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**The American University in Cairo**

**School of Humanities and Social Sciences**

**Analyzing Stance in Online Threat Discourse by Anti-Immigration Attackers:**

**An Integrated Approach**

A Thesis Submitted to

The Department of Applied Linguistics

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

The Degree of Master of Arts in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

**Under the Supervision of Dr. Reem Bassiouney**

By

**Marwa Hossameldin Mustafa**

**May 2020**



THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO

الجامعة الأمريكية بالقاهرة

Graduate Studies

Semester: Spring 2020

Date: May 2020

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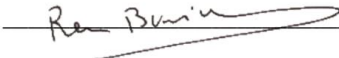
### **Analyzing Stance in Online Threat Discourse by Anti-Immigration Attackers: An Integrated Approach**


A Thesis Submitted by

**Marwa Hossameldin Mustafa**

Submitted to the Department of Applied Linguistics  
May 2020

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
the degree of Master of Arts in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages  
has been approved

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الجامعة الأمريكية بالقاهرة

Graduate Studies

Semester: Spring 2020

Date: May 2020

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## **Acknowledgements**

First, I would like to express my deep appreciation and gratitude to the American University in Cairo for its efforts in the time of Corona virus. Without its persistence to keep the educational process on, I would not be able to graduate on time, safely from home.

Foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my thesis supervisor Prof. Reem Bassiouney for her insightful comments in every stage of the thesis writing. Prof. Bassiouney is not just my thesis advisor and professor; she is indeed my mentor and my role model. Thanks to her thoughtful changes and her deep belief in me, I was able to expand my theoretical knowledge of the field and uncover potential interdisciplinary relations highlighted in this work. Prof. Bassiouney held my hand during my darkest moments when I was about to give up on my project. I sincerely thank you for your constant support and guidance not just during the time of writing this research, but over the past five years during which I was proudly your student and research assistant. You truly taught me how to be a hardworking graduate student.

Secondly, I would like to deeply thank my committee members, Dr. Nihal Nagi and Dr. Rania Al Sabbagh, for their thoughtful comments. I am honestly indebted to your ingenious suggestions and modifications on different points of this research. I am also very grateful to Prof. Amira Agameya for her continuous support and for sharing valuable references. You have saved no effort to educate and support all of us in different courses, thank you. A special thanks goes to Hala Said, another TESOL fellow, whose thesis has hugely inspired and guided me in writing mine.

Thirdly, I would like to acknowledge a number of my TESOL fellows who stood by my side and supported me throughout this long journey. I am deeply thankful to Salma Farid, Salah Ahmed, Duaa Zein, Sarah Matlack, Lobna Sherif, Dalia Metwally, and Alex Anderson for sharing your knowledge and experience, for your inspirational messages and voice notes, and for your faith in me.

Finally, I am whole heartedly grateful to all my family members. I would like first to thank my beloved dad for having faith in me and for being my lifetime hero, thank you so much for everything you did and still do for me. I am also very thankful to my mum for all the prayers, encouragement and patience, thank you for being there whenever I needed you. You are both the blessing of my life. A special thanks goes to my little brother who was always available to babysit my kids whenever I was on campus. Another special thanks is due to my mother-in-law who has been forever supportive and encouraging; thank you for believing in me and in my work. Lastly, I must express my sincere gratitude and appreciation to my husband, the partner of my life and the father of my amazing kids. Thank you for your patience, nurture, and assistance at every step of this journey.

*“If we are able to influence people’s minds – for example, their knowledge, attitudes, or ideologies – we indirectly may control (some of) their actions, as we know from persuasion and manipulation.”*

Teun Van Dijk

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## **Abstract**

The present study examines the construct of stance in two subsequent threat manifestos recently published by anti-immigrant attackers in the year 2019. The first one, *The Great Replacement*, was published online by Brenton Tarrant before shooting and “murdering 51 people in two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand” (Roy, 2020) in March 2019. The second manifesto, *The Inconvenient Truth*, was published online as well by Patrick Crusius before “killing 22 people and injuring dozens of others at an El Paso Walmart” in Texas, USA (Moore & Berman, 2020) in August 2019. For this purpose, a ‘synergy’ of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and methods of corpus linguistics (CL) approaches (Baker et al., 2008) is used to reveal the ideologies of those attackers as well as the established relationship between language, power and ideology in their discourses. The results of this CDA-CL integrated approach show a consistent positive evaluation act of the attackers themselves and their in-groups against a negative evaluation act of the targeted groups in both manifestos. The methodological synergy used herein shows some common discursive and linguistic strategies in both threat discourses with further implications referring to the role of the deeply rooted xenophobic ideology that could eventually lead its followers to act against foreigners in general either by using a racist discourse or through violent acts, or both as exemplified in the discourses analyzed herein.

*Keywords:* stance, stancetaking, threat manifesto, critical discourse analysis (CDA), corpus linguistics (CL), xeno-racism, anti-immigration, computer-mediated discourse, Christchurch shooting, El Paso shooting

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## List of Abbreviations

<b>CDA</b>	Critical Discourse Analysis
<b>CL</b>	Corpus Linguistics
<b>CMD</b>	Computer-Mediated Discourse
<b>Manifesto A</b>	The Great Replacement
<b>Manifesto B</b>	The Inconvenient Truth
<b>Q</b>	Quote
<b>Corpus A</b>	The Great Replacement
<b>Corpus B</b>	The Inconvenient Truth
<b>CTARC</b>	Communicated Threat Assessment Reference Corpus
<b>RASIM</b>	Refugees, Asylum Seekers, Immigrants and Migrants

## Chapter One: Introduction

### 1.1. Study Background

Since the beginning of 2019, the world has witnessed a considerable number of dramatic terrorist xenophobic attacks in New Zealand, Norway, Germany and in the USA targeting people from different ethnicities, religions, and ideologies. One common factor among these brutal attacks is that the shooters have sent threat messages before committing their crimes (see Appendix A for a list of recent threat messages and Appendix B for selected samples of those messages). In these manifestos, the attackers stated their xenophobic ideologies behind the attacks while declaring opposition to the existence of those victims on their lands. What is linguistically interesting about those threat messages is how the attackers directly expressed their stance against their target victims. This explicit expression of stance in unconventional contexts represents a stimulating challenge for sociolinguists in analyzing such manifestos.

This study presents two threat manifestos published in the year 2019: the first one is *The Great Replacement* (see Appendix C) which was published online by Brenton Tarrant in March before he attacked two mosques in the Christchurch city, New Zealand; a year later he pleaded guilty with the murder of 51 and injuring dozens of worshippers (Stoakes, 2020). The second manifesto is *The Inconvenient Truth* (see Appendix D) which was published online in August by Patrick Crusius before killing “22 people at an El Paso Walmart” in Texas, USA (Martinez, 2020). This paper aims at exploring the xenophobic ideologies adopted by these attackers through examining the construct of stance.

## 1.2. Research Questions

The current study aims at highlighting the construct of stance in recent threat manifestos published online by the attackers themselves in pursuit of uncovering ideologies, relations of power and language, and highlighting the source of the racist discourse common in those threat manifestos. In this paper, I seek to answer the following research question and its sub-questions:

- 1) What is the stance of the attackers based on their published manifestos?
  - a. What are the different groups/parties identified by the attackers? With which group does each attacker identify himself against the other?
  - b. How far are the CDA results matching with the CL results in clarifying the stance of each attacker?

In my attempt to analyze stance in those threat manifestos, I apply an integrated approach composed of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and methods of corpus linguistics (CL). For the former, I use the *referential strategies* (one of five discursive strategies developed by Wodak and Reisigl in 2005), along with exploring specific structural resources as elaborated by Bassiouney (2014), Benwell and Stokoe (2006) and Fairclough (1989). Secondly, AntConc software is used to build a corpus for each manifesto, and then some keywords are selected to undergo an examination based on specific methods of corpus analysis.

## 1.3. Statement of Research Problem

There is a wide gap in the existing scholarship when it comes to studying threat communication acts from a sociolinguistic perspective, with a particular focus on the attacker's stance. "[T]here is still a substantial lack of understanding of the discursive nature of threatening language and a lack of agreement, even, as to how threateners successfully threaten" (Gales,

2010, p. ii). Therefore, using various discursive strategies and linguistic devices, the researcher hopes to reach a better understanding of the attackers' stances based on a multidimensional discourse analysis that attempts to touch upon all related aspects of such a complex genre, including ideology, power, media and racism.

