

The Threat Landscape: White Supremacy and Anti-Government Violence

Read-Ahead Materials for the US Prevention Practitioners Network

Background - the US Prevention Practitioners Network

Over the course of the next two years, [the McCain Institute](#), with support from [the Institute for Strategic Dialogue](#) (ISD) and a steering committee of violence prevention and social safety experts, will develop and engage a [US practitioners network](#) for individuals working in **targeted violence and terrorism prevention (TVTP)**. The aim of this is not only to connect practitioners across the US with one another, but also to build their capacity and the efficacy of their programs through a series of workshops that cover both theoretical and practical elements of delivering prevention and intervention initiatives. This information pack is for the first workshop in a three-part mini-series of workshops about the targeted violence and terrorism **threat landscape in the US**.

Why is the threat landscape an important topic?

To be able to address targeted violence and terrorism in an informed and appropriate manner, practitioners must first develop a conceptual understanding of the phenomena, particularly of the dominant narratives, movements and figures that make up the domestic threat landscape. The McCain Institute and ISD are therefore hosting a series of workshops to equip participants and members of the emerging Practitioners Network with this understanding, the first of which will cover white supremacy and anti-government violence. This reflects the [National Strategy for Countering Domestic Terrorism](#), which was released in June 2021 and identifies racially or ethnically motivated violent extremists (of which white supremacy is a core component) and anti-government violence as primary threats. This will be followed by a workshop on violent misogyny, and one on internationally-inspired terrorism. This information pack is for the workshop on white supremacy and anti-government violence.

What is the purpose of this document?

These read-ahead materials provide an overview of white supremacy and anti-government violence in the US, and is informed by both desk-based and ethnographic research. This document does not seek to provide an exhaustive and microscopic deep-dive into white supremacy or violent anti-government movements. Rather, it provides entry-level insight into key **contemporary** narratives that underpin these movements, which may help practitioners as they incorporate TVTP into their work. This information pack provides:

- an overview of white supremacy in the US and a run-through of prevalent white supremacist narratives;
- a recent history of anti-government militias and an overview of dominant anti-government narratives;
- an overview of online and offline implications of this threat and other considerations;
- a glossary of terms and phrases commonly used by white supremacist and violent anti-government groups;
- further reading recommendations.

This document provides names of relevant groups to aid practitioners in understanding specific groups and ideologies. Publicizing group names more generally raises ethical issues related to increasing visibility and promotion of violent groups. ISD, the McCain Institute and the Prevention Practitioners Network

Steering Committee therefore urge caution when sharing this document with others.

Documents like this one are provided ahead of every workshop. Past documents and workshop recordings can be [found here](#). For any inquiries, please contact [the McCain Institute](#) or [ISD](#).

Chapter One - White Supremacy

White supremacy is the racist belief that white people are superior to people of other races. It advocates for the legal, political, cultural and social dominance of white people over all others. White supremacy in the US takes several forms:

- **[Christian Identity](#)**: a movement that believes white supremacy is justified by the Bible. They claim, for example, that the Bible likens black people to animals and that Jews are descendants of Satan and Eve. White people, on the other hand, are considered to be God's chosen people.
- **[Ku Klux Klan \(KKK\)](#)**: perhaps the most well-known white supremacist movement, the KKK is a violent anti-black group founded after the Civil War by confederate generals. It is distinctive for its white hoods and robes, and its hierarchical structure where an "imperial wizard" presides over the nationwide movement, and "grand dragons" serve as statewide rulers. The group is still active across the US and has over [15 affiliated subgroups](#). Although founded as an anti-black movement opposed to the civil rights movement, it has since adopted increasingly antisemitic, xenophobic and nativist rhetoric.
- **[Neo-Nazism](#)**: neo-Nazism frames white supremacy in Nazi doctrine, borrowing Nazi ideas about nationalism, racism and antisemitism to incite hatred and violence against non-white communities. Neo-Nazism is a global ideology with organized networks and affiliate movements across the world, concentrated especially in North America and Europe. In the US, high-profile neo-Nazi movements date back to the late 1950s, with the founding of the [American Nazi Party](#). Since then, key movements have included the [National Alliance](#), [National Socialist Movement \(NSM\)](#), [the Base](#) and the [Atomwaffen Division](#), the latter two of which are connected with notable instances of violence.
- **[Neo-Confederacy](#)**: an ultra-conservative ideology that fights for "traditional" values it claims modern Americans have lost. Not all neo-confederates employ white supremacist messaging, but some affiliated groups have advocated "us-versus-them" narratives, including for racial segregation and traditional gender roles, thus incorporating anti-feminist and anti-LGBTQ sentiment into its ideology. The only major neo-Confederate groups today are [League of the South](#) and [Identity Dixie](#).
- **[White Nationalism](#)**: white nationalists advocate for racial segregation and for the establishment of a white ethnostate, often justifying this within "scientific racism" and the alleged intellectual and cultural superiority of white people. KKK, Neo-Nazi and neo-Confederate ideology incorporates white nationalism, but white nationalists also exist outside these movements. Contemporary white nationalist groups include [American Renaissance](#), the [National Policy Institute](#) and the [American Identity Movement](#). The latter subscribes to **identitarianism**, which originated in Europe, and also argues for the establishment of white ethnostates but often frames this in more intellectual or "palatable" terms.

