the movement’s flags.¹³⁸ The lambda symbol Λ , sometimes described as the “Spartan shield” symbol, appears on the movement’s black and yellow flags, yet another example of identitarians’ attraction to ancient or classical European symbols. According to Petra Vejvodová, it is a reminder of the idea that true Europeans should stand strong as one body, like the Spartans at Thermopylae, against the

¹³⁴ Faye, *Why We Fight*, 272.

¹³⁵ John Bruce Leonard, “Metapolitics and the Right: Part 1,” *Arktos* (blog), October 22, 2018, <https://arktos.com/2018/10/22/metapolitics-and-the-right-part-1/>.

¹³⁶ Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 30.

¹³⁷ Zúquete, 108.

¹³⁸ Caterina Froio, “Politics through the Media? The Defend Europe Campaign and the Identitarian Movement in Europe,” Center for Research on Extremism, May 4, 2018, <https://www.sv.uio.no/c-rex/english/news-and-events/right-now/2019/politics-through-the-media.html>.

non-European world.¹³⁹ Symbol aside, Leonard and Zúquete attribute much of the modern understanding of metapolitics, and therefore the success of the Lambda Movement, to identitarians Guillaume Faye, Alain de Benoist, and Rene Guenon—all French thinkers of the movement.

In early 2020, Kristaps Gulbis, Latvian political activist and editor of *New Nationalism*, published a unifying document titled “The Paris Statement.”¹⁴⁰ Consisting of 36 critical observations and suggestions for the European identitarian movement, the statement is steeped in metapolitics, calling it at one point a “new kind of statesmanship” that requires a “new statesman.”¹⁴¹ Metapolitics permeates every suggestion in the statement, and the authors make several recommendations for how to achieve a more unified, Euro-centric Europe. For example, it recommends a restructuring of European universities so that instructors promote the “transmission of our common [European] culture” rather than indoctrinating the youth with globalism.¹⁴² It recommends several social policies such as emphasizing meritocracy, rejecting egalitarianism, restoring Christianity as the dominant theology, and withdrawing from globalist policies.¹⁴³

Like many other aspects of identitarianism, “The Paris Statement” has been endorsed by multiple academics, politicians, philosophers, and authors from across Europe. Among the signatories are Chantal Delsol, Polish academic Ryszard Legutko, Spanish professor emeritus Dalmacio Negro Pavón, and Hungarian political philosopher András Láncki. Additional countries represented include the Czech Republic, the United Kingdom, Germany, Belgium, and Norway. If nothing else, the number of academics and influential signatories associated with the statement shows it should not be taken lightly. The document makes no suggestion of violence, government overthrow, or acceleration toward societal collapse; rather, it focuses entirely on social and political solutions for sustaining

¹³⁹ Petra Vejvodova, “The Identitarian Movement—Renewed Idea of Alternative Europe” (paper presented at the ECPR General Conference, Glasgow, UK, September 2014), 13.

¹⁴⁰ Kristaps Gulbis, “The Paris Statement: A Europe We Can Believe In,” *New Nationalism* (blog), April 3, 2020, <https://thenewnationalism.com/the-paris-statement-a-europe-we-can-believe-in/>.

¹⁴¹ Gulbis.

¹⁴² Gulbis.

¹⁴³ Gulbis.

Europe.¹⁴⁴ “The Paris Statement” is the epitome of metapolitics, not only showing the path forward but also establishing how Europe would function in the aftermath of a future culture war.

The metapolitical strain of identitarianism fixates on finding a viable socio-political solution for Europe. In other words, those identitarians who adopt this lens tend to be largely peaceful and longsuffering. However, just because metapolitical identitarians are generally peaceful does not mean they shy away from rhetorical mentions of glorious battles, ancient heroes, and Titans. Indeed, the Lambda Movement’s flag and its allusions to Sparta show a respect for the warrior spirit. Still, the metapolitical strain emphasizes and promotes ideas, learning, and understanding. When metapolitical identitarians speak of a revolution, they are usually speaking of a revolution of spirit rather than bloody overthrow.

B. UKRAINIAN BLOOD AND SOIL

Unlike the metapolitical strain, the blood and soil strain of identitarianism focuses on an imminent, physical threat to the existence of Europe and the European people, which to them, demands a violent response. The struggle for survival may be against literal invading armies, mass immigration, or even replacement. The formulation “blood and soil” originated in imperial Germany, where it was meant to emphasize the organic and exclusive connection between a people and the land from which they derived a living. Citing German historian Julius Schwietering, Christa Kamenetzky writes that blood and soil was an acknowledgement of the German’s total dedication to the community on many levels including a spiritual relationship with the soil.¹⁴⁵ The blood and soil philosophy is a founding principle of the *völkisch* movement, which seeks to tie ethnicity to a nation, a

¹⁴⁴ Gulbis.

¹⁴⁵ Christa Kamenetzky, “The Uses and Misuses of Folklore Terminology,” *Journal of American Folklore* 93, no. 369 (1980): 329, <https://doi.org/10.2307/540577>; George L. Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology* (New York: Howard Fertig Publishing, 1999), 108–17. In his book, Mosse describes the *völkisch* movement as having come from the desire to reject modernity and focus more on the mystical relationship between the German people and their land. The alternative would mean that the German people live without root or meaning.

geographic location, or, in the Romantic tradition, a landscape.¹⁴⁶ Within the identitarian space, the phrase blood and soil is closely linked to racism, which is unwelcome in certain segments of the movement, though others take race as their dominant argument.¹⁴⁷ Either way, blood and soil—or the less aggressive version, “carnal homeland”—is a frequent rallying cry for those in the movement who are factually under attack, like the Ukrainians who are embroiled in literal combat with Russia, as well as those who perceive an attack.¹⁴⁸

In Ukraine, “blood and soil” was shouted by right-wing protestors in the early days of the Euromaidan protests when Kiev stood defiant against what was broadly decried Russian imperialism.¹⁴⁹ Ukrainians praised the national heroes of old, including Stepan Bandera and the Hetman of the 16th century, and celebrated their ethnic ties to Ukraine.¹⁵⁰ In this milieu of marches, slogans, and strife, a group of soccer hooligans and street fighters formed a militia and conducted successful attacks against Russian troops.¹⁵¹ This group of fighters later became the Azov Battalion and were inducted into the Ukrainian National Guard, despite recruiting and training self-admitted pro-Ukrainian neo-Nazis, anti-Semites, and racists.¹⁵²

Azov’s goals are local, but its war orientation and emphasis on blood and soil are international. In the United Kingdom, Benjamin Raymond, co-founder of the British

¹⁴⁶ Mark Bassin, “Blood or Soil? The Volkisch Movement, the Nazis, and the Legacy of Geopolitik,” in *How Green Were the Nazis? Nature Environment, and Nation in the Third Reich*, ed. Franz-Josef Brüggemeier, Marc Cioc, and Thomas Zeller (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005), 205, Research Gate.

¹⁴⁷ Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 110.

¹⁴⁸ Zúquete, 112.

¹⁴⁹ In late 2014, Ukrainian nationalism was widespread, as the country had recently witnessed the invasion of the Crimean Peninsula and Russian troops advancing into the Donbass and Luhansk regions of Ukraine. Dan McLaughlin, “Ukraine Right Revives Wartime Symbols amid ‘Revolution,’” *Irish Times*, January 3, 2014, <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/world/europe/ukraine-right-revives-wartime-symbols-amid-revolution-1.1642760>.

¹⁵⁰ Dmitry Zaks, “Thousands of Ukraine Nationalists March in Kiev,” Yahoo News, January 1, 2015, <http://news.yahoo.com/thousands-ukraine-nationalists-march-kiev-193807371.html>. *Hetman* in this context refers to the highest level of leadership in the Ukrainian Cossack host circa 1648. The Hetman was a military leader, an advisor to the church, and the general protector of the people in his area.

¹⁵¹ Christopher Miller, “Azov, Ukraine’s Most Prominent Ultranationalist Group, Sets Its Sights on U.S., Europe,” RadioFreeEurope/RadioLiberty, November 14, 2018, <https://www.rferl.org/a/azov-ukraine-s-most-prominent-ultranationalist-group-sets-its-sights-on-u-s-europe/29600564.html>.

¹⁵² Miller.

National Action (NA), recruited Azov leader Denis Nikitin to provide NA members with training in hand-to-hand combat. Raymond often attributes much of his thinking to Nikitin's brand of nationalism, which is overtly violent.¹⁵³ Nikitin is well known in neo-Nazi, football hooligan, and street brawling scenes as a fearless, unabashed neo-Nazi, street fighter who enthusiastically dons metal-fortified gloves and happily wades into battle.¹⁵⁴ In 2015, NA teamed up with Azov members for the White Man March in England. This cooperation was an important milestone and touches on the wide European acceptance of blood and soil as a philosophy.¹⁵⁵ It was no secret to the European community that Azov was a militia engaged in active combat in eastern Ukraine. For Azov, to be marching with NA showed solidarity for the cause of blood and soil and unity of European identitarians, not to mention made a statement of resolve and dedication to NA's cause in England.¹⁵⁶ Later, in 2016, Raymond affirmed the nature of the Azov–NA march when, during an interview, he described NA as a “modern militant” organization.¹⁵⁷ He stated that NA was created to “defend white civilization” in Europe.¹⁵⁸ Raymond's work did not go unnoticed; the Terrorism Research Initiative writes that NA has worked to “channel hatred and rage.”¹⁵⁹ NA is brazen in its acceptance and use of violence: “Only bullets will stop us.”¹⁶⁰ By December 2016, however, NA was banned in the UK, having been linked to at least

¹⁵³ Robert Claus, “How a Russian Neo-Nazi Became a Role Model for German Hooligans,” *Moscow Times*, November 28, 2017, <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2017/11/28/neo-nazis-and-illegal-fights-german-and-russian-a59718>.

¹⁵⁴ Simon Parkin, “The Rise of Russia's Neo-Nazi Football Hooligans,” *Guardian*, April 24, 2018, <http://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/apr/24/russia-neo-nazi-football-hooligans-world-cup>; “Russian Hooligan, Neo-Nazi and Martial Artist Denis Kapustin Barred from Schengen Area,” Schengen Visa Information, September 3, 2019, <https://www.schengenvisa.info.com/news/russian-hooligan-neo-nazi-and-martial-artist-denis-kapustin-barred-from-schengen-area/>. In 2019, reports of Nikitin's neo-Nazi violence led the German government to ban him from the entire Schengen Area.

¹⁵⁵ Matthew Collins, “Investigation: Recruiting for Ukraine,” *2018 State of Hate*, 2018, 20, <https://www.hopenothate.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/State-of-Hate-2018.pdf>.

¹⁵⁶ Graham Macklin, “‘Only Bullets Will Stop Us!’—The Banning of National Action in Britain,” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 12, no. 6 (December 2018): 107.

¹⁵⁷ Benjamin Raymond, “National Action: Greg Johnson Interviews Benjamin Raymond, Part 1,” *Counter-Currents Publishing* (blog), February 8, 2016, <https://www.counter-currents.com/2016/02/ben-raymond-transcript-part-1/>.

¹⁵⁸ Raymond.

¹⁵⁹ Macklin, “Only Bullets Will Stop Us!,” 105.

¹⁶⁰ Macklin.

one murder and dozens of cases of threats and intimidation against immigrants and politicians.¹⁶¹

To the identitarian embracing the concept of blood and soil, the war against immigrants and foreigners is akin to fending off an invading army. In his manifesto titled *The Great Replacement*, Christchurch mass murderer Brenton Tarrant writes, “The invaders must be removed from European soil.”¹⁶² He dismisses the possibility of outsiders being European if they are not ethnically linked to the European continent. To Tarrant, the message is clear: invaders must be violently eradicated in the same way that Russian invaders have been confronted by such groups as the Azov Battalion. Whether identitarians use the phrase blood and soil or carnal homeland, the implication is an almost spiritual claim to the land—enough of a claim to defend it at all costs.

C. ITALIAN FASCISM

Unlike blood and soil or even metapolitics, which often emphasizes the survival of Europe, the fascist strain of identitarianism is very much driven by the survival of individual nations. The lens of identitarians in this strain of the movement are focused on the glory of their own nations, and not necessarily on the survival of Europe. As such, violence and the warrior culture are alive and well in this strain of identitarianism. For example, in Italy in 2003, a band of right-wing activists stormed an empty government building in Rome and declared it “the Italian Embassy” to a nation overrun by globalism.¹⁶³ These ideologues called themselves CasaPound Italia, and over the next 17 years, they

¹⁶¹ Chris Allen, “Proscribing National Action: Considering the Impact of Banning the British Far-Right Group,” *Political Quarterly* 88, no. 4 (2017): 2, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-923X.12368>; Daniel De Simone, “How a Neo-Nazi Group Recruited Young People,” BBC News, March 21, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-48279225>. National Action was linked to the homicide of member of British parliament Jo Cox. The suspect, Thomas Mair, allegedly shot her three times and then stabbed her 15 times, all while shouting pro-UK rhetoric. Soon after its proscription, National Action was linked to nine terrorism investigations and several other cases involving racial hatred.

¹⁶² Brenton Tarrant, *The Great Replacement* (self-pub., 2019), 60.

¹⁶³ Tobias Jones, “The Fascist Movement That Has Brought Mussolini Back to the Mainstream,” *Guardian*, February 22, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/feb/22/casapound-italy-mussolini-fascism-mainstream>.

ushered in an era of neo-fascism.¹⁶⁴ For example, CasaPound advocates for a strong central government dedicated to the success of the ethnically Italian people and strongly stands against personal individualism because it “leads to the disfigurement of peoples and culture.”¹⁶⁵

According to Zúquete, the Italian media have dubbed CasaPound “fascists of the third millennium,” and the group has “joyously embraced” the label.¹⁶⁶ The label of fascism in Italy, where memories of World War II fascism is still fresh, should have been a death knell for CasaPound; however, the group has worked to differentiate itself from the bloody fascism of the past. From the beginning, CasaPound set itself and the idea of neo-fascism apart from the French and broader European right-wing movements. Perhaps the most significant feature is Italian neo-fascism’s primary emphasis: aggressive nationalism.¹⁶⁷ CasaPound, and other neo-fascist identitarians, feels that national interest and, by extension, survival are superior to the needs of an individual or the broader collective (all Europe, for example).¹⁶⁸ Furthermore, in contrast to Faye, identitarian neo-fascism is not convinced that dedication to *Europe* is essential or even wise. Instead, it chooses to remain focused on nation-state identity and national interests.

Identitarian neo-fascists resist multinational corporations, especially banks, and they are opposed to unified, supra-national organizations like the UN or European Union.¹⁶⁹ Indeed, they are often called “ultra-nationalists,” and they show no real regard for the greater Europe, even as a bulwark of culture or whiteness, as seen in the European Lambda Movement. The symbol for CasaPound, for example, is a turtle, complete with

¹⁶⁴ Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 36. The name CasaPound is an amalgam of “Casa Montag”—Montag referring to the main character in Ray Bradbury’s novel *Fahrenheit 451*—and American fascist Ezra Pound.

¹⁶⁵ “Programma,” CasaPound Italia, accessed August 23, 2020, <https://www.casapounditalia.org/il-programma/>.

¹⁶⁶ Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 32.

¹⁶⁷ Jones, “The Fascist Movement.”

¹⁶⁸ Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 109.

¹⁶⁹ Jason Horowitz, “In Italy, a Neo-Fascist Party’s Small Win Creates Big Unease,” *New York Times*, November 17, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/17/world/europe/casapound-italy-neo-fascist-party.html>.

arrows facing inward, which signifies an end to chaos—and a resolute lack of interest in affairs outside of Italy.¹⁷⁰

Interestingly, monarchist movements can be found within the neo-fascist strain of identitarianism, especially in Italy. A modern romance with monarchies is especially noticeable in post-WWII fascist author Julius Evola's writings, in which he refers to them as noble and the "pinnacle of a martially ordered political hierarchy."¹⁷¹ In Italy, the *Alleanza Monarchica* (Monarchist Alliance) touts monarchy as "the only option that can work for the betterment of the Italian society."¹⁷² While monarchism is not fascism, it is worthy of note because this small strain of monarchists in the identitarian movement also believes in promoting its nation above all others.¹⁷³

Gabriel Adinolfi, an exiled Italian nationalist, summarized identitarian neo-fascism as "a penetration of the social fabric . . . and a contamination" of the public conversation.¹⁷⁴ Similarly, Wolff describes the movement as more of a disruptive counter-culture, in the spirit of Gramsci, meaning it protests and organizes against governing bodies.¹⁷⁵ The goal of identitarian neo-fascists is to achieve political clout, with which they mean to effect policy change by being openly and proudly fascist. The pursuit of political capital may be seen in controversial stances taken by Italian identitarian neo-fascists. For example, in early

¹⁷⁰ William Butler Yeats, "Una terribile bellezza è nata," CasaPound Italia, accessed April 19, 2020, <https://www.casapounditalia.org/casapound/>. The universal symbol of chaos is arrows emanating outward from a single point.

¹⁷¹ Julius Evola, *Men among the Ruins* (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 2018), 50, <https://ia800400.us.archive.org/16/items/julius-evola-men-among-the-ruins/julius-evola-men-among-the-ruins.pdf>.

¹⁷² "About Alleanza Monarchica," Alleanza Monarchica, accessed September 6, 2020, <http://www.alleanza-monarchica.com/about/>.