## 1.4. Delimitations

The purpose of the current research is to analyze how stance is manifested in the two manifestos examined herein with a deeper analytical view of the different factors that contributed to the construction of stance such as ideology, power, and racism. This research study is limited to examining two threat manifestos (*The Great Replacement* and *The Inconvenient Truth*) that were published online in 2019. There are some criteria set to define the choice of these two texts including the following: both manifestos are written in English; published online; and accompanied an actual anti-immigrant attack. Therefore, no other manifestos are subject to analysis herein, even though it matches the aforementioned criteria. Moreover, all other discourses that might include stance such as casual conversation; literary forms; performances; media shows, and academic texts are thus disregarded. Similarly, spoken threat communication acts are not part of this study, even the transcribed ones.

## 1.5. Constructs & Operational Definitions

### 1.5.1. Constructs

- **AntConc:** is “a corpus analysis toolkit designed by the author for specific use in the classroom, that includes a powerful concordancer, word and keyword frequency



generators, tools for cluster and lexical bundle analysis, and a word distribution plot”

(Anthony, 2005, p. 729).

- **Computer-mediated discourse (CMD):** is “the communication produced when human beings interact with one another by transmitting messages via networked or mobile computers, where “computers” are defined broadly to include any digital communication device” (Herring & Androutsopoulos, 2015, p. 127).
- **Corpus:** is “a ‘body’ of language, or more specifically, a (usually) very large collection of naturally occurring language, stored as computer files” (Baker, 2010, p. 6).
- **Corpus Linguistics (CL):** is “the study of language based on examples of real life language use” (McEnery & Wilson 1996 in Baker, 2010, p. 6).
- **Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA):** is a “discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take an explicit position and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately challenge social inequality” (Van Dijk, 2015, p. 466).
- **Ethnicity and Race:** “are among the most common categories that contemporary human beings use to organize their ideas about who they are, to evaluate their experiences and behavior, and to understand the world around them” (Cornell & Hartmann, 2006, p. 12).
- **Genericization:** is a “generic reference by plural without article, as in the utterance ‘Non-European immigrants make up 6.5 per cent of the population’, by singular with a definite article (i.e. by a ‘singularising synecdoche’), as in the example ‘The foreigner has

to adapt himself/herself ', or by singular with an indefinite article, as in the sentence 'An Austrian will never accept that'" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2005, p. 53).

- **Ideologies:** "are foundational social beliefs of a rather general and abstract nature. One of their cognitive functions is to provide (ideological) coherence to the beliefs of a group and thus facilitate their acquisition and use in everyday situations" (Van Dijk, 2007, p. 116).
- **Particularizing synecdoche:** "is a means of referential annexation, assimilation and inclusion, just as the generalising synecdoche (totum pro parte, that is to say, the whole standing for a part) (Reisigl & Wodak, 2005, p. 57).
- **Personifications:** are "specific forms of metaphors that bring together and link two different semantic fields, one with the semantic feature [– human], the other bearing the semantic feature [+ human]. Personifications or anthropomorphisations are rhetorically used to give a human form or to humanise inanimate objects, abstract entities, phenomena and ideas. They play a decisive role in animating imagined 'collective subjects' – as, for example, 'races', 'nations' and 'ethnicities'. Their apparent concreteness and vividness often invites hearers or readers to identify or to feel solidarity with the personified entity or against it" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2005, p. 58).
- **Power:** "a property of relations between social groups, institutions or organizations " (Van Dijk, 2008, p. 65).
- **Referential strategies:** "are discursively utilised to construct a dichotomous world of 'insiders' and 'outsiders', of 'them' and 'us', and, strictly speaking, to make positive or negative judgements on the imagined or represented social actors" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2005, p. 105).

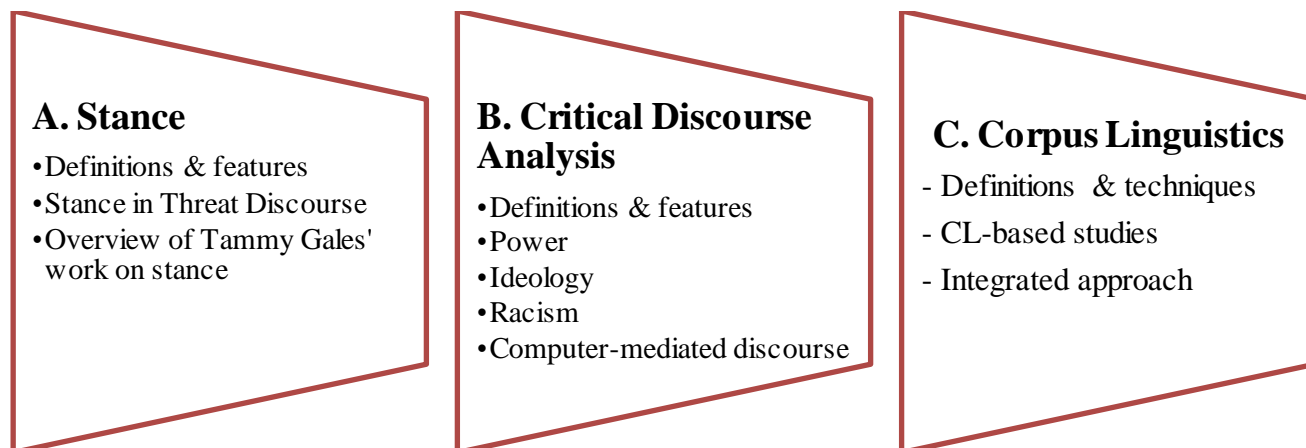
- **Stancetaking:** is “a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means (language, gesture, and other symbolic forms), through which social actors simultaneously evaluate objects, position subjects (themselves and others), and align with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field” (Du Bois, 2007, p. 163).
- **Threat communication:** is a message that “implies or explicitly states the potential of harm delivered to targets/victims or agents acting on their behalf” (Smith, 2008, p. 106).

### 1.5.2. Operational Definitions

- **Attacker:** refers herein to one of two attackers: the Christchurch shooter (Brenton Tarrant) or the El Paso shooter (Patrick Crusius). Since these two attackers are the ones who wrote the two manifestos examined herein, I also refer to them in some occasions as writers.
- **Language user/producer:** refers to speakers and writers in general, but mainly writers.
- **Threat communication act (Threat act):** refers herein to any English written threatening text – in form of emails, hardcopy letters; electronic messages (such as SMSs, chats, comments); online manifestos; online posts; etc. – that is sent by the attacker to a particular victim/target that could be a person or an entity.
- **Threat discourse or threat manifesto:** refers to one of the two manifestos examined herein: *The Great Replacement* and *The Inconvenient Truth*.

## **Chapter Two: Literature Review**

This review of the literature is divided into three main sections (as shown in Figure 1 below): the first highlights stance as one of the basic sociolinguistic concepts with focus on its definitions and the different analytical approaches to its examination. After laying out the basic dimensions of stance, I include one shorter subsection covering how stance has been analyzed in threat discourse, highlighting the definition of threat communication acts and a huge part of Tammy Gales' basic work in this area. The second section of this literature review is dedicated to exploring critical discourse analysis (CDA) since it represents the theoretical framework of the present study. A number of subsections are included under CDA due to their connection; these subsections introduce some interlinked concepts including power, ideology, new racism and computer-mediated discourse. These four items are fundamental for the present study because they complete the whole picture and strengthen the discourse-analytical approach used to examine stance in the two threat manifestos analyzed herein. In the third and final section, I shed light on the definition of corpus linguistics (CL) and the construction of corpora in general. This section also includes a concise synopsis of the major studies that used CL to analyze stance. At the end of this section, I provide a brief summary of Baker et al.'s synergy study in which the researchers used a combination of CDA and CL; this integrated approach represents a foundational theoretical framework for the present study.