Did you know? White supremacy has a long history in Europe and North America, expressing itself historically in socio-political structures like slavery and colonialism. In the 1900s, this was furthered by "[scientific racism](#)", which argued that the superiority of white people is evident in anatomical/biological science (e.g. head shapes). Nazi Germany, for example, was underpinned by a belief in "scientific racism". Although the doctrine is debunked in mainstream circles, it remains popular amongst white supremacists in the US.

Key white supremacist narratives:

Underpinning each of these movements and white supremacy more broadly are narratives targeting communities or identities that are deemed to be a threat to white, cishetero-patriarchy. Importantly, these narratives do also exist outside of white supremacist groups - white supremacists, however, specifically use them to enforce the overarching notion that white people are superior to people of other races.

Antisemitism

Antisemitism remains rife in the US and has been [exacerbated](#) by the COVID-19 pandemic. Prominent antisemitic claims include that Jewish people control the media, politics and the economy. White supremacist discourse also sees Jewish people blamed for medical crises like the COVID-19 pandemic, acts of terror, the "war on drugs", which is explained as Jewish effort to control supply and demand of drugs, and multiculturalism, which is framed as a Jewish-made mechanism to "invade" (white) Christian nations and/or to commit "white genocide." Other antisemitic tropes posit Jewish people as greedy, corrupt and manipulative.

In addition, Holocaust denial** is common particularly amongst neo-Nazis, and is used not only to reinforce antisemitic stereotypes of Jewish people being manipulative, but also to absolve Hitler of his responsibility in attempt to make neo-Nazi doctrine more palatable.

Related actors: [The Base](#), [National Alliance](#), [National Socialist Movement](#)

Related terms*: "holohoax", "hollow hoax", "juu", "joo" or ((())), "six gorrillion"

Anti-Muslim Hate

White supremacist anti-Muslim narratives generally refer to Islam as an invading force that isn't just incompatible with Western society, but is also an active threat to Western society and cultural norms. In this context, white supremacists have used [Crusader-themed imagery and rhetoric](#), like the Jerusalem Cross, the Knights Templar and "Deus Vult," as dog whistles to promote anti-Muslim hate.

Other anti-Muslim tropes include that all Muslims are terrorists and/or rapists, that all Muslims, particularly Muslim politicians, celebrate 9/11, that Muslims are uncivilized or barbaric, and that they seek to implement Shari'ah across North America and Europe. "Creeping shari'ah" is therefore a common conspiracy amongst white supremacist circles, as is the "[The Great Replacement](#)"**, which argues that white people in Europe are being systematically replaced by non-white "foreign" populations. Anti-Muslim conspiracies have been directly affiliated with terror acts - most notably the 2019 attack on two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, which saw over 50 killed and where the killer's "manifesto" was named after and alluded to "The Great Replacement" conspiracy.

Related actors: [ACT for America](#), Jihad Watch, Breitbart

Related terms: "remove kebab", the "The Great Replacement", "creeping shari'ah" or "shariafication", "islamization", "counter jihad", "rapefugees"

* This is not exhaustive. See the glossary of related terms for more information.

** ISD has briefing notes about Holocaust Denial and "The Great Replacement" conspiracy available on request. Please contact ISD's Charlotte Moeyens (clm@isdglobal.org) for more information.

Anti-Black Hate

Anti-black activism remains prominent across the white supremacist spectrum and is exacerbated by more mainstream right-wing forums that relay racist tropes perpetuated by white supremacist groups to wider audiences. Dominant anti-black narratives include fabricated claims about black on white crime, which enforce white supremacist discourse about an ongoing or impending "race war", and that white people are genetically and biologically superior to black people. In the context of the latter claim, white people in interracial relationships are viewed as "race traitors", and interracial marriage is deemed to be unnatural and selfish.

Related actors: The [KKK](#), [Knights of the KKK](#), [The New Century Foundation](#)

Related terms and symbols: "race war", "14 words", "race traitor"

Anti-Migrant Hate

Anti-migrant narratives have become increasingly prominent in white supremacist groups. Like anti-Muslim narratives, anti-migrant discourse fear-mongers by claiming American identity is being threatened by mass immigration of non-white populations. Some groups present this in more palatable terms, claiming an end to immigration will allow for American "cultural preservation".

Related actors: [American Identity Movement](#), [Patriot Front](#), [New Jersey European Heritage Foundation](#)

Related terms: "reclaim America", "white genocide", "great replacement", "Eurabia"

Anti-LGBTQ Hate

Although the overlap with white supremacy may not be immediately clear, white supremacist groups are generally virulently LGBTQ-phobic. Similar to anti-Muslim and anti-migrant narratives, white supremacist anti-LGBTQ rhetoric presents any gender identity and sexual orientation outside of cisgender heterosexuality as a threat against "traditional" Western culture. This ties in with white supremacist conspiracies that white populations are being replaced by non-white communities, where white same-sex couples (and feminism - see below) are [blamed](#) for a perceived decline in white birth rates. Just like its predecessor, neo-Nazism is also rife with anti-LGBTQ discourse, claiming LGBTQ individuals are sick and degenerate. Other anti-LGBTQ narratives include that there is a "homosexual agenda" to erode Christianity and traditional Western society, and that members of the LGBTQ community seek to "brainwash" children into homosexuality. White supremacist groups may call for the criminalization of LGBTQ people.