¹⁷³ Michael Pompeo, "United States Designates Russian Imperial Movement and Leaders as Global Terrorists," Department of State, April 7, 2020, <https://www.state.gov/united-states-designates-russian-imperial-movement-and-leaders-as-global-terrorists/>; Ezel Sahinkaya and Danila Galperovich, "Radical Russian Imperial Movement Expanding Global Outreach," Voice of America News, May 9, 2020, <https://www.voanews.com/extremism-watch/radical-russian-imperial-movement-expanding-global-outreach>. Russia also has a small yet defiant monarchist group called the Russian Imperial Movement (RIM). Whereas Alleanza Monarchica appears to appeal to everyday Italians through polished webpages, RIM is devoted to violence and ultra-nationalist posturing through such things as training camps for armed militants.

¹⁷⁴ Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 34.

¹⁷⁵ Elisabetta Cassina Wolff, "CasaPound Italia: 'Back to Believing. The Struggle Continues,'" *Fascism* 8, no. 1 (2019): 61–88, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22116257-00801004>.

2019, CasaPound and *Forza Nuova* (New Force), another Italian neo-fascist group, launched a massive protest in response to the rehoming of a small group of Roma.¹⁷⁶ Activists burned cars, blocked roads, and filled the streets with ethnic Italians. In the end, the city government capitulated and sent the refugees to a different location—still in Italy, but not where they were intended to stay.¹⁷⁷

Members of CasaPound and Forza Nuova are often seen with neo-Nazis, giving the “Roman salute” (also known as the Nazi salute) or un-ironically posing with neo-Nazi memorabilia.¹⁷⁸ The seemingly purposeful alliance between Italian neo-fascists and neo-Nazis could be a lingering ghost of Italy’s decisions in WWII. Mussolini’s alliance with Nazi Germany in WWII, as Palazzetti has theorized, could have been to ensure Italy remained intact and was not reduced to rubble.¹⁷⁹ At that time, according to Palazzetti, the alliance between Germany and Italy might have been a result of Britain and France’s hostility.¹⁸⁰ Today, the coalescence of neo-Nazis and Italian neo-fascist identitarians may indeed be a response to the globalism taking over broader Europe. Thus, the alliance is, once again, a function of survival.

Examples of identitarian neo-fascist ideology have emerged in several countries across Europe well beyond Italy. One is *Ludová strana Naše Slovensko* (People’s Party of Slovakia; LSNS), founded by Marian Kotleba. Its policies include “political independence” and “economic self-sufficiency” as well as a series of social recommendations including eliminating the LGBT movement, subsidizing high-fertility families, and establishing a

¹⁷⁶ Lorenzo Tondo, “Neo-Fascist Violence Keeps Roma out of Rome Neighbourhood,” *Guardian*, April 3, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/apr/03/neo-fascist-violence-keeps-roma-out-of-rome-neighbourhood>.

¹⁷⁷ Tondo.

¹⁷⁸ David Uberti, “Facebook Is Still Trying to Ban an Italian Far-Right Group That Idolizes Mussolini,” *Information*, Vice, December 27, 2019, https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/wxe8d5/facebook-is-still-trying-to-ban-an-italian-far-right-group-that-idolizes-mussolini; Leonardo Bianchi, “A Guide to Italy’s Young Instagram Fascists,” *Vice*, April 15, 2015, https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/kwxqgw/bloody-knuckles-and-right-wing-caffe-lattes-this-is-italys-fascist-instagram-876.

¹⁷⁹ Valentina Palazzetti, “Italy in the EU: Love Affair or Disillusionment? Italian Discontent with the European Integration, Past and Present” (master’s thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2014), 32, https://calhoun.nps.edu/bitstream/handle/10945/42702/14Jun_Palazzetti_Valentina.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

¹⁸⁰ Palazzetti, 32.

militia-style police force.¹⁸¹ The LSNS earned its neo-fascist label primarily due to the group's desire to consolidate power within Slovakia and transition to a fascist government—but also due to Kotleba's ties to, and public praise of, fascist icons like Jozef Tiso.¹⁸² The LSNS is anti-Israel, anti-United States, and very anti-immigrant.¹⁸³ For example, in 2016, an LSNS campaign for political office included promises to build a special unit to “fight Gypsy terror” and the slogan “Slovakia is not Africa.”¹⁸⁴ Kotleba was elected to two political offices before being defeated in his bid to be president.

Similarly, in Greece, another country with a fascist legacy within living memory—much of it unpleasant—identitarian neo-fascism is evident in Golden Dawn, once a successful political party. In 2012, Golden Dawn politicians gained 18 parliamentary seats and 7 percent of the vote nationally. This result was seen a watershed moment for identitarian neo-fascism as up to that point, openly neo-fascist groups in Greece existed only on the margins of political life. That same year, Golden Dawn's leader declared, “The Europe of nations is back. . . . Greece is only the beginning.”¹⁸⁵ Like the LSNS, Golden Dawn never backed down from neo-Nazi ideology or holocaust denial, nor did the group eschew violence.¹⁸⁶ Moreover, like both the LSNS and CasaPound, Golden Dawn dressed up its fascist leanings as nationalism—with a goodly side of patriotism—making the whole illiberal platform more palatable for workaday Greeks. For example, Golden Dawn laid

¹⁸¹ Tomáš Nociar, *Right-Wing Extremism in Slovakia* (Berlin: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, December 2012), 12.

¹⁸² “Home Page,” Ludová strana Naše Slovensko, accessed September 12, 2020, <http://www.lsnase.slovensko.sk/>. Jozef Gaspar Tiso was the president of Slovakia during WWII (1939–1945). A Roman Catholic priest as well, Tiso served at the pleasure of Nazi Germany while it considered Slovakia a subordinate state of Germany. Tiso was notorious for collaborating with Nazis in such things as executions and deportations of Jews from Slovakia. Tiso was executed for war crimes in 1947.

¹⁸³ Ludová strana Naše Slovensko, “Home Page.”

¹⁸⁴ Ervína Szabová Collective, “Slovakia Needs an Alternative,” *Jacobin*, April 20, 2016, <https://jacobinmag.com/2016/04/slovakia-marian-kotleba-roma-lsns-immigration-orban>.

¹⁸⁵ Daniel Trilling, “Golden Dawn: The Rise and Fall of Greece's Neo-Nazis,” *Guardian*, March 3, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2020/mar/03/golden-dawn-the-rise-and-fall-of-greece-neo-nazi-trial>.

¹⁸⁶ Rachel Donadio and Dimitris Bounias, “Hard Times Lift Greece's Anti-Immigrant Fringe,” *New York Times*, April 12, 2012, <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/13/world/europe/far-right-golden-dawn-sees-opening-in-greeces-woes.html>. Golden Dawn and its offshoot group Galazia Stratia were actively engaged in football hooliganism including Nazi salutes at football matches and assaults on foreigners who supported opposing teams.

blame on the Eurozone and European Union for the decade-old Greek financial crisis.¹⁸⁷ Despite efforts made by the Eurozone to prop up Greece's failing economy, Golden Dawn illustrated that not only was the quality of life decreasing for Greeks, but the nation was hamstrung by Eurozone rules and its sovereignty was being stripped away.¹⁸⁸ As a result of the failing economy and the feeling of a supra-national government dictating the country's future, Golden Dawn rose to power primarily through the votes of the working class.¹⁸⁹

Nonetheless, Golden Dawn could not decouple violence from its movement. In 2013, Golden Dawn members, including one local leader, killed a Pakistani man and a popular Greek rapper. By 2019, 68 members were on trial, and the party's political aspirations had been destroyed.¹⁹⁰ Golden Dawn failed to win even one seat in the Greek parliamentary elections in 2019.¹⁹¹ The Greek public was shocked by the murder of Pavlos Fyssas, the aforementioned rapper, and demonstrations were held in his honor.¹⁹² The murder of Fyssas and the ongoing trial of Golden Dawn leadership awakened the Greek population to the group's ideological and criminal activities, and by the end of 2019, even the headquarters of Golden Dawn was nothing more than an abandoned building.¹⁹³

Other examples of openly neo-fascist groups and political parties are found in Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. In almost all cases, the groups allow neo-Nazi

¹⁸⁷ Jo Angouri and Ruth Wodak, "'They Became Big in the Shadow of the Crisis': The Greek Success Story and the Rise of the Far Right," *Discourse & Society* 25, no. 4 (2014): 541.

¹⁸⁸ Angouri and Wodak, 542.

¹⁸⁹ Trilling, "Golden Dawn."

¹⁹⁰ Helena Smith, "After Murder, Defections and Poll Defeat: The Sun Sets on Greece's Golden Dawn," *Guardian*, September 21, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/sep/21/greece-sun-has-set-on-far-right-golden-dawn-murder-defections>.

¹⁹¹ Smith.

¹⁹² Smith.

¹⁹³ Smith, "After Murder, Defections and Poll Defeat"; "Golden Dawn EU Lawmaker, MP Guilty of Migrant Attack," *National Herald*, September 13, 2019, https://www.thenationalherald.com/archive_whats_new/arthro/golden_dawn_eu_lawmaker_mp_guilty_of_migrant_attack-23171/. By September 2019, two Golden Dawn parliament members were found guilty of attacking a community center, and five others were convicted of assaults with weapons.

iconography, salutes, and ideology. As such, violence is often seen at the street level with riots, assaults, and murders.¹⁹⁴

D. CONCLUSION

Zúquete summarizes European identitarianism as a “rebellion against the backdrop of a once great civilization ravaged by . . . liberalism” and a foreign invasion.¹⁹⁵ Faye adds to the thought of rebellion, declaring that liberalism may force the end of history and, thus, a battle must be fought.¹⁹⁶ A culture of violence emerges from these various allusions to the glorious past, which is seen in each strain of European identitarianism. All three strains portray a strong desire to preserve history, culture, and—of course—ethnicity. There is a unique pride within the various strains of European identitarianism that revolves around Europe’s rich history, and regardless of approach to a world gone mad, each speaks with reverence and adoration of Europe’s past. The reverence for history serves two purposes. First, it provides a rationale for a worthy struggle in the spirit of the *Lays of Ancient Rome*, and second, it fills identitarians with the bravery needed to fight a war in which loss means their eradication.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴ Seyla Benhabib and Espen Rasmussen, “The Return of Fascism,” *New Republic*, September 29, 2017, <https://newrepublic.com/article/144954/return-fascism-germany-greece-far-right-nationalists-winning-elections>.

¹⁹⁵ Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 1.

¹⁹⁶ Faye, *Why We Fight*, 293.

¹⁹⁷ Macaulay, *Lays of Ancient Rome*. This struggle manifests in the words of Horatius: “How can a man die better than facing fearful odds, for the ashes of his fathers and the temples of his gods . . . ?”

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III. IDENTITARIANISM IN THE UNITED STATES: WHITE NATIONALISM, FASCISM, AND ACCELERATIONISM

The purpose of this chapter is to explain how American identitarians view the world and react to it. In a similar fashion to the Europeans, American identitarians have built strains of the larger movement to answer the threats posed by replacement, globalism, and liberalism. Identitarianism in the United States comprises three strains: white-nationalism, neo-fascism, and accelerationism. While American-based identitarian strains owe something to European identitarian ideas such as replacement, the Southern Poverty Law Center has observed that U.S. identitarians “haven’t come close to matching the more dramatic [metapolitical] efforts of the Europeans.”¹⁹⁸ Indeed, the identitarian movement in the United States is a story of ideological disunity, racism, and violence.¹⁹⁹ Within the milieu, certain voices occasionally rise to the top and form new movements based on direct European collaboration or European identitarian ideas or, in some cases, create modern iterations of old U.S.-based movements. All of the U.S.-based identitarian movements have a history of racism and implied or actual violence, with one strain—accelerationism—the most violent of all.

A. WHITE NATIONALISM

White nationalism is a common euphemism for white supremacy, but this term also connotes an additional set of ideas about borders, culture, and tradition.²⁰⁰ Adherents to this strain of American identitarianism focus their lens on race and racial tension. Greg Johnson, for example, himself a white nationalist, defines the movement as the

¹⁹⁸ “American Racists Work to Spread ‘Identitarian’ Ideology,” Southern Poverty Law Center, October 12, 2015, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2015/10/12/american-racists-work-spread-%E2%80%98identitarian%E2%80%99-ideology>.

¹⁹⁹ Keegan Hankes, “Eating Their Own: Several Feuds Erupt among White Nationalists,” Southern Poverty Law Center, October 21, 2014, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2014/10/21/eating-their-own-several-feuds-erupt-among-white-nationalists>; Henry Wolff, “Why I Am (among Other Things) a ‘White Nationalist,’” *American Renaissance* (blog), June 2, 2017, <https://www.amren.com/commentary/2017/06/among-things-white-nationalist/>.

²⁰⁰ “White Nationalism,” Anti-Defamation League, accessed September 6, 2020, <https://www.adl.org/resources/glossary-terms/white-nationalism>.

acknowledgement that “white people have the right to sovereign homelands.”²⁰¹ He adds that the primary concern should be the survival of the white race.²⁰² Jared Taylor, another white nationalist author, chooses to define his doctrine as “race realism,” meaning white people must acknowledge that “race and racial conflict are at the heart of some of the most serious challenges in the western world.”²⁰³ Taylor admonishes further that “banding together along racial lines” will ultimately be more beneficial to white people than racial diversity.²⁰⁴ By any other name, these ideas are white nationalist. Richard Spencer, the founder of the “alt-right” in the United States defines white nationalism as a long-term goal to create a “new Roman Empire” where white skin would be the defining feature.²⁰⁵

Another distinction is that today’s white nationalist groups have different looks, tactics, and public images from their overtly racist predecessors, namely the Ku Klux Klan.²⁰⁶ The modern white nationalist adopts what *Mother Jones* journalist Josh Harkinson refers to as the outward appearance of a “well-dressed former football player with promising good looks” instead of the blatantly anti-Semitic, Swastika-flag-waving actions typical of the FolksFront or National Socialist Movement.²⁰⁷ The modern white nationalist does not use overtly racist language but rather sounds rational and educated—often plying philosophical and pseudo-scientific terms, as well as some heavily skewed statistics, to condemn Jews and degrade minority populations. In this regard, Harkinson describes

²⁰¹ Greg Johnson, “Why ‘White’ Nationalism?,” *Counter-Currents Publishing* (blog), October 30, 2015, <https://www.counter-currents.com/2015/10/why-white-nationalism/>.

²⁰² Johnson.

²⁰³ “About Us,” *American Renaissance* (blog), accessed September 6, 2020, <https://www.amren.com/about/>.

²⁰⁴ “About Us.”

²⁰⁵ Richard Spencer, “The Conservative Write,” *Taki’s Magazine*, August 6, 2008, https://www.takimag.com/article/the_conservative_write/; Josh Harkinson, “Meet the White Nationalist Trying to Ride the Trump Train to Lasting Power,” *Mother Jones*, October 7, 2016, <https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2016/10/richard-spencer-trump-alt-right-white-nationalist/>.

²⁰⁶ Simon Clark, “How White Supremacy Returned to Mainstream Politics,” Center for American Progress, July 1, 2020, <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/reports/2020/07/01/482414/white-supremacy-returned-mainstream-politics/>.

²⁰⁷ Harkinson, “Meet the White Nationalist”; “Home Page,” FolksFront, accessed September 6, 2020, <https://www.folksfront.com/>.

modern white nationalists as “academic racists.”²⁰⁸ The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) adds that this veneer of scholarly sophistication allows white supremacists to spread their ideology of “preserving white culture,” a theme featured very prominently on Jared Taylor’s *American Renaissance*.²⁰⁹ The fancy words appeal more broadly to right-leaning ideologues despite their superficial neutrality. Indeed, in 2005, Taylor was identified as not only the “country’s leading white supremacist” but also “the cultivated, cosmopolitan face of white supremacy.”²¹⁰

Beyond the common goal of securing a future for the white race, however, white nationalists are diverse in many ways including tactics, public appearance, and view of future governance.²¹¹ Three of the most prominent white nationalist organizations in the United States—American Identity Movement (AIM), Patriot Front, and Revolt Through Tradition (RTT)—exemplify the differing tactics employed in the pursuit of white nationalism. While AIM focuses on metapolitics, Patriot Front adopts an openly aggressive fascist ideology, and its counterpart, RTT, adopts a latent neo-fascist ideology based on violence and cultural hegemony.²¹²

²⁰⁸ William H. Tucker, “The Leading Academic Racists of the Twentieth Century,” *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, no. 39 (2003): 90–95, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3134390>; Harkinson, “Meet the White Nationalist.” The term “academic racists” was used in 2003 by William H. Tucker in the *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* to differentiate between those who preach racism as a form of power and those who preach racism based on “personal characteristics and innate differences.”

²⁰⁹ “American Third Position: Academic Racists Take the Reins from Young,” Anti-Defamation League, March 9, 2010, <https://www.adl.org/news/article/american-third-position-academic-racists-take-the-reins-from-young>.

²¹⁰ Steve Rendall, “Academic Racists Make Mainstream Inroads,” *Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting*, April 1, 2005, <https://fair.org/extra/academic-racists-make-mainstream-inroads/>.

²¹¹ “14 Words,” Anti-Defamation League, accessed September 6, 2020, <https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/14-words>.

²¹² Revolt Through Tradition, “Revolt Through Tradition (RTT) Manifesto,” March 9, 2020, YouTube, video, 4:09, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VmJJyF27dc>.