**Figure 1: Sections of Literature Review.**

## 2.1. Stance

In the following paragraphs, I highlight how scholarship defined and tackled *stance* as a construct and its related theories. Stance is a broad concept that has been used by many scholars to cover a variety of aspects in relation with position, attitude, and feelings in different contexts. To begin with, John du Bois regards *stance* as a complex concept, he therefore aimed at developing an approach that would enable researchers to deal with its unique nature by “encompassing multiple facets at once” (2007, p. 145). In his attempt, Du Bois was keen on presenting stance as one unified act, not as distinctive types. He mainly aimed at the integration rather than the proliferation of stance (2007, p.145, para. 1). Du Bois makes it clear that his aim is to set an effective theoretical framework for studying *stance*, so he posits that a single act of stancetaking is in itself subdivided into three core aspects which are evaluation, positioning and alignment, not “separate types of stance” (2007, p. 163). Thus, Du Bois defines *stance* as:

a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means (language, gesture, and other symbolic forms), through which social actors simultaneously

evaluate objects, position subjects (themselves and others), and align with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field (2007, p. 163).

This definition sets some main criteria that any scholar should seek to be able to analyze *stance* in any discourse. These criteria include having a stancetaker who publicly produces an act (spoken, written, semiotic, or even physical non-verbal communication) in which this stancetaker willingly shows and shares her/his evaluation of an object, a person, or an idea (such as good, bad, trivial, solid), and during which process of evaluation an act of positioning oneself and/or others happens; then finally this stancetaker reveals his alignment status: either with or against the other party, all of this is happening within a sociocultural context. Du Bois believes that this stance triangle “provides the basis for understanding the causal and inferential linkage that may arise between the various subsidiary acts” (2007, p. 164, para. 3). In other words, the stance triangle analytical approach can justify why some social actors take specific stances in specific situations; it can provide a reason behind any stance.

In addition to the above-mentioned definition, Du Bois elaborates three other relevant characteristics of *stance* in another shorter definition: “Stance is an act of evaluation owned by a social actor” (2007, p.173). The three pillars that can be identified based on this short definition are: act, responsibility and value. Firstly, *stance* is a public act of “dialogic interaction” in which *stance* affects and is affected by the actions of others. The second element is responsibility which is very important in any community because it identifies “who took which stance” and holds him/her (or even them) responsible for their stancetaking act and its possible consequences. “Third, value is what stance is all about – literally. Stance always invokes, explicitly or implicitly, presupposed systems of sociocultural value, while at the same time contributing to the enactment and reproduction of those systems” (2007, p. 173). Du Bois believes that the ultimate

goal of having/expressing a *stance* is to echo – and hence emphasize – an already existing value system of some community either directly or indirectly. Adding to this basic concept, I would argue that the expression of *stance* can stand behind the emergence of a new social trend that urges or be the reason behind adopting a new social value as will be explained later on.

Both Du Bois and Alexandra Jaffe argue that *stance* is based on an intentional act of categorizing and evaluating certain concepts or values in relation to the stancetaker or to others. Jaffe defines stances as follows: “Stance saturates talk about others, in which speakers engage in both explicit and implicit forms of social categorization and evaluation, attribute intentionality, affect, knowledge, agency to themselves and others and lay claim to particular social and or moral identities” (2007, p. 9, para. 2). This means that stancetakers are involved in the act of evaluating particular objects, subjects, entities, bodies or groups either directly or indirectly in which process a bundle of social aspects are intentionally attributed to those stancetakers and/or to others in an attempt to show/reflect some particular identities. Additionally, one of the fundamental features of stance is what Jaffe referred to as the non-transparency of stance in either linguistics or sociolinguistics. What Jaffe suggests is that by using empirical studies of interactions in social and historical contexts, we can have a clearer examination of stance (2009, p. 4, para. 3). To give an example, the non-transparent feature of stance in the two manifestos examined herein could be overcome by examining their context and the interactions they include (such as how the attackers talk about themselves versus the others; how they justify their deeds; etc.). This way, their stance as social actors will be better understood within the context of their discourses.

Jaffe regards stancetaking as “taking up a position with respect to the form of the content of one’s utterance” and believes that stancetaking is “central because speaker positionality is built

into the act of communication” (2009, p. 3). She adds one new aspect to viewing stance: that even the stance-free discourses are not actually neutral since “neutrality is itself a stance”. In her introduction, Jaffe states that the sociolinguistic approach to stance can be very helpful in “theorizing the relationship between acts of stance and the sociocultural field: in particular the role these acts play in social (and sociolinguistic) reproduction and change” (2007, p.4, para.2). In other words, the researcher could build a direct sequential relationship between already-produced stance acts on one hand and the possibility of their future replication on the other, within the social contexts of both acts.

Reem Bassiouney argues that *stance*, in the Egyptian public discourse, can be expressed and analyzed through examining language as a resource, which eventually reveals what she calls “a unified national identity” (2014, p. 42). Bassiouney argues that language form is “linked to linguistic ideology and practice”. When stancetakers use one of the “linguistic resources in public discourse,” their main objective is to openly take a stance in accordance with their claimed/shown identities based on the linguistic ideology and practice of that particular community (2014, p. 41). Bassiouney takes Du Bois’ stance triangle theory a step further suggesting that “speakers use language to take a stance and, by doing so, give themselves a specific identity and impose an identity on others (2014, p.44).

Contextualization of stance is one element, among others, discussed equally by the three scholars namely, Bassiouney, Du Bois and Jaffe. Both Jaffe and Bassiouney consented to define stance as a “contextualization cue” that shows the stancetaker’s role in the discourse being examined (Bassiouney, 2015; Jaffe, 2007). Bassiouney then elaborates this concept in her book by saying: “one needs to analyze the political, social, and historical contexts and processes that pertain to a specific community” (2014, p.41-42). Similarly, Du Bois posits that there is



absolutely no limit to the socially observable stances that it is inevitable to refer to the “mode of production” of the stancetaking act being analyzed and its “context of interaction”. Jaffe emphasizes the same concept of contextualization and describes it as one of the useful “culturally specific tools or resources for stancetaking (2007, p.10). Thus, in order to have an all-inclusive “research agenda” for an effective stance analysis, a number of disciplines have to be integrated harmoniously, and solid coordination efforts should be exerted among them all (Du Bois, 2007, p.139).

### **2.1.1. Stance in threat communication acts**

To be able to establish a relationship between threat acts and stance, the former has to be pragmatically defined first. Sharon Smith defines a threatening communication act as “any written information that implies or explicitly states the potential of harm delivered to targets/victims or agents acting in their behalf” (Smith, 2008, p. 438). In addition to the traditional, long list of threatening communication modes that already exists which includes electronic and non-electronic copies, diaries, packages, or even cards, there is a newly added mode to this list which is online threat manifestos. An even more technical, investigation-related definition of a *communicated threat* is that provided by James R. Fitzgerald: “a verbalized, written, or electronically transmitted statement that states or suggests that some event will occur that will negatively affect the recipient, someone or something associated with him/her, or specified or non-specified” (2007, p. 8). Since this definition is more than a decade old, there are definitely more features that could be added to have an updated version of it. As starters, the communicated threat message could have the form of a written text, a video- or audio-taped recording accompanied with some semiotic features such as pictures, engravings or symbols. Secondly, the release of the threatening statement might synchronize with the actual execution of

the threat act mentioned in the text or it could occur after its release. Thirdly, this threat message might be non-recipient specific, i.e. it might not be directed to a specific recipient, but rather addressed to all masses across the globe. The above-mentioned additions apply inclusively to the threat communication acts subject to analysis in the present study.