Related actors: [Faithful Word Baptist Church](#) (a pastor of which celebrated the 2016 Pulse nightclub shooting), Warriors for Christ

Related terms: "homosexual agenda", "gay agenda"

Anti-Feminism

Also prominent in white supremacist discourse is anti-feminism, which depicts feminism as a corrupting influence on traditional Western cultural and societal norms. Generally, white supremacy advocates for misogynistic* gender roles in which women are restricted to motherhood, to housekeeping and to supporting their husbands. Childbearing, for example, is considered a white woman's most important duty as it helps continue the white race. This staunchly opposes feminist destigmatization of women that choose not to bear children, and feminist advocacy for the right of women to choose when and if they get married. Feminism is therefore also blamed for a perceived decline in white birth rates.

Related actors: [Daily Stormer](#)

Related terms: "femoid" (or "female humanoid", a dehumanizing term for women), "tradhots" ("traditional hotties", to refer to white supremacist women)

* Violent misogyny online (the "manosphere") will be addressed in the next workshop for the emerging Practitioners Network.

Chapter Two - Anti-Government Militias

The [National Strategy for Countering Domestic Terrorism](#) lists anti-government groups, specifically "self-proclaimed militias", as another "significant component of today's threat". Generally, anti-government militias claim the US federal government exerts undue control over its citizens, positing the government as a tyrannical force that infringes too much on personal freedoms and liberties. Many anti-government militias therefore operate in response to conspiracy theories like that of the **New World Order**, which claims that tyrannical forces are trying to institute an authoritarian, one-world government. They perceive gun control legislation as proof of this attempt to exert undue control over American citizens, and frame themselves as a necessary response to this encroachment, and as defenders of American civilians and their freedoms.

A surge in membership and activity:

Obama's election in 2008 saw a [resurgence](#) of militia movements across the US, primarily in response to perceptions that a democratic government would bring with it stricter gun legislation and greater government tyranny. Militia movements, by nature of being paramilitary, are strictly opposed to gun control legislation, which they view as government overreach and a violation of the second amendment. Social media also played a prominent role in this resurgence, with [militias taking to social media platforms to recruit and to network](#). Some estimates record a [nine-fold increase](#) in militia movements between 2008 and 2011. While this followed with a period of quiet and decline, Trump's election in 2016 brought with it an emboldening of many of these groups, who viewed him as a [potential ally](#) for their desires.

Prevalent movements:

Listed below are four of the more prominent militias, in size and presence on- and offline.

- **[The Boogaloo Movement](#)^{*} (or Boogaloo Boys/Bois):** a loosely organized anti-government and anti-law enforcement group that arose in 2019 and believes insurrection against the state is necessary to protect individual liberties. Although it originated with an internet meme referring to a second civil war, it has demonstrated its potential to mobilize offline. The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) [lists 16 instances](#) of Boogaloo-related arrests in 2020, for example.
- **[Three Percenters](#) (III%ers):** a movement of gun owners founded in 2018, whose name stems from the disputed claim that only three percent of American colonists took up arms against the British. The group sees itself as a lineal descendant of those early American patriots.
- **[Oath Keepers](#):** founded in 2009, this group focuses its recruitment and rhetoric towards the military and law enforcement, recruiting active and former members of both. The name comes from swearing to defend the Constitution against all enemies, domestic and foreign.
- **[Proud Boys](#):** although operationally distinct from traditional militias, Proud Boys are still important in the broader militia context. Founded in 2016, they are a violent street protest movement that self-identifies as "western chauvinist" and are known to espouse anti-Muslim, anti-immigrant and misogynistic rhetoric.

^{*} ISD has a briefing note about the Boogaloo Movement available on request. Please contact ISD's Charlotte Moeyens (crlm@isdglobal.org) for more information.

Key anti-government narratives:

In late 2020, the [Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project](#) (ACLED) reported tracking over 80 active militias across the US, [stating](#) that “right-wing militias have steadily ramped up their activities, and taken on increasingly outsized profile within the national political movement”. The anti-government landscape in the US is therefore vast, with groups sharing but also diverging in their ideologies. This section provides an overview of prevalent narratives embraced by the more active anti-government militia movements, like those listed on the previous page.

Government Overreach

Anti-government narratives perpetuated by militias and other anti-government groups primarily accuse the federal government of overreach and of infringing on individual freedoms and rights. The Boogaloo movement, for example, advocates for minimal government and the abolishment of all legislation and policy that they perceive has limited personal freedoms. In this context, most, if not all, government mandates are framed as government overreach and as government attempts to control their citizens. The COVID-19 pandemic is a recent, telling example of this, where subsequent social distancing requirements and other restrictions are posited as "proof" of state-led attempts to control American citizens.

Second Amendment

Gun control legislation is also commonly referred to as an example of government overreach, and forms a particularly powerful and popular narrative amongst militia movements, owing to their paramilitary nature. Anti-government groups therefore position themselves as protectors of the Second Amendment, which they view as a fundamental human right not to be infringed on in any manner.

Law Enforcement

Anti-government movements tend to diverge in their stance towards law enforcement. Some groups, like the Boogaloo movement, largely view law enforcement as enforcers of government tyranny. Others are more likely to work with or alongside law enforcement. The Oath Keepers, for example, are known to recruit former police officers and have [joined demonstrations](#) to help law enforcement by “defending” local shops and businesses from Black Lives Matters protesters.