B. PATRIOT FRONT: OPENLY FASCIST

Patriot Front was called “the most active white supremacist group in the nation” by ProPublica in 2019.²¹³ It was founded in 2017 by Thomas Rousseau, the former information technology expert for the now dissolved Vanguard America.²¹⁴ Rousseau admitted he chose the name Patriot Front for two reasons: to appeal to non-radicalized “fence sitters”—those considering white nationalism but not yet confident with the choice—and to attract right-wing Americans seeking a patriotic outlet.²¹⁵ Patriot Front’s goals are to replace American democracy with neo-fascism—the fasces appears prominently on the group’s red, white, and blue flag—as affirmed in its programmatic slogan, “return to the traditions and virtues of our forefathers.”²¹⁶ Patriot Front is also anti-Semitic, claiming that the nation’s “interests have been sold to the international Zionist mob.”²¹⁷

From the beginning, Patriot Front’s tactics have been aggressive, ranging from military-style marches through Washington, DC, to public confrontations.²¹⁸ In addition, several members have been criminally investigated for crimes running the gamut from threats to assaults. For example, in 2017, several members gathered at a bookstore in Houston, Texas, to confront an anarchist author. Witnesses stated they heard the members yelling “blood and soil” and saw one member throw a “smoke bomb.”²¹⁹ The leader of the event, William Fears, was not arrested that day. One month later, Fears, his brother, and a

²¹³ Carol Schaeffer and Fritz Zimmermann, “They Are Racist; Some of Them Have Guns. Inside the White Supremacist Group Hiding in Plain Sight,” ProPublica, November 8, 2019, <https://www.propublica.org/article/they-are-racist-some-of-them-have-guns-inside-the-white-supremacist-group-hiding-in-plain-sight>.

²¹⁴ “Meet ‘Patriot Front’: Neo-Nazi Network Aims to Blur Lines with Militiamen, the Alt-Right,” Southern Poverty Law Center, December 12, 2017, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2017/12/11/meet-patriot-front-neo-nazi-network-aims-blur-lines-militiamen-alt-right>.

²¹⁵ Southern Poverty Law Center.

²¹⁶ “Manifesto,” Patriot Front, accessed September 6, 2020, <https://patriotfront.us/manifesto/>.

²¹⁷ “Tyrannical Interests,” Patriot Front, March 27, 2020, <https://patriotfront.us/tyrannical-interests/>.

²¹⁸ “Masked White Nationalists March in Washington with Police Escort,” Reuters, February 9, 2020, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-protests-idUSKBN20301H>.

²¹⁹ Alex Ross, “White Nationalists Terrorize Houston Book Fair in Largest Show of Force since Charlottesville,” Alternet, September 28, 2017, <https://www.alternet.org/2017/09/white-nationalists-terrorize-houston-book-fair-largest-show-force-charlottesville/>.

third man named Tyler Tenbrink attended a rally in Florida where the keynote speaker was well-known white nationalist Richard Spencer.²²⁰ After attending the speech, the Fears brothers and Tenbrink started a confrontation with protesters who opposed Spencer's speech. During the altercation, Tyler Tenbrink fired a shot at the protesters, missing them.²²¹ Once again, William Fears avoided criminal charges for the incident.²²² In 2019, however, he was finally arrested and sentenced to five years in prison for domestic violence and illegally possessing firearms.²²³ Another Patriot Front member was arrested in 2018 for illegally possessing firearms, threatening a judge, and posting anti-Semitic flyers by a Jewish school in Illinois.²²⁴ Finally, in 2020, Patriot Front member Joffre James Cross III pled guilty to possessing illegal firearms in Texas.²²⁵ Cross' social media account contained images of Nazi paraphernalia and anti-Semitic content.²²⁶ Despite the arrests and public attention, Patriot Front continues its flyer campaigns across the United States, and members recently traveled to Europe, establishing ties with white nationalist groups in Poland and Italy—where they trained with CasaPound—as well as Germany and several others countries.²²⁷

²²⁰ Cindy Swirko, "Richard Spencer Supporter Tenbrink Gets 15-Year Term," *Gainesville Sun*, February 27, 2019, <https://www.gainesville.com/news/20190227/richard-spencer-supporter-tenbrink-gets-15-year-term>.

²²¹ Rachel Janik, "Three Richard Spencer Supporters Arrested for Attempted Murder," Southern Poverty Law Center, October 20, 2017, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2017/10/20/three-richard-spencer-supporters-arrested-attempted-murder>.

²²² Brett Barrouquere, "Prosecutors Drop Case against 1 of 3 Charged with Shooting after Richard Spencer's Gainesville Speech," Southern Poverty Law Center, April 13, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2018/04/13/prosecutors-drop-case-against-1-3-charged-shooting-after-richard-spencer%E2%80%99s-gainesville>.

²²³ "White Supremacist William Fears to Get Five Years in Prison," Southern Poverty Law Center, October 11, 2019, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2019/10/11/white-supremacist-william-fears-get-five-years-prison>.

²²⁴ Kelly Weill, "Man Arrested for Illegal Guns Belongs to Neo-Nazi Group That Wants 'Ethnostate Rape Gangs,'" *Daily Beast*, May 4, 2018, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/man-arrested-for-illegal-guns-belongs-to-neo-nazi-group-that-wants-ethnostate-rape-gangs>.

²²⁵ Brett Barrouquere, "Patriot Front Member Joffre Cross Pleads Guilty to Federal Gun Charge," Southern Poverty Law Center, February 26, 2020, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2020/02/26/patriot-front-member-joffre-cross-pleads-guilty-federal-gun-charge>.

²²⁶ Barrouquere.

²²⁷ "Liberty and Solidarity," Patriot Front, November 30, 2019, <https://patriotfront.us/liberty-and-solidarity/>.

C. REVOLT THROUGH TRADITION: LATENT NEO-FASCISM

RTT is a mixture of white nationalism, violence, neo-fascism, and resistance to the modern world. Similar to Patriot Front, RTT does not believe in democratic institutions but instead strives for a “spiritual,” yet fascist, cultural hegemony.²²⁸ As Wilhelm explains, RTT rejects the “old fascism” and strives for “the idea of . . . Super Fascist,” which the group defines as a combination of what was good with the old fascism and “new strategies, modern aesthetics, and new ideas . . . in the spirit of Guillaume Faye.”²²⁹ RTT sets itself apart from other American identitarians with its open devotion to a culture of violence and a religious-like adherence to the philosophies of Julius Evola, who has become the group’s “guiding light.”²³⁰ In fact, the very name of the organization is an allusion to Evola’s statement that “traditionalism is the most revolutionary ideology of our times.”²³¹ Similar to Patriot Front, RTT seeks out and cultivates ties with white nationalist and neo-fascist groups in Europe including CasaPound in Italy, Azov/National Corps in Ukraine, and Serbian nationalists.²³²

RTT’s history reveals the role of violence in its ideology. The group began as the Rise Above Movement (RAM) in southern California in 2017.²³³ Its founder, Robert Rundo, created RAM as a street fighting club designed to counter the aggression seen in

²²⁸ Revolt Through Tradition, “Manifesto.”

²²⁹ Grady Wilhelm, “Moving Beyond Fascism,” *Media 2 Rise* (blog), April 2, 2020, <https://media2rise.com/articles/f/moving-beyond-fascism>.

²³⁰ Revolt Through Tradition, “Manifesto.” Evola is widely respected in the identitarian world for his fascist leanings and praise of monarchism as the supreme order of governance.

²³¹ Grady Wilhelm and Robert Rundo, “Revolution of Tradition,” *Our Fight Clothing Co.* (blog), accessed April 29, 2020, <https://ourfightclothingco.com/blog/f/revolution-of-tradition>.

²³² Oleksiy Kuzmenko @kooleksiy, “American extremists did in fact train with the Azov movement,” Twitter, February 25, 2020, 8:06 a.m., <https://twitter.com/kooleksiy/status/1232307983545229313>; Robert Rundo, “Serbian Spirit Awakens,” *Our Fight Clothing Co.* (blog), accessed April 30, 2020, <https://ourfightclothingco.com/blog/f/serbian-spirit-awakens>; Revolt Through Tradition, “Video Preview: Revolt Through Tradition in Kyiv, Ukraine,” January 26, 2020, YouTube, video, 1:03, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j2FtGKyxNeI>.

²³³ “Rise Above Movement,” Southern Poverty Law Center, September 6, 2020, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/rise-above-movement>.

left-wing Antifa protesters around the country.²³⁴ As a result of its many violent assaults, such as in Charlottesville, Virginia, several RTT members, including Rundo, were arrested and charged by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 2018.²³⁵ In 2019, all charges were dismissed by a federal judge, but by that time, Rundo had changed tactics and decided to adopt a latent neo-fascist framework in RTT.²³⁶

Despite claiming to have adopted metapolitics and openly shunning violence on the group's webpage, Rundo cannot shed the culture of violence that he cultivated in RAM and carried into RTT. Rundo explains this culture of violence in 2020: "In this world as Nationalists, everyone is against us, the media, law enforcement" and elected officials.²³⁷ RTT even uses Evola's phrase "legionary spirit" to describe its group culture, defining it as "the attitude of somebody who chooses to live the hardest life. It means fighting even when you know you've lost the battle, and following the code that 'loyalty is stronger than fire.'"²³⁸ RTT members are reminded to maintain a "warrior mindset, in the great war against modernism, nihilism," or any other movement that threatens them or their culture.²³⁹ They are also encouraged to engage in combat sports because, "as a nationalist youth, you must be willing to fight for your ideals."²⁴⁰ RTT carefully instructs adherents to avoid being aggressive brutes, adding that they should learn to be "cultured thugs."²⁴¹ A

²³⁴ A. C. Thompson, Ali Winston, and Darwin Graham, "Racist, Violent, Unpunished: A White Hate Group's Campaign of Menace," ProPublica, October 19, 2017, <https://www.propublica.org/article/white-hate-group-campaign-of-menace-rise-above-movement>.

²³⁵ "Federal Grand Jury Indicts Four Members of White Supremacy Group on Charges Stemming from Attacks at Political Rallies," Department of Justice, November 1, 2018, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-cdca/pr/federal-grand-jury-indicts-four-members-white-supremacy-group-charges-stemming-attacks>.

²³⁶ Julia Sclafani, "Judge Dismisses Federal Charges against 3 Members of H.B.-Based White Power Group," *Los Angeles Times*, June 4, 2019, <https://www.latimes.com/socal/daily-pilot/news/tn-dpt-me-hb-ram-charges-dropped-20190604-story.html>.

²³⁷ Grady Wilhelm and Robert Rundo, "Nationalist Brotherhood," *Media 2 Rise* (blog), April 2, 2020, <https://media2rise.com/articles/f/nationalist-brotherhood>.

²³⁸ Evola, *Men among the Ruins*; Revolt Through Tradition, "Manifesto."

²³⁹ Sean Perth, "The Warrior Mentality and Its Place in Society," *Media 2 Rise* (blog), April 6, 2020, <https://media2rise.com/articles/f/the-warrior-mentality-and-its-place-in-society>.

²⁴⁰ Grady Wilhelm and Robert Rundo, "Intangible Goals," *Our Fight Clothing Co.* (blog), accessed April 30, 2020, <https://ourfightclothingco.com/blog/f/intangible-goals>.

²⁴¹ Jonathan Bowden, "Why I Write," *Counter-Currents Publishing* (blog), August 18, 2010, <https://www.counter-currents.com/2010/08/bowden-why-i-write/>. The phrase "cultured thugs" is an allusion to Jonathan Bowden, a far-right politician and author favored among white nationalist readers.

cultured thug is defined as a nationalist who is taught to “be as strong as you are intelligent . . . brave as you are mindful, and virtuous as the heroes of the past.”²⁴² Remarkably similar to European identitarians, RTT uses Titanomachy as well as Roman and Greek imagery and art on its webpage and blog. Again, this conceit appears to be an effort to evoke an honorable and epic struggle against a major force but also reveals that the movement was founded on a culture of violence.

D. AMERICAN IDENTITY: AN ATTEMPT AT METAPOLITICS

Unlike its fascist counterparts in RTT or Patriot Front, AIM has adopted American patriotic symbolism and French-like metapolitics in its approach to white nationalism. AIM was formed in 2019 after a series of disastrous events and decision-making in its parent group, Identity Evropa (IE).²⁴³ In 2017, IE was considered one of the most prominent white nationalist groups in the United States.²⁴⁴ However, the group was front-and-center in Charlottesville and, consequently, the subject of numerous lawsuits.²⁴⁵ Patrick Casey took control of the organization in 2019 and immediately dissolved it. Within a few days, he announced the formation of AIM. From the outset, it appeared Casey meant for AIM to be a wholly different organization from IE, yet the ADL has pointed out that AIM is the product of rebranding.²⁴⁶ Casey lists AIM’s worldview on its website: “nationalism, identitarianism, protectionism, non-interventionism, and populism.”²⁴⁷

²⁴² Sean Battle, “A Future to Believe In,” *Our Fight Clothing Co.* (blog), accessed April 30, 2020, <https://ourfightclothingco.com/blog/f/a-future-to-believe-in>.

²⁴³ “American Identity Movement (AIM),” Anti-Defamation League, accessed September 6, 2020, <https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/american-identity-movement-aim>.

²⁴⁴ “Nathan Benjamin Damigo,” Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed September 6, 2020, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/nathan-benjamin-damigo>.

²⁴⁵ Aaron Katersky, “Charlottesville Rally Lawsuit to Proceed Despite Nathan Damigo’s Bankruptcy Filing,” ABC News, February 19, 2019, <https://abcnews.go.com/US/charlottesville-rally-lawsuit-proceed-nathan-damigos-bankruptcy-filing/story?id=61149383>.

²⁴⁶ Anti-Defamation League, “American Identity Movement (AIM).”

²⁴⁷ Anti-Defamation League.

AIM was created to “mainstream identitarianism” in the United States through metapolitics.²⁴⁸ Casey tried a metapolitical approach while in IE but found little success.²⁴⁹ During that time, however, he learned from the National Front and *Generation Identitaire* in France.²⁵⁰ By the time he formed AIM, he had established a viable metapolitical platform. In his 2018 manifesto to other white nationalists in the United States, Casey cites Phillipe Vardon, a French nationalist politician, in calling for a new, inclusive approach to recruiting “disaffected white people.”²⁵¹ Casey writes, “Ultimately, the question to ask is whether or not we want to have a movement that will create a better world for people of European heritage, or a small, insular club that allows alienated people to feel edgy, antinomian, and worthwhile.”²⁵² In this vein, Casey does not want himself or AIM to be considered extremist. Rather, he chooses to create a sub-culture of white nationalism through internet memes, live-streamed vlogs, and political advice.²⁵³

AIM also embraces several other planks found in European identitarianism such as replacement theory, globalism, and mass immigration. Casey affirms AIM’s adherence to great replacement theory: “Americans of European heritage are being demographically replaced as a result of mass immigration.”²⁵⁴ AIM is also opposed to globalism, which it considers “an ideology averse to borders, national sovereignty, and healthy values.”²⁵⁵ Additionally, AIM opposes mass immigration, “vilification of the white majority,” and

²⁴⁸ “Identity Evropa/American Identity Movement,” Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed September 6, 2020, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/identity-evropaamerican-identity-movement>; Hunter Wallace, “Response to Patrick Casey,” *Occidental Dissent* (blog), January 23, 2018, <http://www.occidentaldissent.com/2018/01/23/response-to-patrick-casey/>.

²⁴⁹ Anna Schechter, “White Nationalist Leader Wants to ‘Take over the GOP,’” NBC News, October 17, 2018, <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/immigration/white-nationalist-leader-plotting-take-over-gop-n920826>.

²⁵⁰ Southern Poverty Law Center, “Identity Evropa/American Identity Movement.”

²⁵¹ Hunter Wallace, “Patrick Casey: Subculture vs. Strategy,” *Occidental Dissent* (blog), January 23, 2018, <http://www.occidentaldissent.com/2018/01/23/patrick-casey-subculture-vs-strategy/>.

²⁵² Wallace.

²⁵³ Wallace.

²⁵⁴ Patrick Casey, “American Identity Movement’s Inaugural Conference,” *American Identity Movement* (blog), March 8, 2019, <https://americanidentitymovement.com/2019/03/08/aim-2019/>.

²⁵⁵ Patrick Casey, “Nationalism, Not Globalism,” *American Identity Movement* (blog), March 20, 2020, <https://americanidentitymovement.com/2020/03/20/nationalism-not-globalism/>.

military intervention in foreign conflicts. Casey promotes the idea that the only solution to white America's problems is a strict nationalist style of governance whereby politicians focus on the needs of white Americans first.²⁵⁶

Since its founding, AIM has participated in, or staged, several rallies, primarily in the northeast.²⁵⁷ The white nationalist online publication *Counter-Currents* virtuously promotes AIM, writing that the group engages in “peaceful activism and community building.”²⁵⁸ AIM is responsible for posting massive banners on overpasses and buildings, also known as “banner drops,” in the United States, with phrases like “deport them all” and “this land is our land”—showing its disdain for not only immigrants but also non-whites.²⁵⁹ In 2020, in response to the COVID-19 pandemic, AIM members held a banner drop at the California State Capitol in Sacramento with banners that read “Stop the Spread!” and “Stop Immigration.”²⁶⁰

Casey's popularity is increasing within the white nationalist community. In 2019, he was a guest speaker at the American Renaissance Conference, and based on the increasing popularity of AIM, the group now holds annual America First Political Action Committee conferences, coinciding with the national Conservative Political Action

²⁵⁶ Casey.