After laying out the core definitions for threat discourses, the coming few paragraphs mainly explore the major studies published by Tammy Gales in which she analyzes the construct of stance based on discursive strategies and corpus-based analysis. In her 2011 study, Tammy Gales focused on identifying the interpersonal stance in realized threats with the purpose of highlighting the methodological and ideological issues related to the attacker. For this purpose, she used Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) approach as a broader theoretical framework as well as Appraisal Analysis on one authentic threat text, the Army of God which is a series of threat letters sent to US "media outlets starting in 1997" (2011, p. 239). Gales believes that this combination is self-complementary since the SFL framework views language as a "social practice and is the result of the interplay between its two fundamental aspects – its systematicity and its functionality" (2011, p. 29). She focuses on three 'distinct systems' of the Appraisal Analysis: firstly, attitude which includes affect, judgement, and appreciation; secondly, engagement which includes monoglossic and heteroglossic utterances; and finally, graduation which shows "degrees of positive or negative feelings" (2011, p. 29). The results showed that the threat language used reflected little about the threatener's attitude about the attack as if the attacker held a neutral stance towards both the threatening act and his role in it. Secondly, this study confirmed what Gales has already reached in her 2010 dissertation: the language of the attackers can have an opposing-directed function as it both weakens and strengthens their threat act. This contradicts with the widely accepted generalization that high-

risk threat language would automatically only include powerful, sharp, decisive language as opposed to low-risk threat language, which is also automatically regarded as being mitigated, hesitant, and indecisive.

A few years later, Gales focused on examining the use of grammatical stance markers in two types of threats: realized versus non-realized threats (2015). This study is also based on the data Gales collected for her dissertation in 2010 when she compiled the Communicated Threat Assessment Reference Corpus (CTARC) consisting of 470 authentic threats categorized in three different sections: harassment, stalking and defamation. This data collection process was facilitated by the Academy Group, Inc. which Gales worked for at that time (2015, p. 181). The researcher's analysis was a double-levelled process: first she focused on examining "the distributions of the categories of grammatical stance – adverbials, *that*-complement clauses, *to*-complement clauses and modals" (2015, p. 183). Then she used Precht's "qualitative social constructionist approach" in which the analyst has to search for patterns that show a "relationship between interlocutors, their relative status and presentation of self" (2003, p. 255 in Gales, 2015, p. 183). The direct results of this study showed that on top of the four grammatical categories examined comes modals followed by *that*-complement clauses, then comes the *to*-complement clauses followed by adverbials at the end of the list.

Based on this study, Gales summarized some language-related characteristics that are commonly attributed to threat language by threat assessors, language experts, and investigators. While the high-risk realized type of threats is commonly characterized by directness, specificity, and clarity, the low-risk non-realized threat type can be described as the complete opposite. This second type is characterized by vagueness, generalization, and voidness. The results she found

can be summarized into two major points: first, there is no “one-to-one correspondence between linguistic form and language function” in threat communication language (2015, p.171). Second, Gales refutes the previously mentioned ‘common conception’ about the two types of threat realization since there is a clear “interplay” – she clarifies – between the language functions for both the realized and non-realized threats. There are no clear-cut linguistic features that can signify the threatener’s seriousness about the attack.

In 2010, Tammy Gales noticed a wide gap in “understanding of the discursive nature of threatening language and a lack of agreement, even, as to how threateners successfully threaten” (2010, p. ii). Hence, she decided to approach this special type of discourse by examining the construct of stance to uncover how the threateners view, judge or assess particular subjects or propositions. She “created a corpus of 470 threat letters, collected over one year at the Academy Group, a behavioral analysis firm of former F.B.I. Supervisory Special Agents” (2010, p. ii). Since the researcher believes in the importance of using the qualitative and the quantitative approaches together, she based her dissertation research study on them both. She chose to use discourse and corpus-based analyses to fulfill each approach, respectively (2010, p. 84). Gales also included a survey that examined how three communities of practice regard the concept of stance within a threat context. Using this triangulation method, she aimed at discovering two issues: “how communities of practice view stance in threats;” and “how grammatical markers of stance are actually distributed” (Gales, 2010, p. ii). I shall refer to this work by Gales under the corpus-based subsection later on.

Thus, in the few previous pages, I highlighted how the construct of stance is perceived and examined by major sociolinguistic scholars (Bassiouny, 2014; Du Bois, 2007; & Jaffe, 2007).

Then I provided a technical definition of threat communication acts by professional researchers in that field including Smith (2008) and Fitzgerald (2007). In this section, I also underlined the major works of Tammy Gales as one of the pioneers to examine stance in threat discourses. Gales used a number of approaches to analyze stance in this unique context including Appraisal Analysis and SFL; however, I use critical discourse analysis (CDA) to analyze the threat manifestos selected for the present study. The coming section provides a detailed overview of CDA as a theoretical framework and briefly refers to the different approaches that follow the same school. Additionally, some major concepts are foregrounded such as power, ideology, racism and computer-mediated discourse.

## 2.2. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

### 2.2.1. Definitions & Features

Van Dijk defines critical discourse analysis as a “discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (2015, p. 466). Thus, based on this definition, it is assumed that CDA mainly aims at exposing and challenging social inequality that is represented and encouraged in any spoken or written discourse. Another prominent researcher who strongly agrees with Van Dijk’s perception of CDS is Ruth Wodak. Myer and Wodak define CDA “as fundamentally concerned with analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language” (2001, p. 2). According to both researchers, CDA mainly focuses on how language is being used to critically investigate social inequality. Van Dijk makes a clear distinction between the micro-level of social order which can be found in all different forms of

language use and communication and the macro-level of analysis represented in abstract concepts such as inequality, power and dominance within the social groups. The researcher believes that these two levels “form one unified whole” that can be found daily in every possible interaction. In order to effectively perform a critical discourse analysis, both Van Dijk (2015) and Fairclough (2013, p. 7) believe that these two levels should be equally examined and analyzed to understand the whole picture.

Secondly, based on the notion of access and power elaborated above, Van Dijk suggests that any research on CDA should be conducted in two dimensions: *context* (or the communicative situation) and “*structures of text and talk*” (2015, p. 470). Naturally, for an individual or a group to claim power in a certain situation, they have to have control over some of these items: *setting, ongoing actions, participants, roles, identities, objectives, attitudes and ideologies*. So, in the present study, it was the attackers who decide “on the time and place of the communicative event” (2015, p. 471). In other words, the attackers are those in power and control of the time and place of both the attack itself and of the related manifestos. They also controlled who are to be their participants/victims and they undoubtedly had a specific ideology and stance that they wanted to manifest using these two tools: attack and manifesto. Thus, the first dimension of CDA, which mainly focuses on the communicative situation of any discourse, shows how the attackers really controlled many items of those listed by Van Dijk.

The second dimension is mainly about the different structures of text used in a specific context. Van Dijk clarifies that it is really important in all discourses to recognize “who controls topics” (2015, p. 471). To illustrate, the researcher gives many examples of those who are in power or who have the authority in specific positions to decide what will be discussed such as

editors, teachers, publishers, and politicians. For this study, it is the attackers who claim this authority of what to be discussed and how. It is a right they grant to themselves since they are the authors of their own manifestos.

While Van Dijk defines CDA in terms of how discourse tackles power either by activating or resisting it, Norman Fairclough defines CDA as a *transdisciplinary* methodology based on an “analysis of dialectical relations between discourse and other objects, elements or moments, as well as analysis of the ‘internal relations’ of discourse” (2013, p.4). To simplify this definition, CDA can be directly defined based on its basic three pillars: critique, discourse and analysis. Firstly, most CDA researchers agree that the critique nature of this approach is based mainly on making the ‘wrong’ ‘right’ in the sense that the CDA practitioner examines the society, spots any faults based on conventional norms of that particular society then searches for ways – based on this type of analysis – to fix, mitigate or change those wrongs (Fairclough 2013; Van Dijk 2015; Wodak 2008). They also agree that CDA’s ultimate goal is to expose and address any social acts of inequality.

There are a number of features that distinguish critical discourse analysis from other research approaches. Fairclough, for example, sets a couple of general characteristics for CDA: firstly, it has to follow a “systematic transdisciplinary analysis” that examines and links the discourse being analyzed with “other elements of the social process” (2013, p. 10). Similarly, Michael Meyer posits that CDA cannot be applied without a full understanding of the context (or history) of the text being analyzed since CDA must be applied in coordination with all the *extralinguistic factors* involved (2001, p. 15). Secondly, CDA is *normative*, which means that “it addresses social wrongs in their discursive aspects and possible ways of righting or mitigating

them” (Fairclough, 2013, p. 11). Along the same line, Meyer believes that “CDA scholars play an advocacy role for groups who suffer from social discrimination” (2001, p. 15). He posits that this analytical approach can achieve useful social results based on “explicit power relationships” that are usually implicit in discourse.