Civil or Race War

Anti-government groups like the Boogaloo movement believe a second civil war or insurrection against the state is necessary to protect individual liberties and to restore the personal freedoms it accuses the government of taking away. In fact, "boogaloo" started as an [internet meme](#) on 4chan's weapon board (/k/) to refer to civil war. Since then, it has also been used by white supremacists as a [call for race war](#).

New World Order

Related to anti-government narratives is the "New World Order" conspiracy,^{*} which believes that a secretive elite is trying to implement a global totalitarian government. Anti-government groups, particularly militias, in turn claim they are fighting against the "New World Order" to protect and restore personal liberties. "New World Order" conspiracy theorizing is riddled with fear-mongering rhetoric that claims, among others, that the United Nations is a vehicle through which this shadowy elite operates, and that this elite plans to, or already has, implanted microchips and other surveillance technology to enslave and control citizens.

Jewish people are often scapegoated as the masterminds behind this shadowy cabal, thus enforcing antisemitic tropes and **demonstrating the overlap between white supremacy and anti-government ideologies**. Other major events that are claimed to be manufactured by Jewish people include:

- Medical crises, like the COVID-19 pandemic;
- Acts of terror, like the Christchurch attack;
- The drug trade and "war on drugs", which are explained as Jewish efforts to control supply and demand of drugs;
- Global phenomena, like climate change;
- Multiculturalism, where immigration is explained as a Jewish-made mechanism to "invade" Christian nations, cause chaos and exert control. Some sites claim mass immigration is caused by Jewish people to commit "white genocide".

Antisemitic "New World Order" conspiracy theories often use language around "elites" (e.g. "Jewish elite" or "elite Jews") to reinforce this narrative of Jewish people controlling global agendas, with such theories overwhelmingly targeting high-profile Jewish people, such as George Soros and the Rothschild family. Conspiracists may also refer to ["the Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion"](#), a text claiming to contain the minutes of meetings between Jewish leaders in the late 19th century, in which these leaders allegedly set out their plans for Jewish world domination. The text has been thoroughly and repeatedly discredited as a fabrication and a forgery, but is still referred to amongst antisemitic "New World Order" conspiracy theorists as "proof" of Jewish plans for taking over the world.

Did you know? While there are strong distinctions between militia groups and white supremacists and it would therefore be inaccurate to conflate the two, there are also overlaps. Members of both perpetuate the New World Order conspiracy, for example. Anti-government forums are also often rife with racist, xenophobic rhetoric - among others, [Bellingcat researchers](#) found notable examples of anti-Muslim and broader anti-minority rhetoric on anti-government Facebook pages. Some militia groups have even started [patrolling](#) the Southern border to round up undocumented immigrants, while others have "policed" [Black Lives Matter protests](#), held ["anti-Shari'ah law" rallies](#) and have targeted mosques with armed protests against what they perceive to be an "Islamization" of the US.

^{*}ISD has a briefing note about the "New World Order" conspiracy theory available on request. Please contact ISD's Charlotte Moeyens (crlm@isdglobal.org) for more information.

Chapter Three - Online Implications

White supremacists and anti-government militias both have a significant online presence, where social media is used to network, recruit, plan offline events (including attacks), and to intimidate and harass others.

Platform Usage:

Since Facebook [banned](#) white nationalism from its platforms in 2019, and with increased public and policy pressure on mainstream platforms to moderate hateful content, most white supremacists have moved to unregulated platforms like 4chan, the "free speech" site Gab, and Telegram. The following table briefly describes some of the platforms that are most popular amongst white supremacists and anti-government groups, and how these have been used in the past.



8kun (previously called 8chan) is an entirely anonymous imageboard forum made up of user-generated message boards. Described by the [ADL](#) as "almost like a bulletin board where the worst offenders go to share their terrible ideas", it is used by actors across the extreme right-wing spectrum. The site is almost entirely unmoderated and is a known [breeding ground for violence and radicalization](#): violent "manifestos" and propaganda circulate freely, as do videos and images of mass murders. Mass violence is trivialized and celebrated, with users openly praising the perpetrators.

The site has been repeatedly linked to offline violence. In 2019, it was [connected to a series of fatal mass shootings](#) that targeted Muslim, Jewish and Latino people - in [Christchurch, New Zealand](#); [Poway, California](#); and [El Paso, Texas](#), respectively. Each perpetrator announced their plan in advance on 8chan. During the attack on the US Capitol on January 6 2021, it was [used by rioters](#) to mobilize other "patriots", and some on the message board discussed which politicians to kill once they entered the building.



4chan is an anonymous, unregulated image and message board that is used by the general public but has forums dominated by white supremacists. Board topics range from Japanese culture (e.g. anime and manga) to video games, travel and fashion. Its most controversial board is the "Politically Incorrect" (/pol/) board, which is populated with conspiracy theories, as well as explicitly racist, homophobic and sexist content. Due to its emphasis on freedom of speech, this board in particular has become popular amongst white supremacists and racially or ethnically motivated violent extremists more broadly. 4chan's /Pol/ board has been connected to a series of high-profile cases in which white supremacist carried out mass shootings or acts of terrorism. Months after the March 2019 Christchurch terror attack, a letter penned by the perpetrator was [allegedly posted on 4chan](#), in which he re-emphasized some of the polarizing narratives from his "manifesto", namely claims that Europe is under threat by immigration.