²⁵⁷ Carla Hill, “How White Supremacist Propaganda Is Spreading, and Working,” NBC News, February 24, 2020, <https://www.nbcnews.com/think/opinion/white-supremacist-propaganda-produced-u-s-hate-groups-spreading-working-ncna1140726>; Rosana Hughes, “White Supremacist Group's Stickers Found around Downtown Chattanooga,” *Chattanooga Times Free Press*, August 9, 2019, <https://www.timesfreepress.com/news/local/story/2019/aug/09/white-supremacist-group-places-stickers-around-downtown-chattanooga/500887/>; Kristen Swilley, “Cloaked in Patriotic Imagery, White Nationalist Group's Stickers Appear in Clifton,” ABC Cincinnati, September 5, 2019, <https://www.wcpo.com/news/local-news/hamilton-county/cincinnati/clifton/cloaked-in-patriotic-imagery-white-nationalist-groups-stickers-appear-in-clifton>.

²⁵⁸ “New Guest Speaker at the Upcoming Northwest Forum!,” *Counter-Currents Publishing* (blog), September 24, 2019, <https://www.counter-currents.com/2019/09/new-guest-speaker-at-the-upcoming-northwest-forum/>.

²⁵⁹ Patrick Casey, “This Land Is Our Land!,” *American Identity Movement* (blog), August 3, 2019, <https://americanidentitymovement.com/2019/08/02/alexandria-va-flash-demonstration/>; Patrick Casey, “Frontier Days Banner Drop,” *American Identity Movement* (blog), August 26, 2019, <https://americanidentitymovement.com/2019/08/25/frontier-days-banner-drop-cheyenne-wy/>.

²⁶⁰ Patrick Casey, “Stop the Spread! End Immigration!,” *American Identity Movement* (blog), February 2, 2020, <https://americanidentitymovement.com/2020/02/02/stop-the-spread-end-immigration/>.

Committee conference.²⁶¹ It appears that banner drops and conferences are the way Casey expects to build the movement for white Americans. According to the ADL, Casey's plan is working: in early 2020, white nationalist groups in the United States carried out 2,713 sticker and flyer campaigns.²⁶² Research shows, however, no known cases of AIM members being arrested for crimes of violence.

E. SIEGE CULTURE AND ACCELERATIONISM: VIOLENCE IS THE ONLY WAY

Of all the identitarian strains in the United States, accelerationism stands out as the most extreme and the most violent.²⁶³ Accelerationism is a socio-political theory based on the idea that the world is in irreversible decline and that certain violent acts will hasten the end of the current era.²⁶⁴ Recent examples of this desire to accelerate the end came during the early days of the Black Lives Matter protests linked to the death of George Floyd. In one instance, suspected white supremacist Telegram channels promoted the idea of killing protesters as a means of starting a race war.²⁶⁵ In a second case, a man initially known only as “umbrella man” was filmed smashing windows and encouraging rioters to set fire to an

²⁶¹ Patrick Casey, “American Renaissance 2019 Speech,” *American Identity Movement* (blog), accessed April 26, 2020, <https://americanidentitymovement.com/2019/08/04/patrick-casey-american-renaissance-2019-speech/>; Patrick Casey, “America First Political Action Conference,” *American Identity Movement* (blog), February 29, 2020, <https://americanidentitymovement.com/2020/02/29/america-first-political-action-conference/>.

²⁶² “White Supremacists Double Down on Propaganda in 2019,” Anti-Defamation League, February 11, 2020, <https://www.adl.org/blog/white-supremacists-double-down-on-propaganda-in-2019>.

²⁶³ Daveed Gartenstein-Ross, Samuel Hodgson, and Colin Clarke, “The Growing Threat Posed by Accelerationism and Accelerationist Groups Worldwide,” Foreign Policy Research Institute, April 20, 2020, <https://www.fpri.org/article/2020/04/the-growing-threat-posed-by-accelerationism-and-accelerationist-groups-worldwide/>.

²⁶⁴ Zack Beauchamp, “The Extremist Philosophy That’s More Violent Than the Alt-Right and Growing in Popularity,” Vox, November 11, 2019, <https://www.vox.com/the-highlight/2019/11/11/20882005/accelerationism-white-supremacy-christchurch>.

²⁶⁵ Sonam Sheth, “A White Supremacist Channel on Telegram Encouraged Followers to Incite Violence during Police Brutality Protests by ‘Shooting in a Crowd,’ According to Internal DHS Memo,” Business Insider, June 1, 2020, <https://www.businessinsider.com/white-supremacist-telegram-channel-encourages-violence-george-floyd-protests-2020-6>.

AutoZone store.²⁶⁶ He was eventually identified by law enforcement as being a member of the white nationalist group Aryan Cowboys.²⁶⁷

The general history of accelerationism outside of the identitarian movement includes elements of Marxism, anti-capitalism, and the eradication of individual identity.²⁶⁸ The right-wing, identitarian version of accelerationism, however, is based on an American neo-Nazi named James Mason and, to a lesser extent, the writings of George Lincoln Rockwell. A recent analysis of accelerationism from the Foreign Policy Research Institute explains that accelerationists are “especially dangerous” because they believe an act of mass violence will usher their ultimate goal: the end of civilization and the rise of a white ethno-state.²⁶⁹

The history of identitarian accelerationism begins in the late 1960s with a young James Mason. That year, he undertook a foiled attempt at a mass shooting in his school, arguably a precursor to his violent ideology.²⁷⁰ Mason was frustrated with “egalitarianism and multiculturalism” being forced on him by “problematic teachers and system bureaucrats.”²⁷¹ He concluded that the only way out was to kill the teachers. Mason changed his mind when he met the president of the American Nazi Party, William Pierce.²⁷² Pierce’s organization provided a sense of belonging and, according to Mason, helped to direct his anger at left-leaning persons and institutions near his hometown.²⁷³ In the early

²⁶⁶ Libor Jany, “Minneapolis Police Say ‘Umbrella Man’ Was a White Supremacist Trying to Incite George Floyd Rioting,” *Star Tribune*, July 28, 2020, <https://www.startribune.com/police-umbrella-man-was-a-white-supremacist-trying-to-incite-floyd-rioting/571932272/>.

²⁶⁷ Cody Nelson and Matt Sepic, “Warrant: White Supremacist Instigated Looting at George Floyd Protest,” News, Minnesota Public Radio, July 28, 2020, <https://www.mprnews.org/story/2020/07/28/warrant-white-supremacist-instigated-looting-at-george-floyd-protest-in-minneapolis>; Sara Sidner, “Minneapolis Police Identify ‘Umbrella Man’ Who Helped Incite George Floyd Riots, Warrant Says,” CNN, July 29, 2020, <https://www.cnn.com/2020/07/28/us/umbrella-man-associated-white-supremacist-group-george-floyd/index.html>.

²⁶⁸ Edward Thornton and Sally Davies, “A Creative Multiplicity: The Philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari,” *Aeon*, March 1, 2018, <https://aeon.co/essays/a-creative-multiplicity-the-philosophy-of-deleuze-and-guattari>.

²⁶⁹ Gartenstein-Ross, Hodgson, and Clarke, “Growing Threat.”

²⁷⁰ James Mason, *Siege* (Iron March, 2015), 16, <http://88nsm.com/13904-james-mason-siege.html>.

²⁷¹ Mason, 16.

²⁷² Mason.

²⁷³ Mason, 16.

1970s, Mason was arrested and convicted for assaulting several black men.²⁷⁴ His incarceration only increased his violent tendencies. After leaving prison, Mason became infatuated with the philosophy of Charles Manson, to whom he wrote letters in hopes of finding a mentor.²⁷⁵ His desire for white supremacy, chaos, and murder—combined with Manson’s ideas of “Helter Skelter,” a race war—led Mason to start a monthly newsletter titled *Siege*.²⁷⁶

Siege became Mason’s grand work and the foundation of modern accelerationism. Among other writings, Mason encourages terrorism “in a manner commensurate to Timothy McVeigh.”²⁷⁷ He writes that white revolutionaries “want to see crime and chaos rise to such a degree where the system becomes no longer viable and falls apart. . . . We want to hasten the death of the system, not postpone it.”²⁷⁸ Mason cites the Kali Yuga, an apocalyptic Hindu belief, when he writes, “This present . . . Kali Yuga time frame is pre-ordained” to eliminate “undesirable elements.”²⁷⁹ Furthermore, Mason sees his responsibility as one of “accelerating onward to the abyss.”²⁸⁰ In 1993, Mason gathered all of the newsletters into a book he titled *Siege*, which circulated in neo-Nazi circles for several years but gained little attention. In 2015, Mason and members of online neo-Nazi forum *IronMarch* republished the book, and this time, it gained notoriety among American neo-Nazis.²⁸¹

²⁷⁴ Mason, 18.

²⁷⁵ Mason, 169.

²⁷⁶ Lesley Kennedy, “How Charles Manson Took Sick Inspiration from the Beatles’ ‘Helter Skelter,’” History, accessed May 7, 2020, <https://www.history.com/news/charles-manson-helter-skelter>; Mason, *Siege*.

²⁷⁷ Mason, *Siege*, 28.

²⁷⁸ Mason, 186.

²⁷⁹ Mason, 13; “Kali Yuga—When Did It End and What Lies Ahead?,” Isha Institute of Inner Sciences, June 8, 2020, <https://isha.sadhguru.org/us/en/wisdom/article/kali-yuga-end-lies-ahead>.

²⁸⁰ Mason, *Siege*, 13.

²⁸¹ Mason, *Siege*; “Atomwaffen Division,” Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed September 7, 2020, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/atomwaffen-division>.

Mason's writing reveals the core aspects of siege philosophy, the creation of Siege Culture, and the foundations of accelerationism.²⁸² The Counter Extremist Project defines Siege Culture as "a devotion of Mason's calls for independent terror cells to carry out a race war."²⁸³ Indeed, Mason has used his essays to illustrate all that is wrong with the moribund world and lead his adherents to believe that only a white revolution could save the white race.²⁸⁴ Siege Culture has become the full embodiment of Mason's teachings, and accelerationism the vehicle through which his followers might bring on the race war.

There are dozens, if not hundreds, of topics Mason focuses on in *Siege* as evidence of the world gone astray. Mason sees politics as a brutal art form requiring a person to abandon sentimentality and remove one's opponent in the pursuit of power; he laments that no one embraces the needed brutality to eliminate an opponent.²⁸⁵ Eliminating political opponents is not the only thing on Mason's mind. For example, he declares that all organized religion must be eradicated because it subjugates mankind by playing on man's weaknesses and fears.²⁸⁶ Mason does not stop at eradicating organized religion; he also hammers society in general. For example, he pillories marriages of white Americans to African Americans, deeming the entire phenomenon of interracial marriage racial treason.²⁸⁷ Finally, Mason also uses *Siege* to promote anti-Semitism on a grand scale.²⁸⁸ For example, he uses the term "Zionist occupied government" when discussing the U.S. government, he accuses Jews of enslaving whites with "debt and avarice," and he proclaims Jews the enemy of white people.²⁸⁹

²⁸² Vincent Snyder, "SiegeKultur," *SiegeKultur* (blog), accessed May 8, 2020, <http://siegekultur.biz/siegekultur/>.

²⁸³ "James Mason's Siege: Ties to Extremists," Counter Extremism Project, May 2, 2019, <https://www.counterextremism.com/sites/default/files/james-mason-siege-ties-to-extremists.pdf>.

²⁸⁴ Mason, *Siege*, 53.

²⁸⁵ Mason, 321.

²⁸⁶ Mason, 322.

²⁸⁷ Mason, 325.

²⁸⁸ Mason, 52.

²⁸⁹ Mason, 13.

Siege provides a great deal of moral latitude to its readers, which lends itself to the idea of mass violence within the movement. Mason feels that morality in the common definition is something oppressive and needs to be eliminated from the “revolutionary.”²⁹⁰ As such, adherents of accelerationism are encouraged to take action based on instinct and personal honor.²⁹¹ He admits that behavior based on individual metrics of instinct and honor are indeed variable, but he adds that if a person is dedicated to the white revolution, he or she will know which actions to take and what things to avoid.²⁹² Mason leads his readers to the conclusion that they are the revolutionaries who must “fan the flames” and begin the “revolution to smash the system.”²⁹³ They must reject their current way of life, accept the lifestyle of a militant, and move quickly against an invariably corrupt, non-white system.²⁹⁴

Deep within Siege Culture, and featured prominently in accelerationism, is a fierce devotion to the occult and a lionization of Satan. Mason himself openly advocated Satan worship, even seeking out and obtaining copies of *Black Mass* and a personally inscribed copy of the *Satanic Bible*, both by famous Satan worshipper Anton LaVey.²⁹⁵ Following LaVey’s thoughts on Satan, Mason maintained that because God represents “weakness [subjugation] and suicide [crucifixion of Christ] . . . Satan must represent strength and vitality.”²⁹⁶ Even though Mason eventually distanced himself from LaVey for being “a Jew,” Mason never denied his adoration of Satanism or the occult.²⁹⁷ Invoking the name of Satan is common on the *Siege*-inspired blog *SiegeKultur*, where writers describe the

²⁹⁰ Mason, 336.

²⁹¹ Mason, 336.

²⁹² Mason, 337.

²⁹³ Mason, 54.

²⁹⁴ Mason, 55.

²⁹⁵ Mason, 26.

²⁹⁶ Mason, 26.

²⁹⁷ James Mason, “Regarding the Church of Satan,” *SiegeKultur* (blog), June 6, 2019, <http://siegekultur.biz/regarding-the-church-of-satan/>.

need to have a “Satanic will,” openly embrace the label of “Satanic” to push their message, and position Satan as the antithesis of a world devoid of hope and order.²⁹⁸

Siege Culture and accelerationism have found their first real-world manifestations in 2017 with Ryan and Vincent Snyder, brothers and members of a newly formed *Siege*-inspired group, the Atomwaffen Division (AWD).²⁹⁹ The Snyder brothers met with Mason and together set out to spread Siege Culture.³⁰⁰ The brothers define Siege Culture as the conscious removal of oneself from “the system.”³⁰¹ To them, it is a devotion to the ideas of equilibrium, meaning the “rightful ascension” of the white race” through a violent revolution.³⁰² The Snyders see the American government as systemically corrupt, and in need of destruction. They, and many others who have followed, adopted the accelerationist theory that they should promote and carry out the most chaotic actions to collapse the system, thus ushering in a race revolution.³⁰³ They would work to see Mason’s white revolution come to fruition, knowing full well the cost would be brutal.

Using *Siege* as its instruction manual, the AWD became the flagship for an entire accelerationist movement that quickly spread around the world. Adherents of this ideology have set themselves apart as a “very fanatical, ideological band of comrades,” who spread “awareness . . . through unconventional means.”³⁰⁴ In the span of four years, 2016–2020, the AWD directly assisted in, or inspired the creation of multiple *Siege*-based groups online

²⁹⁸ James Mason, “Three Faces of Satanism,” *SiegeKultur* (blog), 1997, <http://siegekultur.biz/universal-order-1997-1999/>; Vincent Snyder, “No Response?,” *SiegeKultur* (blog), accessed August 16, 2020, <http://siegekultur.biz/no-response/>; À Rebours, “The Dual Aspects of Siege Terror,” *SiegeKultur* (blog), accessed June 19, 2020, <http://siegekultur.biz/the-dual-aspects-of-siege-terror/>.

²⁹⁹ Southern Poverty Law Center, “Atomwaffen Division.”

³⁰⁰ Ryan Snyder and Vincent Snyder, “Worldview,” *SiegeKultur* (blog), accessed May 8, 2020, <http://siegekultur.biz/worldview/>.

³⁰¹ Snyder, “SiegeKultur.”

³⁰² Snyder, “SiegeKultur”; À Rebours, “The Universal Order of the Death’s Head,” *SiegeKultur* (blog), accessed May 8, 2020, <http://siegekultur.biz/the-universal-order-of-the-deaths-head/>.

³⁰³ Zack Beauchamp, “Accelerationism: The Idea Inspiring White Supremacist Killers around the World,” *Vox*, November 18, 2019, <https://www.vox.com/the-highlight/2019/11/11/20882005/accelerationism-white-supremacy-christchurch>.

³⁰⁴ Adam Thorp, “Militant Neo-Nazi Group Claims Credit for Hanging Hitler Portrait, Swastikas on Campus Building,” *Chicago Maroon*, December 5, 2016, [/article/2016/12/6/militant-neo-nazi-group-claims-credit-hanging-hitl/](http://www.maroonjournal.com/article/2016/12/6/militant-neo-nazi-group-claims-credit-hanging-hitl/).

and in the real world. For example, according to the German magazine *Der Spiegel*, in 2017, the AWD created a cell in Germany.³⁰⁵ In 2018, the Estonian-based Feuerkrieg Division (FKD) announced its formation as a European Siege-oriented neo-Nazi group. The FKD attributed its creation to the AWD and Mason.³⁰⁶ Also in 2018, the Sonnenkrieg Division (SKD) was formed in the United Kingdom by two white British men.³⁰⁷ Like the AWD and FKD, Sonnenkrieg used neo-Nazi and Siege symbols, language, and iconography, and paid homage to the AWD.³⁰⁸ In the United States, AWD members assisted in the creation of The Base.³⁰⁹ Within months of its arrival on the Siege scene, the group established cells in Maryland, Michigan, Georgia, and Wisconsin.³¹⁰ The Base also created at least one training camp in Georgia, purchased land in Washington, and secured a safe-house in Delaware.³¹¹

F. CONCLUSION

While based on the same core ideological elements and entrenched against the same enemies, identitarianism in the United States is much more volatile and unstable than in Europe. Additionally, American identitarian groups are linked to violence at all levels and

³⁰⁵ Maik Baumgartner et al., “Neo-Nazi Group Atomwaffen Division Takes Root in Germany,” *Der Spiegel International*, November 13, 2019, <https://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/neo-nazi-group-atomwaffen-division-takes-root-in-germany-a-1295575.html>.