In a more recent work, Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer preferred using a more generic term, critical discourse studies (CDS), which in their view- as well as for many other prominent CDA practitioners such as Van Dijk (2013) – is a more comprehensive term for all the interdisciplinary branches of knowledge that do the same function such as pragmatics, sociolinguistics, and discourse studies (2015, p. 2). Benwell and Stokoe expressed the same idea: “Interdisciplinarity is promoted via CDA’s commitment to mediating between the social and the linguistic, and by a desire to theorise the social as more than a mere contextual ‘backdrop’ or ‘determiner’ of texts” (2006, p. 105, para. 2). Meyer and Wodak named seven dimensions that all critical discourse studies have in common which include focusing on: *‘naturally occurring’ language; larger units of analysis; non-verbal aspects of interaction; dynamic sociocognitive strategies; the functions of contexts of language use; analyzing phenomena of text grammar and language use*. They strengthen the “constitutive problem-oriented” nature of CDS as an interdisciplinary approach that aims at “analyzing, understanding and explaining social phenomena that are necessarily complex” (2015, p.2).

So, CDS is a school that is characterized by some core principles such as problem-orientation, interdisciplinary and eclecticism with a variety of non-compulsory theoretical backgrounds, as clarified by both Meyer and Wodak (2015). Thus, it depends on the researcher’s vision when it comes to what problem to be addressed, which branches of knowledge to resort to



in the analysis and what theories to be used in the research. Another common feature in CDS is that it aims at more social enlightenment and emancipation in the sense that it raises the awareness of the social actors of “their own needs and interests” (2015, p. 7). So, one of the ultimate objectives of CDS school is to help the society with all its members to better understand and deal with their realities and problems with a deeper, micro- and macro-analyses of its discourse. “Moreover, CDS approaches are characterized by the common interests in deconstructing ideologies and power through the systematic and retroductable investigation of semiotic data (written, spoken or visual)” (2015, p.4). In other words, it is indispensable in any CDA study to tackle the concepts of ideology and power within the particular context or setting being analyzed. Thus, the coming few paragraphs are dedicated to highlighting these two concepts.

### **2.2.2. Ideology & Power**

As highlighted earlier, ideology and power are two fundamental concepts in most, if not all, CDA studies. Both Meyer and Wodak believe that CDS “aims at revealing structures of power and unmasking ideologies” (2015, p. 8). To begin with, ideology is broadly defined as “a coherent and relatively stable set of beliefs and values,” as per Wodak and Meyer (2015, p. 8). Although the concept has long been associated with negative connotations, both researchers explain that this is not their focal point. It is rather the hidden and implicit beliefs that are expressed daily in our different discourses that are of more importance to critical discourse analysts. Fairclough gives a more complex definition of the term *ideologies* in which he describes them as “representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation” (2003, p. 218 in Meyer & Wodak,

2015, p. 9). These representations simply come in the form of a discourse, be that textual or semiotic, and they show power relations in all its forms.

Ideology, for Van Dijk (2006) is simply a collection of ideas that lead to a *belief system*; this system is not attributed to individuals per se, but rather to the whole social system, that includes social practices, social entities and acts of reproduction, which lies behind them. Hence, there are various types of ideologies, as argued by Van Dijk, that correspond to the various groups, entities or organizations. The researcher also talks about “racist ideology” which is relevant to the present study. He argues that this type of ideology plays two major roles: firstly, it controls and organizes the “socially shared beliefs”; secondly, it can have a great impact on the government’s contribution to the “public affairs”. Then he adds: “ideologies are foundational social beliefs of a rather general and abstract nature. One of their cognitive functions is to provide (ideological) coherence to the beliefs of a group and thus facilitate their acquisition and use in everyday situations” (Van Dijk, 2007, p. 116).

Power, a second fundamental concept for CDS, is mostly connected with how discourse is used to produce or reproduce social domination. This means that CDS is interested in showing “how dominated groups may discursively resist such abuse” (Wodak & Meyer, 2015, p. 9). Meyer and Wodak summarize the different sources of power as follows: “power as a result of specific resources of individual actors;” “power as a specific attribute of social exchange... depending on the relation of resources between different actors;” and “power as a widely invisible systemic and constitutive characteristic of society” (2015, p. 10).

In his book *Discourse and Power*, Teun Van Dijk distinguishes between different types of power, namely, *individual* and *social power*. The latter he defined as “a property of relations

between social groups, institutions or organizations” (2008, p. 65, para. 2). *Social power* is an exercise of control practiced by one group/organization over another in which process the dominant group might be practicing this dominance not only on their actions but also on their minds in an attempt to limit their freedom and control their ideologies. This social power has a subtype which Van Dijk called *dominance* which is based on performing injustice and inequality on the inferior, submissive group with two conditions: the privilege of having *access* to resources (a term introduced by Van Dijk then adopted by Bassiouney in 2014) and the state of submission and surrender that the dominated group has (Van Dijk, 2008, p. 65-66).

In a different article, Van Dijk clarifies that this “privileged access to scarce social resources, such as force, money, status, fame, knowledge, information” is called a *power base* since it represents different types of power (2015, p. 469). To give a relevant example to this study, the attackers/writers of manifestos demonstrate two kinds of power: the first is a power of force, as Van Dijk explains, which they show by using violence in their actual attacks (either by bombing or shooting their targets); the second is an epistemic power which is shown in their manifestos. This last type of power is even more influential, as will be explained later on in the Chapter Five, since it has (and still does) actually influenced other individuals pushing them to do similar violent acts. Not only did the initiators of these attacks use the power of knowledge to justify their actions, but their manifestos are also full of examples of persuasive power which they use to promote for their ideologies and to call for similar actions. This kind of power is what Van Dijk described as a control over the mind when he says: “if we are able to influence people’s minds – for example, their knowledge, attitudes, or ideologies – we indirectly may control (some of) their actions, as we know from persuasion and manipulation” (2015, p. 470).

Norman Fairclough, in his *Language and Power*, declares two main reasons for focusing on these two elements, namely, language and power: the first, he says, is to underline how language can have a vital role in either producing or changing “social relations of power” (2013, p. 1). Here I would like to focus on the verb “change” which is clearly manifested in the threat discourses being analyzed in this study. The particular attackers being quoted herein have all aimed at changing social relations of power through two means: using actual power (violence/attack) and using language itself as a tool to convince their audience – whoever those might be – with their own ideology of elimination and eradication of the targeted group. These last two acts are exactly what Fairclough referred to as his second purpose when he said that his book aims at raising awareness of how language can be used by some peoples or groups to dominate others (2013).

To show the direct connection between ideology and power, I refer to Fairclough’s description of the powerful “interrelationships of language and power” which can be observed through sociolinguistic conventions. The latter “arise(s) out of – and give rise to – particular relations of power” (Fairclough, 2013, p.1). For a better understanding of what a sociolinguistic convention is, Fairclough gives an example of the doctor-patient relationship in which “authority and hierarchy” is seen as a natural, “common-sense” assumption since the doctor has the knowledge. Based on this conception of what a “common-sense” assumption is, the researcher adds one more block to his shape: assumption is ideology. It is at this particular point that the trilogy of language, power and ideology is fully apprehended and revealed.

According to Fairclough, ideology is “closely linked to power” due to multiple complex reasons (2013, p.1). Initially, we can easily say that any assumption we have as human beings

must have a medium of communication to be conveyed to others. This medium is definitely language, whether spoken or written. Thus, we express our assumptions through our language. So, it can be logically concluded that language is the means for expressing ideology. Secondly, those assumptions or ideologies we express, as social actors, in our language accumulatively acquire power (or credibility and authority) the more they are used in discourse. In other words, the more the social actors use and repeat those assumptions, the more power relations they (those ideologies) have and the more legitimate they become.

### **2.2.3. New Racism**

Since this research study is focusing on the analysis of threat letters of attackers who targeted particular groups such as Muslims and Hispanics, it is crucial herein to provide a clear and modern definition of racism that copes with the type of xenophobia and discrimination the world faces nowadays. To begin with, Ruth Wodak and Veronika Koller (2008) provide a detailed and updated definition of “new racism” as follows.