Gab is a social networking, microblogging platform. The platform's [absolutist approach to free speech](#) has attracted a large user base of violent extremists who have been banned from other platforms, including neo-Nazis and white nationalists. Gab plays host to hateful content such as indoctrinating cartoons and revisionist documentaries, and [antisemitic content is rife](#). The platform has been linked to radicalization and offline violence. For example, the sole perpetrator of the Pittsburgh synagogue shooting in October 2018 [posted on Gab](#) to proclaim his intent to commit harm prior to the attack, and had a history of posting extreme, antisemitic content on his account. In 2021, Gab was [one of the platforms](#) used to plan the storming of the US Capitol.



Parler is a social networking platform that has a microblogging format similar to Twitter and labels itself the “world’s premier free speech platform”. Following the US presidential election, Parler became the most downloaded app in the US as [millions of new conservative users](#) flocked to it, frustrated by the “anti-conservative” bias they believed mainstream social media platforms were exhibiting. It has a [significant user base of conspiracy theorists](#), anti-government militias (such as the Three Percenters and Oath Keepers), QAnon supporters and supporters of white supremacist groups such as Atomwaffen Division, all of whom openly promote their ideologies on the platform. The [lack of ideological diversity](#) on Parler means the platform serves as an echo chamber for these groups and ideologies. Parler was one of the platforms used to organize the storming of the US Capitol on 6 January.



Telegram is a messaging and content-sharing app that offers encrypted messaging as part of its services. The app offers public and private channels and also offers users an increased level of privacy than other platforms through its end-to-end encrypted [private chat](#) function. In recent years, it has become a key communication tool used by targeted violence and terrorist groups across the world. It came to public attention due to its [popularity amongst Islamic State adherents](#) but has increasingly hosted racially or ethnically motivated violent extremists too, including [white supremacist groups](#) such as those related to Atomwaffen Division and Siege Culture. These actors have used the platform to [share links of where to buy weapons](#), and in the months preceding the storming of the US Capitol on 6 January, individuals used private chats on Telegram to [organize and coordinate](#) their efforts. Due to Telegram’s narrow content moderation policies, it has become a central platform on which [white supremacist actors can gain momentum](#). Their activity on the platform ranges from general ideological discussions to the promotion of political violence, the glorification of terrorist attacks, and even sharing guides that help individuals prepare for violence.



MyMilitia is a networking site and internet forum that connects users with local militias across the US and is popular with racially or ethnically motivated violent extremists and militia movements. The site not only provides a space for militias to grow and to mobilize, it [“is also a repository of information about building weapons, hosting PDFs of texts like The Anarchist Cookbook instructing users how to create homemade grenades, flamethrowers and explosives”](#). The site has been connected to offline activity - for example, one of its users was [arrested](#) on suspicion of bombing a mosque in Minnesota. Prior to his arrest, this same user posted a call to action on MyMilitia to call other groups to bear arms.