³⁰⁶ “Feuerkrieg Division (FKD),” Anti-Defamation League, accessed September 6, 2020, <https://www.adl.org/resources/backgrounders/feuerkrieg-division-fkd>.

³⁰⁷ Jamie Grierson, “UK to Ban Neo-Nazi Sonnenkrieg Division as a Terrorist Group,” *Guardian*, February 24, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2020/feb/24/uk-ban-neo-nazi-sonnenkrieg-division-terrorist-group>.

³⁰⁸ Matthew Collins, “Jailed Neo-Nazi Satanists Were a Legacy of National Action,” Hope Not Hate, June 18, 2019, <https://www.hopenothate.org.uk/2019/06/18/jailed-neo-nazi-satanists-legacy-national-action/>.

³⁰⁹ “The Base,” Anti-Defamation League, accessed September 6, 2020, <https://www.adl.org/resources/backgrounders/the-base>.

³¹⁰ Jon Lewis et al., *White Supremacist Terror: Modernizing Our Approach to Today’s Threat* (Washington, DC: George Washington University, April 2020), <https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs2191/f/White%20Supremacist%20Terror%20final.pdf>.

³¹¹ *United States v. Lemley et al.*, No. 8:20-mj-00193-CBD, at 29 (D. Md. filed January 21, 2020) (motion for detention pending trial), <https://baltimore.cbslocal.com/wp-content/uploads/sites/15910056/2020/01/usa-versus-lemley-mathews-bilbrough-iv.pdf>; Jason Wilson, “Revealed: The True Identity of the Leader of an American Neo-Nazi Terror Group,” *Guardian*, January 24, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jan/23/revealed-the-true-identity-of-the-leader-of-americas-neo-nazi-terror-group>.

seem to view violence as axiomatic in the movement. Indeed, groups like RTT, the AWD, even Patriot Front revel in violence and purposefully build a culture of violence around their strains of identitarianism to motivate adherents to commit violent acts. The epitome of violence is indeed the accelerationist strain, which is a wholly U.S.-created manifestation that offers little hope other than an eventual rise from the ashes.

In another stark contrast with their European counterparts, American identitarians do not focus on national history aside from allusions to demographics. Instead, identitarians in the United States tend to focus on their “European heritage,” which often acts as a euphemism for the white race. Taylor summarized the infatuation with European heritage in 2014 when he said America was “founded by [European] men. . . . Their religion, culture, institutions were all European.”³¹² Duchesne, then, explains the crisis of American identitarians: “If Western nations are to live up to their ideas of civic citizenship they must relinquish any sense of European peoplehood.”³¹³ Thus, in the United States, the identitarian fight against globalism, liberalism, and replacement is more a fight against ethnic eradication than it is a fight to hold on to any regional history or culture.

³¹² Jared Taylor, “Towards a World Brotherhood of Europeans,” *American Renaissance* (blog), October 5, 2014, <https://www.amren.com/features/2014/10/towards-a-world-brotherhood-of-europeans/>.

³¹³ Ricardo Duchesne, “Straussian Assault on America’s European Heritage,” *Counter-Currents Publishing* (blog), December 2014, <https://www.counter-currents.com/2014/12/the-straussian-assault-on-americas-european-heritage/>.

IV. THE LENS OF VIOLENCE

This chapter details the role of violence in the overall identitarian movement. The previous chapters revealed that identitarians see the world through a series of lenses, most of which show they are in the midst of an existential crisis. The threats they perceive lead to the universally shared notion that identitarians must defend their culture, race, and indeed their very existence from the threats posed by globalism, liberalism, and replacement. From that notion of defending their existence, identitarians have created a culture of violence based on ancient heroes, stories of epic battles, and modern calls to literally defend themselves. The identitarian culture of violence exists not only in the real world through a unique lexicon and violent actions but also in and through a transcendent spirit passed on to them from each other and from heroes of old. There is no compromise in the identitarian quest for survival, and there is no room to celebrate political or social victories. The mission identitarians have been called to is one of survival, and the mission can only be accomplished through total dedication and will to do whatever is needed in the defense of their culture, history, race, and even lives.

A. A CULTURE OF VIOLENCE

The basis of the identitarian view of violence as necessary and perhaps welcome is what Evola has characterized the spiritual call to the warrior.³¹⁴ Identitarianism is suffused with iconography, stories, and symbols of war and struggle, such as Leonidas and his 300 Spartans.³¹⁵ Such violence and struggle are desirable as they are meant to purify and reset the balance of forces currently arrayed against the identitarians' utopian community. As one right-wing author poses it, "The trend here is not towards reason, but towards nature, transcendence—the diagnosis of a world conceived in error and rectifiable only with a great Promethean fire."³¹⁶ Even the phrase "Promethean fire" has a double meaning in the

³¹⁴ Evola, *Men among the Ruins*, 205.

³¹⁵ Vejvodova, "The Identitarian Movement."

³¹⁶ Karl Brown, "Harassment Architecture," *Roka Review* (blog), July 4, 2019, <https://rokareview.com/review/2019/7/2/harassment-architecture-mike-ma>.

identitarian world; it simultaneously alludes to an awaking to knowledge and a cleansing by fire. Other deities may be involved in the rhetoric as well. Evola writes that “men of tradition” see the world as it is: “a perennial struggle between metaphysical powers, between the Uranian forces of light and order, on the one hand and telluric, dark forces of chaos and matter on the other.”³¹⁷

While the term *struggle* has many meanings, some of which do not necessarily entail physical violence, identitarians understand it as a fight, often for their own survival. For example, Markus Willinger’s 2012 manifesto, “Generation Identity,” concludes with the warning “Don’t deceive yourselves: this is not a manifesto, it’s a declaration of war.”³¹⁸ Faye feels similarly, writing “Europe is at War” in his book *Why We Fight*.³¹⁹ In the same vein, Mason makes dozens of references to the necessity of terrorism, murder, and chaos in the project of securing and advancing the cause of whites, warning dramatically that “a massive Viking Berserker rage is about to explode and consume the enemy in blood.”³²⁰

The idea of constant war and being on the edge of extinction gives way to a culture built largely on stories of survival, heroes, epic battles, and legendary imagery. For example, in Karlsruhe, Germany, *Identitäre Bewegung* erected statues of Greek Hoplites as a reminder that “Europe succeeded once in defeating the invader,” and Europeans could do it again.³²¹ Identitarians in Austria developed an award called the Prince Eugene Prize, named after Prince Eugene of Savoy, who among other things led successful campaigns against the Turks.³²² The prize goes to an identitarian who proves worthy of the cause through some act that benefits the movement. Additionally, identitarians frequently pay homage to great historical conflicts like the battle of Portiers or Lepanto, often naming

³¹⁷ Evola, *Men among the Ruins*, 205.

³¹⁸ Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 28.

³¹⁹ Faye, *Why We Fight*, 34.

³²⁰ Mason, *Siege*, 277.

³²¹ Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 194.

³²² Zúquete, 195.

social media pages after them or adding allusions to them on their banners or clothing.³²³ Flags, names, Roman history, Greek history, and Pantheons of various origins fill books, social media pages, and speeches of identitarians from Russia to San Diego.

Amid this rhetoric and the symbols that go with it, an identitarian should feel empowered by the spirits of past warriors to press forward in his or her literal and often physical struggle against all enemies. Indeed, an identitarian swept up in this pantheon of heroes and conflict may feel kinship with one's heroes and attempt to conform to the archetype established by Horatius or Leonidas. Fear has no place in this culture or in the larger struggle. As white nationalist author Karadza declares, fear would have led Sparta and Athens to surrender to Persia and perhaps watch as Greece was reduced to ashes or subjected to harsh rule.³²⁴ Thus, just as the legend of the 300 Spartans shows the strength of past warriors, it also inspires the modern identitarian to victory—as evidenced by the European Lambda flag.

B. LEADERSHIP'S VIEWS ON VIOLENCE

Leading figures in the identitarian movement take confusingly different positions on violence. Some publicly distance themselves from violence and terrorism while others embrace it. Still others seem utterly dispassionate. On the side of condemning violence, Martin Sellner once said the goal of the identitarian movement was to be “meaningful and positive”—a bulwark against what he called “the devil's circle of violence” and “beyond the senseless violence and ideological madness” seen in other movements.³²⁵ During an interview in 2019, Sellner reiterated that violence was not the proper way forward, and he refuted claims that he and Christchurch shooter Brenton Tarrant come from the same

³²³ Jerry Brotton, “The Battle of Lepanto: When Ottoman Forces Clashed with Christians,” *History Extra*, February 5, 2020, <https://www.historyextra.com/period/tudor/lepanto-naval-battle-ottoman-christians-1571/>; Sons of Lepanto (@SonsofLepanto), “Home Page,” Facebook, accessed June 14, 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/SonsofLepanto/>.

³²⁴ Karadza, “Homer Competition,” *Media 2 Rise* (blog), June 11, 2020, <https://media2rise.com/2020/06/11/homer-competition/>.

³²⁵ Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 84.

ideology, adding that Tarrant was “misled and misguided.”³²⁶ Hunter Wallace, a self-proclaimed “pro-white” American identitarian blogger, echoes Sellner’s thoughts, writing that mass shooters like Dylann Roof and Brendon Tarrant are “ideological fantasists” who only carry out their mass murders to satisfy a personal urge to kill.³²⁷

Even Evola, who has relentlessly focused on the warrior spirit, condemns violence against “politically different thinking people.”³²⁸ In fact, Evola sees violence ultimately as a failure of leadership and a sign of weakness.³²⁹ To Evola, weakness in the movement has led older fascists to desperation, which in turn has “led them . . . to resort to brutal violence.”³³⁰ Finally, an outsider’s view on violence is worthy of note. While deeply critical of the Nouvelle Droite (ND), Tamir Bar-On has conceded on several occasions that the works of Alain de Benoist and ND were essentially “fascism without the violence.”³³¹

Mason would disagree with Sellner on the topic of violence. Siege and the larger accelerationist movement are, if nothing else, obsessed with death. In *SiegeKultur* is an essay titled “Helter Skelter,” a purposeful homage to Charles Manson and a reminder of the close ties between Mason and Manson.³³² The author writes that had “open violence broken out . . . when white civilization was being overthrown by color[sic], we [white Americans] would not be in the damnable mess that exists today.”³³³ The essay goes on to celebrate mass shooters as an unavoidable end to the madness of a miscegenated world.³³⁴

³²⁶ Gordon Corera, “Is There a Growing Far-Right Threat Online?,” BBC News, July 8, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-48830980>.

³²⁷ Hunter Wallace, “Matt Parrott vs. Joachim Hoch: The Morality of Violence,” *Occidental Dissent* (blog), May 28, 2019, <http://www.occidentaldissent.com/2019/05/28/matt-parrott-vs-joachim-hoch-the-morality-of-violence/>.

³²⁸ Evola, *Men among the Ruins*, 47.

³²⁹ Evola, 36.

³³⁰ Evola, 36.

³³¹ Tamir Bar-On, “Debating with the Nouvelle Droite: What Did I Learn?,” *Sicherheits Politik* (blog), March 22, 2016, <https://www.sicherheitspolitik-blog.de/2016/03/22/debating-with-the-nouvelle-droite-what-did-i-learn/>.

³³² “Helter Skelter,” *SiegeKultur* (blog), accessed May 23, 2020, <http://siegekultur.biz/helter-skelter/>; Mason, *Siege*, 401.

³³³ “Helter Skelter.”

³³⁴ “Helter Skelter.”

The essay appears to be a direct allusion to *Le camp des saints* (The Camp of Saints), a 1973 French novel shared widely in white nationalist circles.³³⁵ The novel details the fictional overthrow of Europe by invading armies of immigrants.³³⁶ It weaves stories of politicians and activists who rush to the borders of Europe to help the waves of immigrants streaming from India, with the accounts of ethnic Europeans fleeing their cities and homes as though escaping an invading hoard.³³⁷ The novel is great replacement realized, albeit fictionally. Used as a reference point for the *SiegeKultur* essay, it harkens back as well to American Nazi Party leader George Lincoln Rockwell. In 1967, Rockwell wrote, “Only an attack” can save whites from Jews and minorities; the event must be “no half-hearted, Vietnam-style attack . . . but the old-fashioned kind in which our purpose is simple and direct: to annihilate the enemy [again, Jews and minorities]—to smash him, beat him down and exterminate him, until he is no longer a threat.”³³⁸

Identitarian leaders are not unified on the topic of real-world violence, and their confusing positions leave a dangerous void in the movement. On the one side, there are countless allusions to battle, invasion, and replacement that build a level of anxiety in anyone who listens or reads identitarian literature. On the other side, leaders like Sellner talk about the movement as though eschewing violence is the accepted foundation of identitarianism. Within this milieu of contradictory statements and guidance, there is only one constant: the identitarian lexicon. The words, phrases, and symbols broadcast a clear and unambiguous message: White Europeans are being erased, so act accordingly. The action to be taken in response to such a dire message is left entirely up to each identitarian follower.

³³⁵ Southern Poverty Law Center, “Racist Book, *Camp of the Saints*, Gains in Popularity,” in *Intelligence Report* (Montgomery, AL: Southern Poverty Law Center, 2001), <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2001/racist-book-camp-saints-gains-popularity>.

³³⁶ Jean Raspail, *Le camp des saints* [The Camp of Saints] (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1973).

³³⁷ Matthew Connelly and Paul Kennedy, “Must It Be the Rest against the West?,” *Atlantic*, December 1994, <https://www.theatlantic.com/past/docs/politics/immigrat/kennf.htm>.

³³⁸ George Lincoln Rockwell, *White Power* (Morrisville, NC: Lulu Press, 2013), 306, Google Books.

C. VIOLENCE FRAMEWORK

When analyzing identitarian violence, it is vital to distinguish violence for personal reasons from teleological violence. For example, a criminal charge of domestic violence is violence for personal reasons, not violence to further the cause of identitarianism.³³⁹ In fact, partner violence for personal reasons is never acceptable in the identitarian movement because it distracts from the movement and removes the adherent from the larger, more important war against the real enemies. However, violence to further the identitarian cause may be deemed honorable and necessary.

Some identitarians see violence as what Fiske and Rai regard a moral obligation.³⁴⁰ The authors view morality as the desire to “maintain the prevailing social order,” which in the case of identitarians may be their perceived supremacy.³⁴¹ Thomas Sheehan agrees with the concept of moral violence but divides the obligation further.³⁴² He provides three specific justifications for violence among right-wing ideologues: *self-defense*—meaning a resistance against the unnatural; *therapeutic violence*—meaning a restoration of the essential; and finally *maieutic violence*—meaning violence that helps bring about the natural and essential.³⁴³

As a side note, while Fiske and Rai argue that dehumanization and empathy deficits are indeed part of the violence framework generally speaking, they seem to hold less importance in the identitarian world than does the simple obligation to fight.³⁴⁴ For example, while arguments of race and ethnicity abound in many identitarian circles, the one thing uncertain is the extent of openly racially motivated violence. The best example

³³⁹ Arguably, any violence is lauded by certain identitarian strains because it breaks from societal rules and, thus, shows a rebellious spirit. Nevertheless, what could be seen as senseless violence may hinder the movement as it brings unwanted law enforcement attention and casts adherents in a bad light.

³⁴⁰ Alan Page Fiske and Tage Shakti Rai, *Virtuous Violence: Hurting and Killing to Create, Sustain, End, and Honor Social Relationships* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 36.

³⁴¹ David Nussbaum and Séamus A. Power, “Can Violence Be Moral?,” *Guardian*, February 28, 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/science/head-quarters/2015/feb/28/can-violence-be-moral>.

³⁴² Thomas Sheehan, “Myth and Violence: The Fascism of Julius Evola and Alain de Benoist,” *Social Research* 48, no. 1 (1981): 45–73.

³⁴³ Sheehan.

³⁴⁴ Fiske and Rai, *Virtuous Violence*.

of latent racial motives is found in Patrick Crusius's manifesto, which attempts to establish that his attack on Hispanic people was not based on racism but rather on the survival of ethnic (white) Americans.³⁴⁵ The lens of violence, so to speak, was adjusted to further this cause over psychopathy, or naked racism. This detail is important because violence in furtherance of an openly racist motive is likely easier to detect than violence begat by latent motivations.

Many of the strains of identitarianism fit neatly into Sheehan's framework of violence for self-defense, therapeutic, and maieutic reasons. For example in terms of self-defense, RTT encourages its followers to "adopt the warrior spirit" and to learn martial arts for physical self-defense; such training also serves in defense of their European heritage.³⁴⁶ To these ends, Robert Rundo, RTT's founder, has suggested nationalists should train in "boxing, MMA, jiu-jitsu" and other combat sports to increase discipline and to awaken the warrior spirit.³⁴⁷ RTT blogger Sean Perth writes, "One who has the mindset of a warrior will actively fight against modernity in whatever way will help him achieve the culture he wishes to protect."³⁴⁸ Indeed, Robert Rundo created RTT's predecessor, RAM, based on the idea that white society needed a literal defense from Antifa and, of course, Muslim refugees and Jews.³⁴⁹

Patriot Front's manifesto makes it clear the group's mission is to restore the "traditions and virtues of our forefathers."³⁵⁰ It takes a therapeutic view of the identitarian struggle in that what it perceives was lost can be restored through its actions. Nothing in the Patriot Front literature suggests it aims to defend anything other than perhaps members'

³⁴⁵ Patrick Crusius, "The Inconvenient Truth," *Randall Packer* (blog), accessed September 13, 2020, 2, <https://randallpacker.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/The-Inconvenient-Truth.pdf>.