The “new” racism differs from the older kinds in that it is not expressed in overtly racist terms or in the terms of neo-fascist discourse, for instance by some notion of biological or racial superiority, white supremacy or skin colour. Instead, the repertoires of justification that are typically employed use social characteristics (e.g. protecting jobs, concern about welfare benefits) or cultural incompatibilities (immigrants lack “cultural competence”, they are not “tolerant”). The new racism exploits xenophobic frames (fear of the “other”), ethnocentrism, masculinities, and “ordinary” prejudice in subtle ways and often, too, in ways that are subconscious or routinized (2008, p. 293, para. 2).

Due to this update in how racism is being reframed, Wodak and Koller coined a new term “xeno-racism” which they believe is more expressive and reflective. The researchers argue that those to be accused of “xeno-racism” are using an explicit defensive strategy to hide their actual “opposition to migrants” (2008, p. 293). In fact, in threat discourses analyzed herein, it becomes clear that the text writers (i.e. attackers) use both “excuses for racist language”: the old and the new. To further explain this point, I could suggest that these threat discourses include many examples of racial superiority, white supremacy as well as some social characteristics and cultural incompatibilities that Wodak and Koller refer to in their definition.

Innocent Chilwa (2007) presents a relatively similar research study to the present one in which he employs critical discourse analysis to examine online written threats posted by two terrorist groups in Nigeria, Boko Haram and Ansaru. Chilwa collected seven online threat messages published by these two terrorist groups between 2009 and 2012, written originally in Hausa and then translated into English. “The analysis of data is essentially qualitative, an approach involving some descriptive and critical interpretive CDA. Some consistent linguistic structure of terrorist threats is described alongside their discursive-pragmatic functions” (Chilwa, 2017, p. 328). Moreover, the researcher makes use of evaluation in two ways: to express judgments either positively or negatively and to express the narrator’s point of view. Chilwa concludes that these threat letters posted online by the Nigerian terrorist groups have intertextuality features that link them to Al Qaeda and global jihadism. He justifies this conclusion referring to the fact that these two parties view their acts of terrorism and violence as “retaliation for some perceived social wrongs done to individuals or groups” (2017, p. 333).

## 2.3. Computer-Mediated Discourse

The past thirty years have indeed witnessed a dramatic change in all means of communication thanks to the internet and the new technological developments, in what has been called ‘new media’. This development is represented not only in the different communicative tools that we use nowadays, but also in the discursive practices that come alongside. Naturally, this change promoted the emergence of new branch of linguistics that would examine and analyze these new types of discourse being produced via these new media channels. Hence, computer-mediated discourse emerged.

Herring and Androutsopoulos define computer-mediated discourse (CMD) as “the communication produced when human beings interact with one another by transmitting messages via networked or mobile computers, where “computers” are defined broadly to include any digital communication device” (2015, p. 127). Many linguistic scholars have exerted tremendous efforts trying to set clear principles for the classification of computer-mediated discourse (Androutsopoulos, 2006; Gruber, 2008 (a, b); Herring 2007; Herring & Androutsopoulos, 2015). Modality is one of the criteria many researchers used to classify this particular type of discourse in which CMD is classified on basis of its mode of communication: either written or spoken discourse. But due to the proliferating nature of CMD, this classification category cannot easily contain all the forms that constantly come to surface under this concept (Herring & Androutsopoulos, 2015). Other attempts include classifying CMD according to its discourse types and genres in which it is described as being conversational, narrative, or expository. Herring also agrees to these categories of classification and adds register and the number of participants to the same list (2007).

In 2007, Herring published an article in which she presented a “more fine-grained classification scheme ... which comprises two sets of facets: medium and situation” (2015, p. 130). The first includes “available channels of communication, synchronicity, one-way versus two-way message transmission, message persistence, message format, and size of message buffer” (2015, p. 130). The second includes “group size, participant characteristics, purpose of communication, topic or theme, norms of social appropriateness, and code or language variety used” (2015, p. 130).

In order to differentiate between the communicative practices in the new media and those used in the ‘old’ media such as print media and broadcast, Gruber uses Holy’s categorization system to build a more sophisticated one. But first I should include Holy’s original ‘dimensions’ – as Gruber names them: “the types of signs they can process (for example spoken sounds vs. written signs); direction of communication (monological vs. dialogical); and the possibilities of transmission and storage of data” (Holly, 1997 as cited in Gruber, 2008a, p. 55). Gruber builds his new classification scheme on Holy’s original one by splitting each dimension into two. So, the ‘sign type’ dimension is divided into two subdimensions: a) ‘conceptual mode of communication’ which mainly distinguishes between the oral versus the written realization of a text. This means that a lawyer at a court must have conceptually thought and written his pronouncement before orally delivering it during the trial. The second subdimension of the ‘sign type’ is ‘communicative modality’ which relates to the different types of forms or modes in which the communication act takes place, including the written, pictorial and musical forms.

The second dimension as stated by Holly is the direction of communication which is subdivided into: a) monological vs. dialogical communication’ and b) the “number of



communication partners'. The first one "refers to the primary communicative function a certain form of communication has" (2008a, p. 56). The second subdimension for this point is the number of the senders/receivers involved in this communication act. Gruber defines three types of these two-partner relationships: "one to one (1:1; 'private communication'), one to many (1:n; 'broadcasting'), and many to many (n:n; 'communicative networks') communications (2008a, p. 56). The third and final dimension, "possibilities of transmission and storage of data" as defined by Holly, is subdivided by Gruber into two subdimensions: first, the 'degree of intended persistence'. Gruber refers to Erickson's idea that any form of computer-mediated communication (CMC) is basically intended to be stored and accessed at any time in the future. The second subdivision of Holly's third dimension relates to the synchronicity of the communication act itself which means whether this communicative act of all partners is happening at the same time or at different timings (Erickson, 1999 as cited in Gruber 2008a, p. 56).

To briefly conclude the second section of the literature review, a researcher who chooses CDA as a theoretical framework must follow the interdisciplinary nature of that approach by which all the related aspects of the phenomenon under examination must be elaborately referred to and contextualized. In the present study, stance is analyzed using CDA framework; thus, besides examining the basic elements that accompany the analysis of stance (such as who are the social actors involved; what is the public act being used; is the stance being expressed implicitly or explicitly; etc.), there are macroanalysis elements that should also be considered (power of those social actors; the ideology adopted and expressed by those actors; what type of racism is manifested in that discourse; etc.). Once all these discourse-analytical procedures are followed and fulfilled, the results can best be verified using a different, but complementary, research

method. To qualitatively check the results found based on the CDA approach, one beneficial way is to integrate a corpus-based analysis. Therefore, the following section deals mainly with corpus linguistics and its research application.

## 2.4. Corpus Linguistics

McEnery and Wilson posit that corpus linguistics is “the study of language based on examples of real life language use” (1996 as cited in Baker, 2010, p. 6). Corpus linguistics (CL) is, moreover, a unique method of data analysis more of a quantitative nature that “allows us [linguists] to develop insights into how language works by ‘consulting’ real-life data” (Weisser, 2015, p. 8) that could be operated using a variety of softwares. Susan Hunston defines corpora simply as “electronic collections of large numbers of texts ... [that] have been used in increasingly diverse ways to investigate topics such as lexis, grammar, stylistics, language change, and language acquisition” (2007, p. 27). Using a corpus facilitates the researcher’s job in examining the frequency of the unit or utterance under investigation by calculating the “frequencies of co-occurrence” as Hunston elaborates. Investigating stance by using a corpus-driven approach has two positive aspects: first, this method of analysis helps the scholar to quantify and list forms; secondly, it helps “observe multiple uses of a word or phrase in context” (Hunston, 2007, p. 27). The following two paragraphs present two works that have utilized corpus analysis in their research with one major difference: the first study used corpus-based analysis solely with no other analytical approaches, while the second incorporated both the corpus-based and the CDA approach in its analysis.