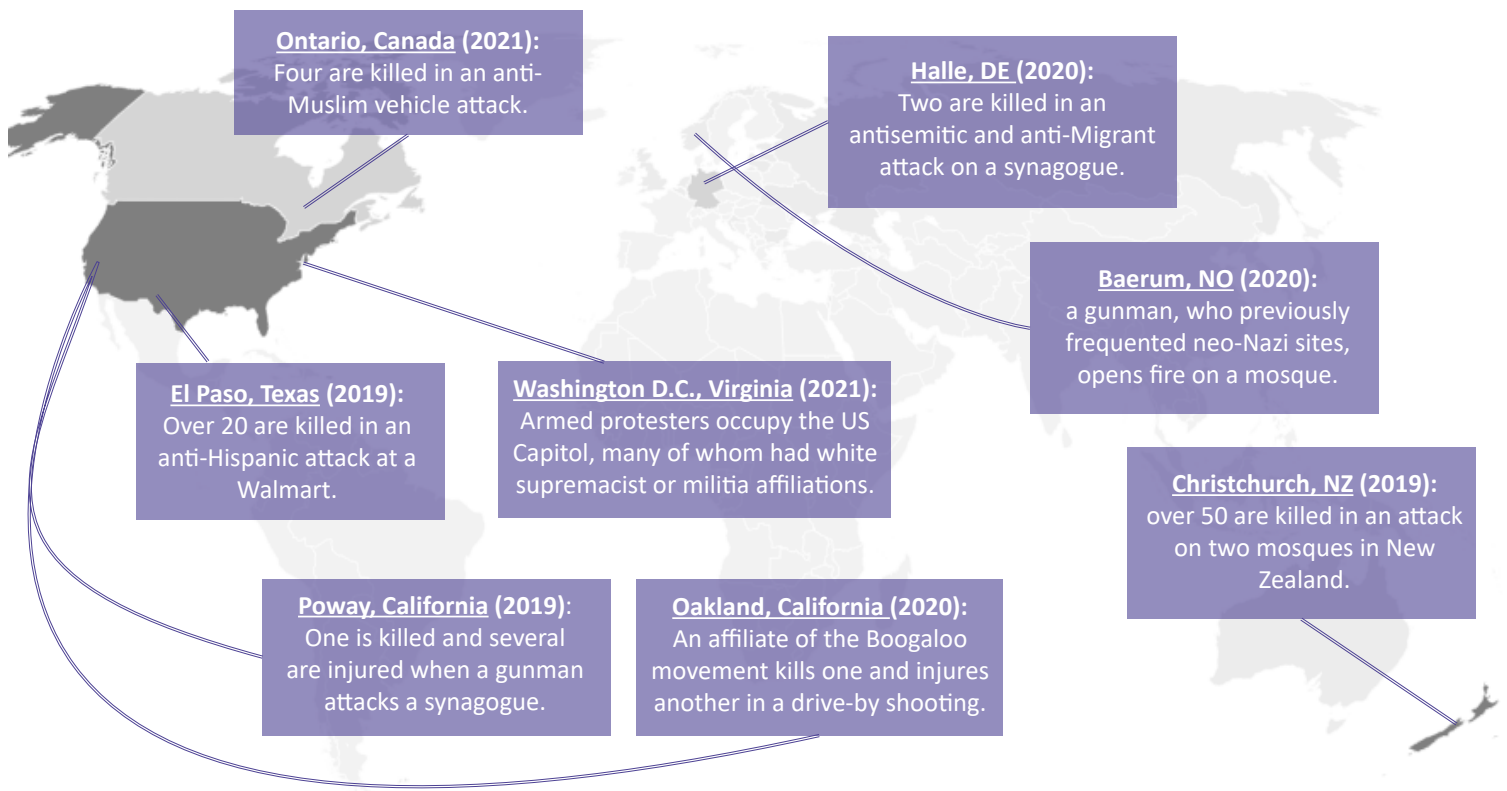
BitChute is a video-hosting service that was created in 2017 with the purpose of providing an [alternative to mainstream platforms such as YouTube](#), and has less-stringent content moderation guidelines. Because of this, the platform is favored by conspiracy theorists and extremists, and videos that have been removed by mainstream platforms often remain unchecked and available on BitChute, garnering millions of views in the process. This means that the [platform is dominated by hateful, racist and violent content](#). Videos that advocate for racial violence; promote Holocaust denial and antisemitism; celebrate the Holocaust; contain footage of mass shootings and call for the genocide of minority groups are widespread across the platform. The platform has long accommodated white supremacist groups such as Atomwaffen Division and National Action. In 2020, the [ADL](#) said that “BitChute has become a hotbed for violent, conspiratorial and hate-filled video propaganda, and a recruiting ground for extremists”.



This is not an exhaustive list of platforms used by white supremacists and anti-government groups.

Chapter Four - Offline Implications and Other Considerations

Both anti-government militias and white supremacist movements have been associated with instances of violence. Outlined below are but a selection of instances since 2019.



Did you know?

Many of the violent attacks listed are affiliated with **accelerationism**^{*}, a term used by some white supremacist groups to refer to “their desire to hasten the collapse of society as we know it”. Generally, accelerationism is used in the context of “white genocide” conspiracy theorism, which believes white people are under threat and are being systematically targeted through immigration, multiculturalism and other means. A collapse of modern societal structures and political systems is seen as the only means through which to stop these perceived injustices against white people. Indeed, many accelerationist groups desire this collapse and call for replacing modern society and governance with one founded on ethnonationalism.

Accelerationism is therefore at its core an encouragement of civil discord that employs an “ends justify the means” approach towards violence. It has gained traction amongst white supremacist and anti-government groups - the perpetrator of the terror attack against the Muslim community of Christchurch in 2019 dedicated an entire section of his “manifesto” to accelerationism, for example. The perpetrator of the Poway synagogue shooting in 2019 similarly expressed accelerationist beliefs, saying he “used a gun for the same reason that [the perpetrator of the Christchurch attack] used a gun... the goal is for the US government to start confiscating guns. People will defend their rights to own a firearm - civil war has just started”. Accelerationism is therefore not just dangerous because of its potential to encourage violence, but in the fact that **violence is seen as the primary means to bring about the desired goal of societal collapse**.

^{*} ISD has a briefing note about accelerationism, which is available on request. Please contact ISD's Charlotte Moeyens (crlm@isdglobal.org) for more information.

Other Considerations for Practitioners

Implications of post-organizational violence:

Importantly, targeted violence and terrorism have been marked by a "[post-organizational](#)" trend in recent years, where membership of, affiliation with, and support for specific groups has become more ambiguous. We see, for example, attacks being committed by individuals without strong ties to specific organizations, instead inspired by overarching ideologies and doctrines. [Prominent examples](#) include the attack in New Zealand in 2019 and affiliated attacks in Germany and the US in 2019 and 2020. In these cases, the perpetrators had little or no relationship with proscribed terrorist groups. Instead, their "manifestos" and social media activity suggested connections to (and being inspired by) loose transnational white supremacist networks that operate primarily online.