³⁴⁶ Robert Rundo, "Combat Sports for the Future of Nationalist," *Media 2 Rise* (blog), June 11, 2020, <https://media2rise.com/2020/06/11/combat-sports-for-the-future-of-nationalist/>; Sean Perth, "European Martial Arts and Their Cultural Significance," *Revolt Through Tradition* (blog), January 20, 2020, <https://www.revoltthroughtradition.org/2020/01/20/european-martial-arts-and-their-cultural-significance/>.

³⁴⁷ Rundo, "Combat Sports."

³⁴⁸ Perth, "The Warrior Mentality and Its Place in Society."

³⁴⁹ "Rise Above Movement (R.A.M.)," Anti-Defamation League, accessed September 6, 2020, <https://www.adl.org/resources/backgrounders/rise-above-movement-ram>.

³⁵⁰ Patriot Front, "Manifesto."

own lives. In fact, the group's webpage contains several statements indicating the current system of national governance is a failure and must be replaced with its own form of fascism.³⁵¹ Replacing the current government obviously includes a racial element in that mass immigration is seen as part of the government's overall failure.

Similarly, the history of the Azov Battalion aims for a restoration, not only of Ukrainian lands taken by Russian aggression but also of European supremacy worldwide.³⁵² In 2010, Azov co-founder Andriy Biletsky allegedly said that the mission of Ukraine was to "lead the white races of the world in a final crusade . . . against Semite-led Untermenschen."³⁵³ When given an opportunity to clarify Biletsky's statement, Azov Battalion spokesperson Stepan Holovko said, "White people means Europeans. . . . We are referring to a literal crusade, about getting people together to fight. It is about returning leadership to Europe."³⁵⁴

The accelerationist strain of identitarianism is the only strain that wholly accepts the maieutic lens of violence. Adherents of this strain find comfort in violence, which directly correlates with their feeling that society is already in the final stages of its demise: the Kali Yuga. It so happens that George Lincoln Rockwell felt society's demise was imminent in 1965; the Kali Yuga has indefinite stamina.³⁵⁵ An Atomwaffen manifesto published on Telegram in 2020 stated, "The game will only change once the rule of law and order is rendered futile in the face of revolt."³⁵⁶ AWD furthers its devotion to the Kali

³⁵¹ "Reclaim America," Patriot Front, June 18, 2020, <https://patriotfront.us/>.

³⁵² Marc Bennetts, "Ukraine's National Militia: 'We're Not Neo-Nazis, We Just Want to Make Our Country Better,'" *Guardian*, March 13, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/13/ukraine-far-right-national-militia-takes-law-into-own-hands-neo-nazi-links>.

³⁵³ Bennetts.

³⁵⁴ John Faersth, "Ukraine's Far-Right Forces," Hate Speech International, February 3, 2015, <https://www.hate-speech.org/ukraines-far-right-forces/>. Allusions to crusades and crusaders are typically intentional. Identitarians writ large view the historical Crusades as a righteous cause and often use imagery of the Knights Templar and other Crusader lore in their propaganda.

³⁵⁵ Rockwell, *White Power*, 5; Isha Institute, "Kali Yuga." References to the Kali Yuga in the Rockwell era as well as in modern identitarian circles act as a reminder that nothing can stop the end of the current epoch of mankind. Thus, accelerationists have the choice of either hastening the end of days through their own attacks or withdrawing from society, letting the world end, and then assuming a leadership role in the new white ethno state.

³⁵⁶ Atomwaffen Division, "AWD Program," vol. 1 (Atomwaffen Division, February 22, 2020), 5.

Yuga belief in the final words of its manifesto: “The system is in free fall, the machine is already in overdrive. All you have to do is let go.”³⁵⁷

Ultimately, accelerationists have two choices: “total attack” or complete withdrawal.³⁵⁸ As a Siege commentator under the pseudonym *À Rebours* (Against Nature) writes in his essay, the goal of total attack is to force the “bourgeois targets into submission.”³⁵⁹ Withdrawal, on the other hand, allows the “solitary soldier” to be the “quintessential sorcerer/worker of evil,” armed with “imagination concentration, and a satanic will.”³⁶⁰ *À Rebours* openly advocates for lone wolf attackers, all the while covering his tracks with lofty language. He ends his chthonic essay by wishing the reader “Good Hunting” and “Hail Satan.”³⁶¹

D. VIOLENCE IN THEIR OWN WORDS: AN ANALYSIS OF MANIFESTOS

The following section analyzes five manifestos written by identitarian mass murderers. They illustrate how the lenses built and focused by identitarians combine with the culture of violence to produce real-world death and mayhem. The manifestos also paint an informative narrative detailing how identitarian mass killers walked themselves along the pathway to violence based on their own research, understanding, and conclusions. Finally, the manifestos begin to build a set of common markers among the killers. The markers established in the manifestos are important touchpoints for law enforcement and the intelligence community to better understand and train on how to recognize future identitarian mass murderers.

1. Anders Behring Breivik

On July 22, 2011, Norwegian citizen Anders Breivik launched a two-pronged attack in Oslo, killing 77 people. He first detonated a vehicle-borne improvised explosive device

³⁵⁷ Atomwaffen Division, 8.

³⁵⁸ Atomwaffen Division.

³⁵⁹ *À Rebours*, “The Dual Aspects of Siege Terror.”

³⁶⁰ *À Rebours*.

³⁶¹ *À Rebours*.

in Oslo's densely occupied financial district, killing eight. Breivik then dressed as a police officer and opened fire at a youth camp, killing 69, mostly teenagers.³⁶² A few hours before the attack, Breivik distributed his manifesto, titled *2083—A European Declaration of Independence*, to at least 5,700 people.³⁶³ The manifesto covered his observations of a declining Europe, provided his plan for saving Europe, and laid out several options for future white ethno-nationalist killers. In all, the 1,515-page manifesto comprised what Breivik described as his own observations, statistics to prove his points, and “the compilation of works from courageous individuals thorough out the world.”³⁶⁴

Breivik's manifesto contains specific identitarian causes that reveal how he sees the world. He focuses on great replacement, globalism, and multiculturalism as well as sub-ideologies such as feminism, blaming them for the deteriorating conditions among Europeans. Breivik's emphasis on birthrates reveals an obsession with replacement and mass immigration—and a world of persistent threats in which he is part of a disappearing ethnic group. He appears to feel trapped in a hopeless situation; thus, violence is the only logical step. Breivik's views on violence align with the concept of restoration, so they fall under Sheehan's category of therapeutic violence. His vision of the world after the war is one in which Europe is secure with fascism, including a military charged with hunting down and executing traitors to Europe.³⁶⁵

Breivik's manifesto covers dozens of different topics, but in the aggregate, they fall into already familiar identitarian categories: globalism, white European replacement, and violence. He spends several hundred pages on each of these three topics, often breaking them into smaller categories such as feminism, multiculturalism, and what he terms the

³⁶² “Anders Behring Breivik,” Biography, accessed July 11, 2020, <https://www.biography.com/crime-figure/anders-behring-breivik>.

³⁶³ Biography.

³⁶⁴ Anders Breivik, *2083—A European Declaration of Independence* (London: self-pub., 2011), 12, <https://publicintelligence.net/anders-behring-breiviks-complete-manifesto-2083-a-european-declaration-of-independence/>.

³⁶⁵ Breivik, 816.

“Islamic colonialization of Europe.”³⁶⁶ Notably, Breivik is especially obsessed with the connection between Islam and replacement.

Early in his manifesto, Breivik names Islam as Europe’s third-greatest enemy—alongside a biased media and the European Union.³⁶⁷ At one point, he writes that mass migration of Muslims should be considered “demographic warfare.”³⁶⁸ While Breivik admits that immigration is necessary and ultimately useful to nations, mass immigration, specifically of Muslims, is national and cultural suicide.³⁶⁹ Later in the manifesto, he opines that evidence uncovered in the United Kingdom points to a conspiracy to destroy European culture and identity: “It [mass immigration] was to destroy Britain’s identity and transform it into a multicultural society where British attributes would have no greater status than any other country’s.”³⁷⁰

Breivik seems preoccupied with birth rates, their correlation to declining European populations, and in this broader context, globalism’s impact on European women. His words couch feminism and multiculturalism as products of globalism, though at times he uses the words interchangeably. Highlighting several times that immigrants tend to have higher birth rates than indigenous white/European populations, Breivik equates the birth rate differential with the replacement of white Europeans.³⁷¹ At one point, he even theorizes that a slow-down or halt in Islamic terrorism might indicate a shift in Islamic extremist tactics, “perhaps indicating a long-term approach that would allow Muslim immigration and higher birth rates to bring Islam closer to victory.”³⁷² In other words, instead of violence, Islam might conquer Europe through childbirth.

Further into his analysis, Breivik cites declining birth rates in the United States, Canada, and several European countries as an indicator that white European people are

³⁶⁶ Breivik, 11.

³⁶⁷ Breivik, 376.

³⁶⁸ Breivik, 16.

³⁶⁹ Breivik, 376.

³⁷⁰ Breivik, 376.

³⁷¹ Breivik, 272.

³⁷² Breivik, 104.

willingly destroying themselves and their culture.³⁷³ In almost all of his analysis, he ties declining birthrates among white populations to feminism or globalism, again often using the terms interchangeably.³⁷⁴ He writes, “Social analysts pin it [declining birth rates] on some jumble of female education and fiscal autonomy, secularization, birth control, *Sex and the City*, a heightened desire for personal freedom. . . . In a hyper-individualistic, ultra-commodified culture like ours, motherhood, for better and worse, is less a fact of life than just another lifestyle choice.”³⁷⁵ Further railing against “western feminism,” Breivik claims it not only is responsible for declining birth rates but also has directly contributed to mass rapes in Europe.³⁷⁶ According to Breivik, feminism has waged an “ideological, psychological, and economic war against European men” in an effort to be “free.”³⁷⁷ The weakened European man cannot defend his homeland or his women; thus, the invading “tribes” conquer unchallenged as well as rape and enslave with impunity.³⁷⁸

Breivik never shies away from his personal mission and the spirit he hopes to imbue in his: “armed resistance.”³⁷⁹ He issues a call to arms to all “indigenous Europeans” to defend themselves against “cultural genocide” and literally engage in armed struggle, which he considers “the only rational approach.”³⁸⁰ He then outlines an 83-year plan to retake Europe with violence, outlining “military shock attacks . . . pan-European coups . . . and execution of cultural Marxists” as reasonable tactics.³⁸¹ The remainder of his manifesto is dedicated to instructing future militants in how to select targets, procure weapons, and carry out a war for the recovery and survival of Europe.

³⁷³ Breivik, 165.

³⁷⁴ Breivik, 363.

³⁷⁵ Breivik, 363.

³⁷⁶ Breivik, 350.

³⁷⁷ Breivik, 350.

³⁷⁸ Breivik, 350.

³⁷⁹ Breivik, 801.

³⁸⁰ Breivik, 811.

³⁸¹ Breivik, 812.

2. Dylann Roof

On June 17, 2015, Dylann Roof, a white 21-year-old male, attended a bible study session at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina.³⁸² The church was known in the area for being “historically black,” meaning a large percentage of the attendees were African Americans. At one point, about an hour into the study group, he removed a pistol from his fanny pack and murdered nine parishioners. Roof fled the scene and was apprehended the next day.³⁸³ During the investigation, law enforcement located a webpage created by Roof titled “The Last Rhodesian,” an allusion to the former unrecognized African state of Rhodesia that was renamed Zimbabwe in 1979.³⁸⁴ There, law enforcement located Roof’s manifesto, which detailed his frustration with white replacement and egalitarianism, his reflections on anti-Semitic conspiracies, and embrace of anti-black racism.³⁸⁵

Dylann Roof’s manifesto is unique in that he does not use common identitarian language; however, he alludes to it consistently. For example, rather than stating replacement is a problem, he describes the conditions of white people abandoning cities, unspecified problems in Europe, and the failure of “melting pot” theory.³⁸⁶ Instead of condemning immigrants, as Breivik or other identitarians do, Roof attacks African Americans. Like Breivik, Roof also feels as though not enough is being done to defend the white race, and so he must take action.³⁸⁷ His use of violence does not aim to restore America to a previous era or even as a measure of self-defense; he wants to set a race war

³⁸² Cory Collins, “The Miseducation of Dylann Roof,” *Tolerance*, no. 57, September 5, 2017, <https://www.tolerance.org/magazine/fall-2017/the-miseducation-of-dylann-roof>.

³⁸³ Associated Press, “Timeline of the Shooting at Emanuel AME Church in Charleston,” *Boston Globe*, January 10, 2017, <https://www.bostonglobe.com/news/nation/2017/01/10/timeline-shooting-emanuel-ame-church-charleston/5ty2K0cAT2kcdLWMjts8O/story.html>; Yamiche Alcindor and Doug Stanglin, “Dylann Roof Appears in Court via Video Conference,” *USA Today*, June 19, 2015, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2015/06/19/dylann-roof-charleston-police-charged--murder-black-church/28975573/>.

³⁸⁴ Dylann Roof, “Manifesto,” Talking Points Memo, June 20, 2015, <https://talkingpointsmemo.com/muckraker/dylann-roof-manifesto-full-text>.

³⁸⁵ Roof.

³⁸⁶ Roof.

³⁸⁷ Roof.

in motion. Thus, within Sheehan’s model, Roof’s attack is maieutic in nature, and very possibly accelerationist.

Roof writes that he was not fully “racially aware” growing up in the American South.³⁸⁸ He, of course, knew there were differences between white Americans and African Americans, but he clarifies that it was “superficial” at best, and had almost no meaning to him until 2012.³⁸⁹ That year, Roof read several accounts of the altercation between Trayvon Martin, a black youth in Florida, and George Zimmerman—an incident that resulted in Martin’s death.³⁹⁰ Roof determined that Zimmerman was legally “in the right,” and the media coverage and the national outrage confused Roof, which led him to investigate further.³⁹¹ It was then that he discovered a database on “black on white crime” on a website he identified as the Council of Conservative Citizens. Roof declares in his manifesto, “At this moment I realized that something was very wrong.”³⁹²

Roof reflects on his discovery that the concept of an American melting pot is really the replacement of white people.³⁹³ He laments the crisis of European replacement and declares Europe the “homeland of white people.”³⁹⁴ Later in the manifesto, Roof castigates white people for leaving the cities and fleeing to the suburbs to escape “ni**ers and other minorities,” lamenting that when white people leave urban areas, the areas are turned over to African Americans, and the white children left behind become victims.³⁹⁵ In this section, Roof first hints at his role in the ongoing conflict: “Who is fighting for these people? No one, but someone has to.”³⁹⁶

³⁸⁸ Roof.

³⁸⁹ Roof.

³⁹⁰ Collins, “The Miseducation of Dylann Roof.”

³⁹¹ Roof, “Manifesto.”

³⁹² Roof.

³⁹³ Roof.

³⁹⁴ Roof.

³⁹⁵ Roof.

³⁹⁶ Roof.

Roof spends a good deal of time disparaging African Americans and reflecting on how American society in general would be better without them.³⁹⁷ He also takes a swipe at egalitarianism, blaming it for the fall of segregation.³⁹⁸ According to Roof, segregation “was not a bad thing,” adding that the only thing integration accomplished was “bringing whites down to the level of brute animals.”³⁹⁹ Alluding to “Jewish control” of African Americans, Roof theorizes that Jews would not be so problematic if they could be decoupled from their “Jewish identity.”⁴⁰⁰ Finally, Roof demeans patriotism in the United States and complains that military veterans undeservingly feel entitled to better treatment. The solution, says Roof, is for veterans to start “protecting the white race and stop fighting for the Jews.”⁴⁰¹

At the end of his manifesto, Roof claims he has “no choice.”⁴⁰² His decision to target Charleston for his attack came down to the city’s high ratio of “black to whites in the country.”⁴⁰³ Moreover, he reveals how disaffected he is with the white population overall for not taking action to defend itself. Unlike Breivik, Roof does not issue a grand appeal to other identitarians; he simply has decided that no one “was doing anything but talking on the internet,” so it was up to him to “take it to the real world.”⁴⁰⁴

3. Brenton Tarrant

On March 15, 2019, Australian citizen Brenton Tarrant attacked two Islamic sites in Christchurch, New Zealand, killing 51 people. Tarrant live-streamed the first few minutes of his two-pronged attack, beginning at a mosque where worshippers were at prayer. Tarrant gunned down the kneeling and the fleeing, relatively unopposed, killing 47. He then drove to a nearby Islamic center where he killed seven more people. He was

³⁹⁷ Roof.

³⁹⁸ Roof.

³⁹⁹ Roof.

⁴⁰⁰ Roof.

⁴⁰¹ Roof.

⁴⁰² Roof.

⁴⁰³ Roof.

⁴⁰⁴ Roof.

apprehended fleeing the second scene.⁴⁰⁵ In the months leading up to the killings, Tarrant had assembled a manifesto titled *The Great Replacement*.⁴⁰⁶ The manifesto was written in two parts: an introduction portion laying out his beliefs and a “Socratic” style portion in which an unidentified person poses questions about his beliefs and Tarrant responds about why he has carried out the attack. The manifesto includes common identitarian talking points such as replacement (as the title suggests), globalism, mass immigration, and anti-Islamic sentiment.⁴⁰⁷ In contrast to Breivik’s manifesto, however, Tarrant adopts a clearly articulated slant toward accelerationism.