In their 2000 corpus-based study, Susan Conrad and Douglas Biber focused on examining adverbial markers of stance in three different collections of texts: conversations,

academic writings and news reports. The researchers' main objective was to identify and examine adverbials which express meanings that could reflect the stance or attitude of the speakers/writers involved (2000, p. 56-57). The data used for compiling this corpus was based on *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (Biber et al. 1999) with about 5 million words of text for each register: conversation and academic prose (2000, p. 62). Conrad and Biber identified three distinct parameters for all the adverbials included in their corpus: "(1) semantic class, (2) grammatical realization, (3) placement in the clause" (2000, p. 58). Years later, Hunston simplified these parameters in three shorter words: *meaning*, *form* and *position*, respectively (2007, p. 29). As for the first parameter, the researchers stated three different stance 'domains': *epistemic stance*; *attitudinal stance* and *style stance*. The first relates to the stancetaker's "certainty, reliability, or limitations of a proposition" (2000, p. 57). The second shows how speakers convey their feelings, attitudes or judgements. Finally, style stance has to do with how the utterance or text is being presented (2000). The results of this study show that the grammatical realization of the stance adverbials may have many forms including "single adverb, adverb phrase, noun phrase, prepositional phrase, finite subordinate clause, or non-finite subordinate clause" (2000, p. 60). Another result is that the placement of stance adverbials includes four main positions as Hunston explains "initial, pre-verbal, post-verbal, and final" (2007, p. 29).

In 2008, a group of researchers worked on producing a "synergy" of approaches, namely, the critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics, to examine how effective they would function together (Baker et al., 2008). "A 140-million-word corpus of British news articles about refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants (collectively RASIM)" was specifically compiled for this project to be used for the discourse analysis both qualitatively and

quantitatively (2008, p. 273). The data collected belonged to different UK national and regional newspapers over a period of ten years since 1996. This massive dataset was used for the corpus-based analysis, whereas a downsized sample was used for the CDA analysis. Thus, the aim of this research paper was not just to examine the “subject matter” which is the representation of RASIM in British news articles (2008, p. 276), but also to check the effectiveness of this methodological combination, just like the present study.

The starting point for this project once the corpus was compiled was to check the most statistically outstanding frequencies of the four main terms: refugee, asylum seeker, immigrant and migrant (RASIM) as well as their plural forms, based on the corpus results. The second step of analysis was to define which articles/texts are to undergo a CDA analysis; the researchers selected the articles “from a pool of articles published in periods of increased references to RASIM, as indicated by a quantitative analysis” (2008, p. 285). A number of illuminating results are approached in this study. The most prominent result is that both CDA and CL approaches are complementary and useful to each other. Each approach can serve as the entry point for any study where CL “can provide a general ‘pattern map’ of the data” (2008, p. 295) while CDA “can point towards patterns to be examined through the CL lens for triangulation” (2008, p. 296). This is why the same integrated approach is used in the present studies, as will be explained in the coming chapter.

## Chapter Three: Methodology

This study explores the construct of stance in two recently published threat manifestos by anti-immigrant attackers using an integrated approach of CDA and CL. In this chapter, I shed light on the theoretical framework to be followed herein as well as the linguistic devices and the CL techniques to be used. The chapter highlights the research design followed, the data collection process used, the research instruments employed, and the data analysis techniques implemented to answer my research questions.

### 3.1. Research Design

In order to be able to rigorously arrive at a solid understanding and a profound analysis of stance(s) expressed in the examined threat manifestos, I intend to follow an “integrative combination of methodologies traditionally associated with corpus linguistics (CL) and critical discourse analysis (CDA)” (Baker et al., 2008) that is based on the following two-fold process. Stage one includes using a descriptive qualitative approach in which I depend on using *referential strategies*, one of the five well-based CDA discursive strategies and specific linguistic resources on carefully selected excerpts of the available database, following the footsteps of Reisigl and Wodak (2005) and Bassiouney (2014), respectively. Stage two includes the quantitative analysis of the data which is based on building two separate corpora for the two manifestos subject to examination herein. Each corpus is then “analysed manually, or is processed by the computer in a preliminary fashion . . . ; thereafter the evidence is interpreted by the scholar directly” (Sinclair, 2001, xi in Baker et al., 2008). In this stage of the analysis, the researcher selects a number of keywords to be examined in both corpora in terms of their frequencies, associated clusters and the wider context of their occurrences throughout.

### 3.2. Data Selection

I chose two threat manifestos published online to serve as my dataset for this study. The first is *The Great Replacement* manifesto published by Brenton Tarrant (2019), who is “charged with the murder of 51 people, 40 counts of attempted murder and one terrorism charge in New Zealand’s deadliest peace time mass shooting” (BBC, 2019), hours before the attack. This attack has been widely referred to as the Christchurch shootings since the two shootings targeted two mosques in that particular city in New Zealand in March 2019. The second manifesto is *The Inconvenient Truth* by Patrick Crusius (2019). This one is widely known as El Paso shooting since it happened in El Paso area in Texas, United States in August 2019 (just a few months after the Christchurch attack).

There are a variety of reasons, besides matching the criteria I defined for the data collected herein, that stand behind choosing these particular two manifestos. The first and most important reason is the huge difference between the target groups in the two attacks: the Christchurch shootings targeted Muslims praying in mosques, while El Paso attack targeted some of the Hispanic population in the United states, specifically those who were in that shopping center at the time of the attack. Despite this difference, there is one major element that is common among the two groups: both targets are immigrants. Secondly and as equally important is the direct and explicit support to the Christchurch attacker that El Paso shooter, Crusius, shows at the very first line of his manifesto: “I support the Christchurch shooter and his manifesto” (Crusius, 2019, p. 1). Building on reason one and two, a third reason why I included these two in particular is that both attackers made it clear in their manifestos that they committed

their crimes because of their anti-immigrant ideology. Finally, these two manifestos fully match the criteria defined beforehand for the data selected for this study, which include the following:

- a) they are written in English;
- b) they are authentic/actual threat messages;
- c) they targeted immigrants (in general);
- d) they were published in the year 2019;
- e) they are relatively detailed and lengthy;
- f) they are accessible online.

### 3.3. Instruments & Procedures

The present study initially necessitated an intensive online research to find both manifestos due to their legal and security sensitivity, so they were not easily found. Secondly, I read each manifesto separately and thoroughly to identify a common analytical angle from which I can tackle both manifestos under the same sections. This step led to categorizing the two discourses into two sections: the first is the parts where each attacker shows in-group representation (of himself, his group or his people); the second section includes the parts where each attacker shows out-group representation (of the others or the enemy) (Reisigl & Wodak, 2005). Fourthly, I selectively chosen excerpts from both sections (in-group versus out-group) in each manifestos to be first analyzed qualitatively using the referential strategies and specific linguistic units. Finally, I compiled the text of each manifesto into an independent corpus using AntConc software (Anthony, 2005), then I selected a few keywords that proved of importance in the qualitative analysis. The concordance lines that appeared in the corpus search were examined quantitatively and qualitatively within the concordances of each manifesto independently.

### 3.4. Methods of Data Analysis

In the present study, I intended to draw on critical discourse analysis (CDA) mainly and on methods of corpus linguistics (CL) in an attempt to present a balanced research project that would do justice to both approaches (Baker et al., 2008, p. 276). The main objective herein is definitely to explore the stances of the two attackers as previously mentioned, but a ‘parallel aim’ is to compare the qualitative and quantitative results based on CDA and CL, respectively, in an attempt to verify the results within a triangulation scope. Therefore, both “analyses were carried out separately,” then the results of each approach were compared against each other. Thus, the theoretical framework applied in this study is divided into two parts: part one is dedicated to the CDA with a particular focus on structural resources; whereas part two focuses on CL analysis and the techniques used hereby.

#### 3.4.1. Part One: Critical Discourse Analysis

“A study that depends on stance or positioning for analysis will have to resort to clear and concrete methods that avoid rendering a subjective or concentric analysis,” states Bassiouney (2015, p. 65) reflecting upon stance analysis in any sociolinguistic study. Hence, in order to modelize the stances of the two attackers as displayed in their manifestos, I basically apply one main discursive strategy, referential strategies, as laid down by Ruth Wodak and Martin Reisigl (2005, p. 45) through the medium of structural resources as implemented by Bassiouney (2014, p. 66) in an attempt to have a strong foundation for the stance interpretation that will unfold itself in the coming chapters.