This has implications for TVTP - among others, it raises questions about proscription and content moderation. The rapid evolution of the targeted violence threat landscape and its increasingly post-organizational nature means that proscription-based responses struggle to keep up and don't account for cases where there is no explicit affiliation or allegiance with a named group or structure. This, in turn, poses a challenge with TVTP online. Defining illegal targeted violence content online and related regulation policy draws, at least partly, from [national or international designations of proscribed terrorist groups](#). Content moderation may therefore be more difficult in instances where there is no clear connection with a proscribed group / known terrorist organization, even more so if there is also no accompanying incitement to violence or other explicit threat to personal or public safety. These difficulties have already led to instances where harmful and potentially radicalizing content has [remained online](#), because it is not affiliated with a proscribed movement and/or because it doesn't employ violent rhetoric. These challenges also translate to targeted violence interventions, namely in how practitioners think about risk and needs assessment. Determining whether or not an individual is being radicalized (or is already radicalized) may prove more difficult in the absence of a connection with known organizations, or in the absence of targeted violence propaganda produced and branded by known organizations.

Online to Offline:

Another important consideration is the connectivity between the online space and what happens offline. Perpetrators of terrorist attacks have used social media and networking platforms not only to live-stream their attacks, but also to disseminate "manifestos" or other propaganda that repackage and amplify the ideologies that motivated them to violence, and that effectively incite further violence. Some of these manifestos have been affiliated with other attacks and have served as radicalization material for other terrorists - the perpetrator of the Christchurch attack and his actions were [cited by perpetrators of attacks in the months after](#) (see page 10 of this document), speaking to the very real potential of **online content mobilizing into offline violence**. In TVTP, practitioners should therefore consider how individuals express themselves and behave on- and offline - neither space should be considered in isolation.



Annex One - Useful Terms for Practitioners (# - P)

The following is a list of terms and phrases that are common in white supremacist and/or violent anti-government rhetoric. This is for reference only and shouldn't be taken as an exhaustive list of white supremacist or anti-government vocabulary, nor as definitive signs of radicalization. For more information, visit the SPLC's [Extremist Files](#) and the ADL's [Hate on Display Hate Symbols Database](#).

- **((()))** - triple parenthesis are used to identify or refer to individuals believed to be Jewish.
- **1488** - refers to the 14 words (see below) and 88, which is code for "Heil Hitler" (H is the 8th letter of the English alphabet).
- **14 words** - white supremacist slogan coined by David Lane, which reads "we must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children".
- **20:4** - refers to April 20th, which was Hitler's birthday and is often celebrated in neo-Nazi forums.
- **311** - refers to the KKK (K is the 11th number of the English alphabet).
- **Accelerationism** - refers to the desire to hasten societal collapse (e.g. through a cycle of violence).
- **Blood and Soil / BH** - translation from the German "Blut und Boden", a term adopted by Nazis to enforce an ethnonationalist depiction of Germany. This is used by contemporary neo-Nazis.
- **Boogaloo / Big Igloo / Big Luau** - Boogaloo is an internet meme that refers to a second civil war (in some forums this is used as a more explicit call for a race war). Big Igloo and Big Luau are plays on this term.
- **Boogaloo Boys, Boojahideen, Boog Boys, Boog Brothers** - members of the Boogaloo movement.
- **Eurabia** - a conspiracy theory coined in the early 2000s by Bat Ye'or (aka. Gisèle Littman), who argued that Western countries are slowly being brought under Islamic rule. **Islamification, Islamization, Shari'afication, "creeping Shari'ah"** are also used to this end.
- **"joo" or "juu"** - derogatory plays on "Jew".
- **JQ** - short for the "Jewish Question", which was part of a long-running debate in Europe in the 18th to 20th centuries about the civil, legal, national and political status of Jews in Europe. This has been used by contemporary white supremacists to dehumanize Jewish people.
- **HH** - short for "Heil Hitler".
- **"Holo hoax" or "Hollow hoax"** - short for "Holocaust Hoax", used to express Holocaust denial.
- **KEK / Kekistan** - a satirical meme that originated on 4chan's /pol/ board according to which Pepe the Frog (see below) is a deity living in the invented country of Kekistan, a utopia for online-trolls.
- **Normies** - derogatory term to refer to individuals that don't adhere to white supremacist or anti-government ideologies.
- **Pepe the Frog** - a popular Internet meme used in a variety of contexts. In recent years it has also been appropriated by white supremacists, particularly those from the "alt-right," who use it in racist, antisemitic or other hateful contexts.

Useful Terms for Practitioners (Q - Z)

The following is a list of terms and phrases that are common in white supremacist and/or extreme anti-government rhetoric. This is for reference only and shouldn't be taken as an exhaustive list of white supremacist or anti-government vocabulary, nor as definitive signs of radicalization.