Tarrant’s manifesto, like Breivik’s, focuses on great replacement, globalism, and mass immigration.⁴⁰⁸ Tarrant internalizes several events in Europe including an election and the murder of a young Swedish woman.⁴⁰⁹ In doing so, he sees these events as personal attacks and the world as an increasingly hostile environment to white Europeans. Like Breivik and Roof, Tarrant is disaffected with the weakened resolve of white Europeans to defend their race and culture, and he commits himself to being the person who “would do something about it.”⁴¹⁰ His vision of the world, post-ethnic conflict, is one in which the white European takes control and rules with fascism.⁴¹¹ Tarrant’s strain of identitarianism aligns with accelerationism, as evident by the chapter named in its honor, as well as his frequent references to having lost hope in societal and political democratic structures.⁴¹² His overall justification for violence falls into Sheehan’s arena of the maieutic.

Similar to Breivik, Tarrant is obsessed with birthrates, which he links to replacement. On the first full page of text, he writes three times, “It’s the birthrates.”⁴¹³ He

⁴⁰⁵ “Christchurch Attack Suspect Pleads Not Guilty,” BBC News, June 14, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-48631488>.

⁴⁰⁶ Tarrant, *The Great Replacement*.

⁴⁰⁷ Tarrant, 5.

⁴⁰⁸ Tarrant, 5.

⁴⁰⁹ Tarrant, 10.

⁴¹⁰ Tarrant, 12.

⁴¹¹ Tarrant, 21.

⁴¹² Tarrant, 77.

⁴¹³ Tarrant, 4.

adds, “The birthrates must change . . . Even if we deport non-Europeans . . . the European people would still spiral into decay and death.”⁴¹⁴ Tarrant goes on to write that European populations are increasing, but they are not increasing among (white) indigenous Europeans but rather among immigrants.⁴¹⁵ Moreover, according to Tarrant, Europeans “are experiencing an invasion on a level never before seen in history. . . . The crisis of mass immigration and sub-replacement fertility is an assault on . . . European people” and must be combated.⁴¹⁶ At the end of his first chapter, he closes thusly: “This is ethnic, cultural, and racial replacement. . . . This is white genocide.”⁴¹⁷ As if to answer the question “What will you do about this?,” Tarrant paraphrases American white nationalist and terrorist David Lane: “We must ensure the existence of our people, and a future for white children.”⁴¹⁸

Similar to Breivik’s allusion to immigration problems in the United Kingdom, Tarrant refers to problems he had seen in Europe. Tarrant not only traveled to Europe and witnessed the issues in France, Portugal, and Spain but also paid close attention to news stories about European terrorist attacks and politics. Tarrant notes that he travelled through western Europe in 2017, writing that this was when he changed from feeling democratic solutions were viable to realizing that a “violent revolutionary solution [was] the only possible solution to the current crisis.”⁴¹⁹ He writes that during his time in France, he was depressed and angered at seeing so few Ethnic French people walking on the streets and in the markets. Instead of French people, he saw invaders—immigrants—with large families taking up the space he felt should be for French people.⁴²⁰

In addition to his travels, Tarrant internalized what he saw as the every-day war of European survival raging across Europe. He reflects that the death of Ebba Akerlund, a

⁴¹⁴ Tarrant, 4.

⁴¹⁵ Tarrant, 4.

⁴¹⁶ Tarrant, 5.

⁴¹⁷ Tarrant, 5.

⁴¹⁸ “David Lane,” Southern Poverty Law Center, September 6, 2020, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/david-lane>; Tarrant, *The Great Replacement*, 9.

⁴¹⁹ Tarrant, *The Great Replacement*, 9.

⁴²⁰ Tarrant, 11–12.

Swedish girl killed in a 2017 terrorist attack in Stockholm, shattered his “jaded cynicism” and led him to the conclusion that “the invaders” were attacking “my people . . . my culture . . . my faith . . . and my soul.”⁴²¹ He was also very attentive to the 2017 French elections, which he saw as a fight between the globalists and Europe. For context, Tarrant labeled candidate Marine Le Pen a “milquetoast, feckless, civic nationalist” and her opponent Emmanuel Macron a “globalist, capitalist, egalitarian.”⁴²² Tarrant writes that he had hoped Le Pen would win but was ultimately disappointed and fell into “despair” when Macron won.⁴²³ Macron’s victory was yet another sign to Tarrant that democratic processes were unable to right the wrongs done to Europe by globalists. Upon seeing a cemetery in an unnamed French town, he became resolved to “commit to force. To commit to violence.”⁴²⁴

Once Tarrant was resolved to violence, he meticulously planned his attack. In his manifesto, he provides several explanations for why he chose firearms as the method, Islamic sites as the targets, and New Zealand as the place. Tarrant chose the mosques because of their “foreign” architecture, the number of attendees, and an unexplained accusation that at least one of the mosques was linked to extremism.⁴²⁵ He clarifies that he chose New Zealand as his place of attack for the number of Muslim “invaders.”⁴²⁶

Tarrant appears to have been an ardent student of accelerationist theory. The choice to use firearms as a tool was strategic and highlighted Tarrant’s accelerationist leanings. He writes that using guns might ignite a “cultural fracturing” in the United States and usher in an eventual worldwide conflagration.⁴²⁷ Specifically, Tarrant believed the American left would use his attack as motivation to seize firearms and eliminate the Second Amendment.

⁴²¹ “Sweden Attack: ‘Despair’ over Death of Schoolgirl Ebba Akerland,” Sky News, April 12, 2017, <https://news.sky.com/story/sweden-attack-despair-over-death-of-schoolgirl-ebba-akerland-10834375>; Tarrant, *The Great Replacement*, 10.

⁴²² Tarrant, *The Great Replacement*, 10.

⁴²³ Tarrant, 10–11.

⁴²⁴ Tarrant, 12.

⁴²⁵ Tarrant, 16.

⁴²⁶ Tarrant, 15.

⁴²⁷ Tarrant, 15.

The American right would see the left's moves as "an attack on their freedom and liberty" and respond, likely violently.⁴²⁸ The United States would descend into chaos and start a world-wide collapse of the current systems. In a possible allusion to the Kali Yuga, Tarrant explains that the end of the United States is already in progress, and electoral destabilization—mixed with what he describes as a race war—would complete the end and, in turn, start the global ethnic revolution.⁴²⁹

Later in his manifesto, in a chapter titled "Destabilization and Accelerationism: Tactics for Victory," Tarrant identifies stability and comfort as enemies of change and, thus, advocates for destabilization at all levels.⁴³⁰ He encourages his readers to purposefully seek out violent acts.⁴³¹ Moreover, regarding democratic processes, he suggests political destabilization by selecting "radical candidates" who actually oppose identitarian ideology so as to promote agitation and anxiety in the population.⁴³² Mixed in Tarrant's accelerationist theories is his devotion to Oswald Mosley, a notorious former British politician and the founder of the British Union of Fascists.⁴³³ While he does not outright describe the style of governance he expects to see after the ethnic uprising, his references to Mosley, and his frequent references to European (white) leadership, reveal a devotion to fascism.

4. John Earnest

In March 2019, a suspicious fire was started at the Dar-ul-Arqam mosque in Escondido, California. Congregants who happened to be sleeping inside extinguished the flames before the fire caused severe damage.⁴³⁴ An unspecified yet reportedly bigoted

⁴²⁸ Tarrant, 15.

⁴²⁹ Tarrant, 82.

⁴³⁰ Tarrant, 77.

⁴³¹ Tarrant, 77.

⁴³² Tarrant, 77.

⁴³³ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, s.v. "Oswald Mosley," July 20, 1998, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Oswald-Mosley>; Tarrant, *The Great Replacement*, 21.

⁴³⁴ Andrew Johnson, "Suspect of Possible Arson Attack at Escondido Mosque Leaves Note Referencing New Zealand Terrorist Attacks," NBC San Diego, March 24, 2019, <https://www.nbcsandiego.com/news/local/islamic-center-escondido-mosque-epd-efd-sdso-reported-arson-unit/81831/>.

message was left near the scene of the fire, and investigators determined the fire had been set intentionally.⁴³⁵ No suspects were apprehended. On April 27, 2019, John Earnest opened fire in the Chabad of Poway synagogue with an AR-15 rifle, killing one person and injuring three.⁴³⁶ He fled the scene but turned himself in to law enforcement a few hours later. He confessed to the shooting as well as the arson attack at the mosque. In the days leading up to the attack, Earnest posted a manifesto online that he titled “An Open Letter.”⁴³⁷

Earnest’s manifesto is the quintessential manuscript on identitarian self-defense. He identifies multiple threats to white Europeans including replacement, mass immigration, and the feeling of imminent extinction. In a similar fashion to Roof and Breivik, Earnest selects a minority group as the cause of all white Europeans’ problems: the Jews.⁴³⁸ His anti-Semitic views are found on each page, and almost every paragraph. He makes several references to defending the white race against the “tyrannical and genocidal Jew.”⁴³⁹ Under the specter of self-defense, Earnest proposed and indeed carried out his attack. Earnest’s manifesto falls perfectly in line with Sheehan’s grouping on self-defense, and like Roof and Tarrant, Earnest leans into accelerationism.

In his manifesto, Earnest details common elements of identitarianism including replacement, extensive anti-Semitism, and a perceived need to defend the white race.⁴⁴⁰ He devotes at least two paragraphs to Brenton Tarrant, calling Tarrant his inspiration and

⁴³⁵ Reuters, “California Mosque Fire: Police Investigate Possible Arson and Hate Crime,” *Guardian*, March 26, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/mar/25/us-mosque-fire-graffiti-new-zealand-shooting>.

⁴³⁶ Pauline Repard, “Accused Poway Synagogue Shooting Suspect to Face Death Penalty,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 5, 2020, <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2020-03-05/poway-synagogue-shooting-suspect-death-penalty>; Shannon Van Sant and James Doubek, “California Synagogue Shooting Investigated as a Hate Crime after 1 Killed, 3 Injured,” National Public Radio, April 27, 2019, <https://www.npr.org/2019/04/27/717849871/injuries-reported-in-shooting-at-california-synagogue>.

⁴³⁷ John Earnest, “An Open Letter,” Scribd, accessed September 7, 2020, <https://www.scribd.com/document/408672955/John-Earnest-Manifesto>.

⁴³⁸ Earnest.

⁴³⁹ Earnest, 3.

⁴⁴⁰ Earnest, “An Open Letter”; Bridget Johnson, “Another Synagogue Shooting: Manifesto Attributed to Poway Attacker Claims Christchurch, Pittsburgh as Influences,” *Homeland Security Today*, April 27, 2019, <https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/counterterrorism/another-synagogue-shooting-manifesto-attributed-to-poway-attacker-claims-christchurch-pittsburgh-as-influences/>.

lauding him for his bravery in defending the white race. Earnest quotes Tarrant's question—"Why won't somebody do something?"—calling it the "most powerful words in his [Tarrant's] manifesto."⁴⁴¹

Anti-Semitism occupies the most space in Earnest's manifesto, with disparaging remarks about Jews on every page and in almost every paragraph. Earnest begins his manifesto by identifying himself as a "man of European Ancestry" and then launches into an anti-Semitic explanation for his actions.⁴⁴² First, Earnest rhetorically asks, "What value does my life have . . . when compared to the entirety of the European race?"⁴⁴³ He then writes, "I will not sell my soul . . . as evil grows," defining evil as the "international Jewry."⁴⁴⁴ He blames Jews for carrying out a "meticulously planned" genocide and then credits them with mass immigration as a means of replacing ethnic Europeans. Building on this idea, Earnest explains that Jews were responsible for debt-based currency and usury, which he describes as an enslavement of Europeans. According to Earnest, Jews are also responsible for "cultural Marxism," a direct reference to Breivik's manifesto, which names cultural Marxists as one of the enemies of the European people.⁴⁴⁵ Other alleged sins of the so-called international Jewry include feminism, pornography, and communism.⁴⁴⁶ Earnest does not provide evidence that Jews are behind these societal ills; rather, he presents the information as though it were self-evident. His manifesto ends with a mixture of accelerationist language and a cryptic message to his followers: "The day of the rope is here right now."⁴⁴⁷ The phrase "day of the rope" is an allusion to the 1978 novel *The Turner Diaries* by William Pierce. According to the book, "the day of rope" was a period when

⁴⁴¹ Tarrant, *The Great Replacement*, 12; Earnest, "An Open Letter," 3.

⁴⁴² Earnest, "An Open Letter," 1.

⁴⁴³ Earnest, 1.

⁴⁴⁴ Earnest, 1.

⁴⁴⁵ Breivik, *A European Declaration of Independence*, 825; Earnest, "An Open Letter."

⁴⁴⁶ Earnest, "An Open Letter," 1.

⁴⁴⁷ Earnest, 6.

the white characters in the book carried out a portion of their race war by lynching “race traitors” in California.⁴⁴⁸

At one point in the manifesto, Earnest deviates from the patterns seen in the previous manifestos by quoting biblical passages and citing a conspiracy theory as part of his motivation to kill Jews. Earnest writes, “You are not forgotten Simon of Trent.”⁴⁴⁹ Simon of Trent is an allusion to a 14th-century story of a toddler found brutalized and murdered in Trent in modern northern Italy. Simon, the child, was allegedly abducted and murdered by Jews in a ritual known as “blood libel.”⁴⁵⁰ The allegation of murder led to the arrest and execution of numerous Jewish men in the area, and as the story spread, so too did anti-Semitism across Europe.⁴⁵¹ Earnest seized upon the story and must have assumed fellow identitarians would understand the reference and feel compelled to act.

Later, Earnest uses a combination of New Testament scriptures as proof that Christians in general should be more aggressive toward Jews. He begins by citing the words of Pontius Pilate after condemning Jesus to the cross, as well as the mob’s response: “His blood be on us, and on our children.”⁴⁵² He then quotes from the Gospel of John, the Epistle to the Thessalonians, and the Book of Revelations, each condemning Jews. Earnest posits that Christians are justified in killing Jews given the aforementioned scriptures: “It is unlawful [in Christianity] and cowardly to stand on the sidelines as the European people are genocided [*sic*] around you.” He maintains, “I did not want to have to kill Jews, but they have given us no other option.”⁴⁵³

⁴⁴⁸ “Day of the Rope,” Anti-Defamation League, accessed September 6, 2020, <https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/day-of-the-rope>.

⁴⁴⁹ Earnest, “An Open Letter,” 1.

⁴⁵⁰ Jacob Jacobs and Aaron Tanzer, “Simon (Simedl, Simoncino) of Trent,” *Jewish Encyclopedia*, accessed September 7, 2020, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/13752-simon-simedl-simoncino-of-trent>.

⁴⁵¹ Candida Moss, “History’s Most Dangerous Toddler,” *Daily Beast*, July 5, 2020, <https://www.the-dailybeast.com/simon-of-trent-historys-most-dangerous-toddler>; Shimon Samuels, “Steps against a Blood Libel That Is Still Bleeding,” *Jerusalem Post*, April 1, 2020, <https://www.jpost.com/opinion/steps-against-a-blood-libel-that-is-still-bleeding-opinion-623238>. Today, the story of Simon of Trent and the theory of blood libel are all but a conspiracy theory used by anti-Semitic ideologues to place the Jewish population in the worst light possible.

⁴⁵² Matt. 27:24–25 (King James Version); Earnest, “An Open Letter,” 2.

⁴⁵³ Earnest, “An Open Letter,” 2.

Near the end of his manifesto, Earnest leans toward accelerationism when he explains the reason for choosing a firearm, as Tarrant had previously: to start an armed revolution in the United States. Earnest writes that the use of a firearm would prompt the government to confiscate guns, which would result in an all-out armed conflict, thus ushering in the war against the Jewish people. He closes his manifesto as follows: “Remember your honor white men.”⁴⁵⁴

5. Patrick Crusius

On August 3, 2019, Texas resident Patrick Crusius opened fire in the parking lot of an El Paso Walmart store. Crusius made his way into the store and walked aisle-by-aisle, firing on fleeing patrons.⁴⁵⁵ He killed 23 people, fled the scene, and surrendered to a nearby law enforcement officer.⁴⁵⁶ Hours before the killings, Crusius posted his manifesto online. Crusius, like Earnest, idolized Brenton Tarrant and devoted several lines of the manifesto to him, as well as naming Tarrant’s attack in Christchurch an inspiration.

Crusius also wrote a manifesto justifying the need for self-defense of white people. He highlights the risk of ethnic and economic replacement, refers to immigrants as invaders, and like Tarrant, laments the impact that immigration and capitalism have had on the environment. Unlike the others, however, Crusius is only moderately interested in the global struggle of replacement through mass immigration. His focus is almost solely on defending white Americans.⁴⁵⁷ Crusius, like Roof and Earnest, selects a minority group to target: Hispanics. Crusius does not perceive any other solution to ethnic replacement than violence. He also feels average Americans are either too lazy or too ignorant of the pending doom to take action in their own defense. He makes the point several times, implicitly and explicitly, that someone has to defend America from the Hispanic invasion and declares he

⁴⁵⁴ Earnest, 6.

⁴⁵⁵ Michael Biesecker, Reese Dunklin, and Michael Kunzelman, “El Paso Suspect Appears to Have Posted Anti-Immigrant Screech,” AP News, August 4, 2019, <https://apnews.com/df6dc60f37664833ba3b953927ef835d>.

⁴⁵⁶ Christina Maxouris et al., “El Paso Vigils Bring Together a City in Mourning after Mass Shooting,” CNN, August 5, 2019, <https://www.cnn.com/2019/08/05/us/el-paso-shooting-monday/index.html>.

⁴⁵⁷ John Eligon, “The El Paso Screech, and the Racist Doctrine Behind It,” *New York Times*, August 7, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/07/us/el-paso-shooting-racism.html>.

is the one to do it. He justifies his violent act by writing it is not “an act of imperialism but an act of preservation.”⁴⁵⁸

Crusius’s manifesto begins “In general, I support the Christchurch shooter. . . . This [the El Paso] attack is in response to the Hispanic invasion of Texas.”⁴⁵⁹ Crusius then directly attributes the attack to the “cultural and ethnic replacement . . . by an invasion” of Hispanic immigrants.⁴⁶⁰ Crusius writes two paragraphs detailing what he sees as political and economic replacement. From the political standpoint, he feels the American Democratic Party has intentionally implemented mass immigration as a strategy to build a life-long, dedicated Democratic voting bloc.⁴⁶¹ If it were successful, Crusius opines, Texas would be a Democratic-run state and contribute on a national level to ensuring only Democratic presidential candidates won the White House.⁴⁶²

Regarding economic replacement, Crusius again rails against immigration, but also automation. According to him, within the next two decades, half of all jobs will be automated, creating an overwhelming number of unemployed Americans.⁴⁶³ Allowing immigrants into the country only exacerbates the problem, from his perspective. He takes a line from Breivik’s and Tarrant’s manifestos and briefly mentions birthrates among the “invaders” as yet another aggravating factor to economic replacement.⁴⁶⁴ As he explains it, due to the high number of unemployed and the “millions of illegal and legal immigrants”—not to mention the high birthrates among them—the U.S. economy will falter, so the government will be forced to implement a universal basic income. At the same time, Crusius laments that Republicans and Democrats have filled not only low-skilled labor with immigrants but also higher skilled jobs through visa programs designed to benefit

⁴⁵⁸ Crusius, “The Inconvenient Truth,” 4.

⁴⁵⁹ Crusius, 1.

⁴⁶⁰ Crusius, 1.

⁴⁶¹ Crusius, 1–2.

⁴⁶² Crusius, 1.

⁴⁶³ Crusius, 1.

⁴⁶⁴ Tarrant, *The Great Replacement*, 4; Breivik, *A European Declaration of Independence*, 1192; Crusius, “The Inconvenient Truth,” 2.

corporations.⁴⁶⁵ Among this turmoil, white Americans are being forced into paying for useless college degrees just to stay employable. All of these factors lead Crusius to the conclusion that white Americans are being replaced at many levels.⁴⁶⁶

Departing from Roof and Earnest, Crusius links immigrant birthrates with environmental damage, but he also rails against corporations and a wasteful American lifestyle in this connection.⁴⁶⁷ Specifically, according to Crusius, corporations increase the damage to the environment as they push for more mass immigration without considering the damage to the environment.⁴⁶⁸ As for the government, Crusius believes it is unwilling to curb environmental damage because politicians and policymakers are “owned by corporations.”⁴⁶⁹ Crusius sees only one way of dealing with environmental damage caused by mass immigration, corporations, and wasteful lifestyles: violence. He writes, “If we can get rid of enough people, then our way of life can become more sustainable.”⁴⁷⁰

Before concluding the manifesto, Crusius briefly describes remigration as a possible solution to the ongoing replacement of white Americans. Remigration is the process of immigrants returning to their homeland through “legal, financial, and cultural measures.”⁴⁷¹ Crusius writes that he was encouraged to learn that some Hispanic immigrants had indeed returned home on their own, but for those who did not, he theorized some manner of financial incentive might encourage more to leave the United States.⁴⁷² He reasoned that if enough immigrants were to return to their homelands, the issues of political, ethnic, and economic problems, particularly for white Americans, would resolve themselves. Dolefully, however, he notes in the next paragraph, “Our European comrades

⁴⁶⁵ Crusius, “The Inconvenient Truth,” 2.

⁴⁶⁶ Crusius, 2.

⁴⁶⁷ Tarrant, *The Great Replacement*, 29; Crusius, “The Inconvenient Truth,” 2. It is worth noting that in his manifesto, Brenton Tarrant also links high immigrant birthrates to environmental decline.

⁴⁶⁸ Crusius, “The Inconvenient Truth,” 2.

⁴⁶⁹ Crusius, 2.

⁴⁷⁰ Crusius, 3.

⁴⁷¹ Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 159.

⁴⁷² Crusius, “The Inconvenient Truth,” 4.

don't have the gun rights needed to repel the millions of invaders," indicating he had already decided on a course of action, and violence was a foregone conclusion.⁴⁷³

Crusius ends his manifesto by declaring his generally disaffected feelings and a justification for violence. He writes, "I have been preparing for a future that currently doesn't exist."⁴⁷⁴ Lamenting the imminent Democrat take-over of Texas via Hispanic immigrants, and the hopeless state of life in America, he concludes, "Inaction is a choice. I can no longer bear the shame of inaction."⁴⁷⁵ His final sentence is telling: "I am honored to head the fight to reclaim my country from destruction."⁴⁷⁶

E. CONCLUSION

Clearly, each of the killers understood identitarian ideology, despite there being little evidence they had ever read Faye, Sellner, or even Mason. The most common theme throughout the manifestos is great replacement, followed by a level of hatred for a particular minority group. For Roof, it is African Americans; for Breivik and Tarrant, Muslims; for Earnest, Jews; and for Crusius, Hispanic people.⁴⁷⁷ Additionally, the other most prevailing theme is the feeling of impending doom each of them possesses. Reading their manifestos, one cannot shake the feeling that each of them felt the end was coming, the Kali Yuga as the accelerationists would say, and there was nothing that could be done to stave extinction, except to fight. Indeed, the feeling of doom is always coupled with the conclusion that they, the killers, are the only ones willing to answer the call in defense of their white European ethnicity and culture.

Extrapolating out certain markers in the manifestos—for example, replacement, hatred of minority groups, feelings of inevitable doom, and self-aggrandizement—reveals a possible pathway to violence. Furthermore, combining these markers with the culture of

⁴⁷³ Crusius, 4.

⁴⁷⁴ Crusius, 4.

⁴⁷⁵ Crusius, 4.

⁴⁷⁶ Crusius, 5.

⁴⁷⁷ Tarrant, *The Great Replacement*; Biography, "Anders Behring Breivik"; Roof, "Manifesto"; Crusius, "The Inconvenient Truth"; Earnest, "An Open Letter."

violence fostered at all levels of identitarianism reveals a prescription for inexorable violence, not just at the personal level but at the group level as well. Each of the mass killers mentioned in this thesis exemplify this theory. Using the markers of violence illustrated in this chapter, law enforcement and the intelligence community can build a list of indicators of violence and seek out those who appear on its pathway.

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V. CONCLUSION: THE UNSPOKEN LENS OF VIOLENCE

Identitarian leaders claim and indeed write extensively on the notion that the movement is essentially peaceful, yet violence persists in its words and ideas. In general, the body of work on identitarian violence seems to fall into two categories: complex and simple. The word *complex* in this context means multifaceted and not easily defined in one or two phrases. *Simple* in this context means that violence can be attributed to a simply defined motivation, like anti-Semitism. Moten’s 2018 thesis highlights the complex, attributing violence at the 2017 Unite the Right Rally to a lack of law enforcement oversight and the perceived need for marchers to defend themselves from counter-protesters.⁴⁷⁸ Moten ultimately concludes that the local government’s lack of planning “contributed to the escalation of violence at the rally . . . [and] the violence was a factor of the poor preparation and implementation of efforts” by the City of Charlottesville and law enforcement.⁴⁷⁹ Similarly, Baldoza settles on a number of complex factors—including the perception of violence as the only way to express grievances, rather than the political system, as a tool for rapid change.⁴⁸⁰ Kimberly Owens adds to the complexity of the violence phenomenon by breaking down motivations of the group. Owens analyzed several groups, including the Aryan Brotherhood and Christian Identity, to accurately diagnose the reasons for violence, which range from money—extorted or gained through criminal enterprises—to “in-group” defense.⁴⁸¹

Meanwhile, Koehler defines violence from white nationalists and the alt-right movement as terrorism.⁴⁸² Koehler concludes that such violence, like acts of terror, may

⁴⁷⁸ Elizabeth C. Moten, “Demonstrations in America: An Assessment of the Factors Motivating Non-Violence at the Million Man March and Violence at the Unite the Right Rally” (master’s thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2018), 54.

⁴⁷⁹ Moten, 53–54.

⁴⁸⁰ Arnold C. Baldoza, “Assessing Domestic Right-Wing Extremism Using the Theory of Collective Behavior” (master’s thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2009), 15, <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=696015>.

⁴⁸¹ Kimberly B. Owens, “Beyond Hate: Countering Violent Extremism from the White Power Movement” (master’s thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2013), 34, 76.

⁴⁸² Daniel Koehler, “Violence and Terrorism from the Far-Right: Policy Options to Counter an Elusive Threat” (The Hague: International Centre for Counter-terrorism, 2019), <https://doi.org/10.19165/2019.2.02>.

be a form of communication.⁴⁸³ He admits this theory is problematic because most right-wing violence lacks a “sophisticated communication strategy.”⁴⁸⁴ In other words, the violence is meant to draw attention to a specific topic or perceived need, but white-nationalist violence seems to be committed in a vacuum. Each of the researchers recognizes that identitarian violence cannot be attributed to a single, easily distinguishable element, for example, white supremacy or anti-immigrant sentiment. Rather, each writer offers a unique and deeper analysis of the reasons for violence and, in doing so, reveals the need for future researchers to explore the movements before diagnosing violence.

Other researchers have focused on simpler motivations for violence including conspiracy theories, proto-fascism, and emasculation by women. For example, in an analysis of white supremacy by the Soufan Center, the authors hint at a core tenet of identitarianism—the great replacement—but dismiss it as an anti-Semitic conspiracy theory.⁴⁸⁵ The report defines great replacement theory as a “deliberate strategy of a shadowy cabal of Jewish elites” to shift European demographics.⁴⁸⁶ The authors loosely cite the architects of the great replacement, Renaud Camus and Madison Grant, but offer no further explanation of the theory or its link to violence other than anti-Semitic conspiracies.⁴⁸⁷ In a 2019 report published by the Hope Not Hate Charitable Trust, the great replacement is treated not only as a conspiracy theory but also as the primary motivation for identitarian violence.⁴⁸⁸ The authors link the great replacement to the attacks in Christchurch, El Paso, and Poway, showing this theory may demand more rigorous study.⁴⁸⁹ In a similar analysis linking conspiracy theories to identitarian violence, Summers claims extremism is partly due to the feeling that men are being oppressed by women who

⁴⁸³ Koehler.

⁴⁸⁴ Koehler.

⁴⁸⁵ Soufan Center, *White Supremacy Extremism: The Transnational Rise of the Violent White Supremacist Movement* (New York: Soufan Center, 2019).

⁴⁸⁶ Soufan Center, 39.

⁴⁸⁷ Soufan Center, 39.

⁴⁸⁸ Simon Murdoch and Joe Mulhall, *From Banners to Bullets: The International Identitarian Movement* (London: Hope Not Hate Charitable Trust, 2019), 6, <https://www.hopenothate.org.uk/research/from-banners-to-bullets/>.

⁴⁸⁹ Murdoch and Mulhall.

see them as “disposable utilities.”⁴⁹⁰ He draws links between pro-masculine movements and the involuntary celibate or “incel” culture, suggesting the violence may simply be hatred toward women.⁴⁹¹ Summers also sees the violence perpetuated by alt-right street fighter groups, such as the Fraternal Order of the Alt-Knights and the Proud Boys, as extensions of proto-fascism.⁴⁹²

Finally, an additional body of work attributes identitarian violence to racism. For purposes of this thesis, racism is a “simple” reason in the sense that it does not require the depth of research used by Moten, Owens, or Koehler. In fact, researchers like German and Mauleón state that racism is an axiomatic part of the far-right and necessary to promote “political, religious, and social goals,” with the Ku Klux Klan as an example.⁴⁹³ Similarly, Kuzmenko, a research analyst with Bellingcat, cites as evidence of racism Greg Johnson’s praise of the violent Ukrainian white nationalist group Azov for building an “alternate society,” stating its tactics should be used by “all white countries.”⁴⁹⁴ Finally, James Mason, the architect of the hyper-violent strain of identitarianism known as Siege Culture openly advocates in his book armed struggle and revolution as a means of defending the white race.⁴⁹⁵ Mason’s work is replete with racism; for example, he mocks the idea of racial equality and outright claims the holocaust was fabricated.⁴⁹⁶ Mason shows a great degree of comfort with racially motivated violence in several sections. The two most stark examples are when he praises Joseph Paul Franklin, a serial killer motivated by race, and an unknown serial killer who Mason believes killed “eight black offspring in Atlanta.”⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁰ Ryan T. Summers, “The Rise of the Alt-Right Movement” (Collegeville, PA: Ursinus College, 2017), 8.

⁴⁹¹ Summers, 8.

⁴⁹² Summers, 12.

⁴⁹³ Michael German and Emmanuel Mauleón, *Fighting Far-Right Violence and Hate Crimes* (New York: Brennan Center for Justice, 2019), https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/publications/2019_06_HateCrimes_FINAL.pdf.

⁴⁹⁴ Oleksiy Kuzmenko, “‘Defend the White Race’: American Extremists Being Co-Opted by Ukraine’s Far-Right,” Bellingcat, February 15, 2019, <https://www.bellingcat.com/news/uk-and-europe/2019/02/15/defend-the-white-race-american-extremists-being-co-opted-by-ukraines-far-right/>.

⁴⁹⁵ Mason, *Siege*, 34.

⁴⁹⁶ Mason, 34.

⁴⁹⁷ Mason, 275.

Writers like Johnson and Mason bring racial violence to the forefront of the identitarian movement and lend credence to the arguments of German and Mauleón.

This thesis has revealed that while identitarianism is a complex socio-political worldview, it is also an inherently violent movement with the sole mission of ensuring European culture and ethnicity survive a global onslaught of liberalism, globalism, and mass immigration.⁴⁹⁸ Identitarians see themselves as the literal defenders of Europe and white European ethnicity. As such, the global identitarian movement has built a culture of violence based on ancient heroes, pantheons, and victorious battles and combined it with the present need for a literal defense. The identitarian culture of violence is a direct result of viewing the world through the lens of persistent threats posed by replacement, globalism, and liberalism. In effect, violence itself has become the lens through which it sees the world. In some respects, it is not a far stretch to conclude that identitarians see violence in hegemonic movements like globalism, and then decide the only way to survive is to counter the violence with their own, righteous, violence. Even identitarians who espouse tenets of metapolitics, the most peaceful of the strains, use ancient heroes and battles to paint the picture that survival is not guaranteed and that a strong defense is necessary. Finally, the research has demonstrated that this culture of violence, combined with the ever-present risk of erasure, is the primary motivator for identitarian killers.

A. RECOMMENDATIONS

With the exception of manifestos written by identitarian killers, this thesis relied on a significant amount of secondary source information because, in some cases, it was the only data available. As such, many of the sources had to be examined for bias against the identitarian to glean an impartial perspective of the movement. In the event, this task was much harder than originally assumed, primarily because identitarianism is frequently identified as a homogenous movement against an out-group, or a group of people on a

⁴⁹⁸ Zúquete, *The Identitarians*, 1.

“mythical quest.”⁴⁹⁹ Such limited perspectives on the movement betray the depth of thought and reason employed by countless identitarian thinkers. A more comprehensive, primary-sourced study must be undertaken on identitarianism to shed light on the ideas that underpin the movement and reveal whether identitarianism has the potential to become a mainstream socio-political movement.

As was noted in Chapter I, law enforcement has been slow to respond to the threat of identitarian violence. This thesis provides a good foundation for training on the overall movement including an understanding of the ideology, various strains, and a pathway to violence. A training curriculum based on this thesis as well as writings and speeches from those inside the movement will provide law enforcement with a better understanding of the ideology as well as ways to spot the pathway to violence.

B. CONCLUSION

Laura McNamara defines sensemaking as a person’s “negotiation and creation of meaning” of the world around them.⁵⁰⁰ The speeches and writings of global identitarian intellectuals and leaders often use imagery associated with great battles and war when describing the struggle against globalism, liberalism, and replacement. The imagery not only frames the identitarian worldview but invokes a feeling of honor and pride in the benevolent struggle to maintain one’s identity. By crafting images of evil Titans, threatening the gods of old, identitarian leadership also imbues followers with a sense of urgency, but also of conflict and latent violence. Perhaps more importantly, the culture of violence created in the identitarian world has spawned a reality in which violence is not an option but a necessity. In this same trope, the enemies identified by identitarians present an existential threat that must be addressed. Adherents can call on the honor, strength, and spirit of the gods of old to give them the power and confidence they need to fight this great

⁴⁹⁹ Emma Atkinson, “What Is an Identitarian? We Talked to an Extremism Researcher to Find Out,” Indiana Public Media, August 16, 2019, <https://indianapublicmedia.org/news/what-is-an-identitarian.php>; Murdoch and Mulhall, *From Banners to Bullets*; “What Is Identitarianism?,” Hope Not Hate, accessed September 7, 2020, <https://www.hopenothate.org.uk/what-is-identitarianism/>.

⁵⁰⁰ McNamara, “Sensemaking in Organizations.”

war. Unfortunately, the war becomes all too real when adherents shift their sights from ideological frameworks to human beings.

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