- **Race Realism** - euphemism used for racist beliefs about the genetic inferiority of certain racial and ethnic groups, particularly in relation to intelligence.
- **RAHOWA** - short for Racial Holy War.
- **Remigration** - a non-violent form of ethnic cleansing that calls for forced deportation of (non-white) migrant communities in effort to build ethnically or culturally homogeneous societies.
- **Remove Kebab** - A meme referring to a Serbian anti-Muslim propaganda song still nodded to in white supremacist circles. The song featured in the Christchurch perpetrator's livestream of his attacks.
- **Siege culture** - *SIEGE* by James Mason is a compilation of neo-Nazi essays. The book graphically incites violence against Jewish and Black communities across the US, claiming "civil war, a total revolution" would give these communities the "death they so richly deserve". The book is so influential in white supremacist circles that it has inspired what is now dubbed "siege culture", referring to violent accelerationist groups and their forums online.
- **Snowflakes** - derogatory term for liberals or left-wingers, used to denote "weakness" or someone easily provoked.
- **Soy Boy** - a derogatory term for individuals that identify as (or are thought to identify as) LGBTQ.
- **The Great Replacement** - a conspiracy that claims white European populations are being deliberately replaced at an ethnic and cultural level through immigration and the growth of minority communities.
- **The New World Order** - a conspiracy that claims a shadowy, global elite is trying to implement a one-world government.
- **The System** - term used by accelerationist groups to refer to the political and societal structures they seek to overthrow.
- **The Turner Diaries** - The Turner Diaries is a foundational text of contemporary white supremacist movements in the US. Written by William Pierce, leader of the neo-Nazi National Alliance until his death in 2002, the fiction novel tells the story of Eric Turner, who, as part of a white supremacist revolutionary army, helps overthrow the US government and implement an Aryan republic.
- **White Genocide** - core to the US white supremacist ecosystem is the "white genocide" conspiracy, which ["warns that 'the white race' is endangered by a changing demographic landscape caused by immigration and interracial relationships"](#). This relates to "The Great Replacement" conspiracy, however "The Great Replacement" started in and is focused on Europe.
- **White Power** - common white supremacist motto.
- **WP** - short for "white pride".
- **WPWW** - short for "White Pride World Wide".
- **ZOG** - short for "Zionist Occupied Government", an antisemitic conspiracy that claims the US government is controlled by Jews.

Annex 2 - Further Reading

In addition to the sources hyperlinked to throughout this information pack, we recommended the following resources.

About White Supremacist and anti-Government narratives and groups:

- [“Accelerationism in America: Threat Perceptions”](#) by the Global Network on Extremism & Technology (GNET).
- [“Accelerationism: the obscure idea inspiring white supremacist killers around the world”](#) by Zack Beauchamp at Vox News.
- [“Atomwaffen and the SIEGE parallax: how one neo-Nazi’s life’s work is fuelling a younger generation”](#) by the SPLC.
- [“COVID-19 Disinformation Briefing - Far-Right Mobilisation”](#) by ISD.
- [“Neo-Nazi Accelerationists Celebrating Attack on Congress as Start of Civil War”](#) by Ben Makuch and Mack Lamoreux for VICE.
- [“Popular Among Antigovernment Extremists, ‘Second Amendment Sanctuary’ Resolutions Pose Risks”](#) by the SPLC.
- [“Special Report: the Atomwaffen Division: the Evolution of the White Supremacy Threat”](#) by the Soufan Center.
- [“The Alt-Right is Killing People”](#) by the SPLC.
- [“The Great Replacement”](#) by ISD.
- [“The Long Road to the Capitol”](#) three-part blog series by ISD.
- [“‘There is no political solution’: Accelerationism in the White Power Movement”](#) by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC).
- [“Think Global, Act Local: Reconfiguring Siege Culture”](#) by Centre for Research and Evidence on Security Threats (CREST).
- [“Uniting for Total Collapse: The January 6th Boost to Accelerationism”](#) by Brian Hughes and Cynthia Miller-Idriss for the Combating Terrorism Center.
- [“Visions of Chaos: Weighing the Violent Legacy of Iron March”](#) by SPLC.
- [“White Supremacists Embrace ‘Accelerationism’”](#) by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL).
- [“White Supremacists and the Weaponization of the Coronavirus”](#) - intel brief by the Soufan Center.
- [“White Supremacists Embrace ‘Race War’”](#) by the ADL.



On internet usage:

- ["A Safe Space to Hate: White Supremacist Mobilisation on Telegram"](#) by ISD's Jacob Davey and Jakob Guhl.
- ["Inside Gab, the Online Safe Space for Far-Right Extremists"](#) by Micah Lee for The Intercept.
- ["The Websites Sustaining Britain's Far-Right Influencers"](#) by Frank Andrews and Ambrose Pym for Bellingcat.
- ["Far-right groups move to messaging apps as tech companies crack down on extremist social media"](#) by Kevin Graham for The Conversation.
- ["Right-wing extremist chatter spreads on new platforms as threat of political violence in US ramps up"](#) by Tina Nguyen and Mark Scott for Politico.
- ["The Far-Right is Flocking to These Alternate Social Media Apps – Not All of Them Are Thrilled"](#) by Siladitya Ray for Forbes.
- ["Migration Moments: Extremist Adoption of Text-Based Instant Messaging Applications"](#) by GNET.
- ["US Far-Right Extremists making millions via social media and cryptocurrency"](#) by Peter Stone for The Guardian.

On prevention and intervention:

- ["A National Policy Blueprint to End White Supremacist Violence"](#) by Katrina Mulligan, Brette Steele, Simon Clark, Asha Padmanabhan and Rachel Hunkler for the Center for American Progress.
- ["An Imprecise Science: Assessing Interventions for the prevention, disengagement, and de-radicalisation of left and right-wing extremists"](#) by ISD.
- ["Confronting the Challenge of 'Post-Organizational Extremism'"](#) by ISD's Milo Comerford.
- ["Countermeasures \[to white supremacy\] in Practice"](#) by Jigsaw.
- [Life After Hate.](#)
- ["Preventing Radicalization to Terrorism and Violent Extremism - delivering counter- or alternative-narratives"](#) by the Radicalization Awareness Network.