In their book on discourse and discrimination, Ruth Wodak and Martin Reisigl introduced five basic discursive strategies, “which are all involved in the positive self- and negative other-presentation” (2005, p. 44). Both researchers agreed on defining the word “strategy” as an “intentional plan of practices” that is used by social actors to reflect their aim on different levels: socially, politically, or linguistically. In the following paragraphs, I refer to their definition and explanation of the first and most basic discursive strategy, referential strategies, to show how it can be useful for the data analysis stage in this study.

#### 3.4.1.1. Discursive Strategies

##### 3.4.1.1.1. Referential Strategies:

The *Referential* strategies are also known as *Nomination* strategies “by which one constructs and represents social actors: for example, ingroups and outgroups” (2005, p. 45). These strategies “are discursively utilised to construct a dichotomous world of ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’, of ‘them’ and ‘us’, and, strictly speaking, to make positive or negative judgements on the imagined or represented social actors.” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2005, p. 105). The two researchers name a number of linguistic and figurative devices that are usually spotted as part of the referential strategies to indicate membership in these two groups, namely, the insiders and the outsiders. Some of the figurative devices used include tropes, metaphors, synecdoches (in both forms) and metonymies. Among the membership categorization strategies that belong to the referential strategies are “biological” and “naturalizing” strategies which can be observed in *The Great Replacement* Manifesto that will be thoroughly examined in the following chapter.

Here are two examples of how Brenton Tarrant, the Christchurch shooter, referred to the *Others* in his manifesto:

- Biological/ethnic references: “Non-Europeans” in “*Even if we were to deport all Non-Europeans from our lands tomorrow*” (2019, p. 3);
- Figurative device: metaphor: “*This is WHITE GENOCIDE.*” (2019, p.4).

In the first example, Tarrant refers to all those who do not belong to the European origin as Non-Europeans and he mixes this with the possessive pronoun *our* to refer to the land as a clear indication that he has a ‘legal’ membership of the European group. The usage of the prefix *non-* is overgeneralized in his manifesto as it refers to everyone else other than Europeans. This overgeneralization is emphasized again with the figurative device used in the second example: in which Tarrant indicates that the immigration of non-Europeans to European lands will finally lead to the extinction of the White race, following his logic. This metaphor is defined by Bassiouney as “the process in which one word figuratively stands for another to imply a relationship of similarities” (p. 69). According to Lakoff and Johnson (2008), metaphorical representations can serve certain ideological aims (see Bassiouney, 2014, p.69).

Other common linguistic tools that are used as part of the referential strategies include *collectivization* which “is the reference to social actors as group entities, but without quantifying them, for example by means of deictics like ‘we’ or of collectives like ‘family’, ‘group’, ‘team’, ‘tribe’, ‘troupe’, ‘class’, ‘mob’, ‘population’, ‘people’, ‘ethnicity’, ‘nation’ and ‘race’” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2005, p. 53). Another basic concept that relates to how both groups are represented is *racialization*; Reisigl and Wodak believes it “denotes the dynamic and dialectical representational process of categorisation and meaning construction in which specified meanings are ascribed to real or fictitious somatic features” (2005, p. 8).

### 3.4.1.1.2. Structural resources

#### *Mood & modality*

Benwell and Stokoe describe *mood* as the choice between different types of sentences which include three: declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives (2006, p. 112). Bassiouney defines it as “a micro-analysis of the clause structure that concerns itself with the functional categories of statements” (2014, p. 73). The first type is the choice to make a statement; the second includes asking questions; and the third is to give orders. Here are some examples for the three types of mood from *The Great Replacement* by Brenton Tarrant, widely known as the Christchurch shooter.

Declarative mood: “they will NEVER conquer our lands and they will never replace our people.” (2019, p. 5)

Interrogative mood: “Why did you carry out the attack?” (2019, p. 5)

Imperative mood: “Refuse to pay taxes. Refuse.” (2019, p. 71).

Other examples for mood come from *The Inconvenient Truth* Manifesto by Patrick Crusius, mostly known as El Paso shooter.

Declarative mood: “I support the Christchurch shooter and his manifesto.” (2019, p. 1).

Imperative mood: “Attack low security targets” (2019, p. 8).

Both shooters by and large depend on declarative forms to state their positions, but use very few direct and clear imperative sentences to give an order. Unlike the Christchurch attacker, El Paso shooter did not use any example of the interrogative mood.

“Modality refers to expressions of commitment to the truth or obligation of a proposition” as defined by Benwell and Stokoe (2006, p.112). The modal items can have various grammatical forms, as elaborated by the scholars, that include *modal verbs*, *participial adjectives*, *verbs of cognition*, *adverbs* and *copular verbs*. Modality can also be used to express certainty or uncertainty with a combination of these modal forms mentioned above. Below are some examples of both mood and modality from both manifestos:

- “The true number of these events perpetrated across the Western world is unknown and certainly under reported.” (Tarrant, 2019, p. 32)
- “The ak47 is definitely a bad choice without this bullet design, and may still be with it.” (Patrick Crusius Manifesto: The Inconvenient Truth, 2019, p. 5)
- “In the United States, perhaps more than anywhere else in the world, the cult of the individual has been practiced for the longest time and with the deepest devotion.” (Tarrant, 2019, p. 69)
- “I didn’t spend much time at all preparing for this attack. Maybe a month, probably less.” (Patrick Crusius Manifesto: The Inconvenient Truth, 2019, p. 5).

These four examples include a variety of modalities: the first two examples show a high level of certainty using the adverbs *certainly* and *definitely*; in addition, they both include the copular verb *is*. The second two examples include some modality forms that indicate a low level of certainty including *perhaps*, *maybe*, and *probably*.

### *Pronouns*

Bassiouny believes that pronouns are used to “create and sustain different stances and positions” (2014, p. 71). This use of pronouns in any discourse hugely indicates the interpersonal relationships senders/receivers have in their communication (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 115). In his 1989 book, Fairclough suggested that the frequent use of the “inclusive *we*” shows an intended closeness between the *Daily Mail* newspaper editors and their readers in talking about the ‘Falklands War’ (1989, p. 127), giving the former a higher “authority to speak for others” (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 115). Fairclough strongly believes that pronouns “have relational values of different sorts” (1989, p. 127); one of these sorts is the ‘manipulative’ use of a particular noun, as in his example, to claim authority. One important distinction that Fairclough drew about the use of *we* is its unique nature to work both as inclusive – in which the intention is to include both the writer and the reader as one unit – “as opposed to ‘exclusive’ *we*, which refers to the writer (or speaker) plus one or more others, but does not include the addressee(s)” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 127-128). Here are some examples from the two manifestos on how the pronoun *we* is used:

From *The Great Replacement* manifesto:

“Every day we become fewer in number, we grow older, we grow weaker.” (2019, p. 3).

From *The Inconvenient Truth* manifesto:

“If we can get rid of enough people, then our way of life can become more sustainable.”  
(2019, p. 4).

The first sentence has 3 occurrences of the pronoun *we*, the parallel structure with the repetition of the pronoun are used to double the effect of inclusiveness intended or the authority

that Tarrant wants to have over the reader. The second example has just one mention of the pronoun *we* plus the possessive pronoun *our* corresponding to it. Of course, as Fairclough mentioned, *we* can be very manipulative in terms of who the writer intends to include or exclude by using it. In these examples, the shooters/writers used the pronoun *we* to include specific groups of people who belong to specific ethnicities or origin, i.e. non-immigrant white people. This consequently means that those who do not belong to this classification are not included in the *we* group, but they are rather the *other* group.

Another pronoun that equally holds its relational value is *you*. Fairclough mentions that the pronoun *you* “is used to register solidarity and commonality of experience” (1989, p. 180, para. 2). In Chapter 7 of the same book, Fairclough includes a case study of an interview conducted with the then British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher on BBC Radio. He assumed that Thatcher used *you* to “pass off her practices, perceptions and precepts as those of ‘the people’ in general” (1989, p. 180, para. 3) to show that she is one of them.

From *The Great Replacement* manifesto:

“Just do not allow **your** scepticism to turn to paranoia and keep **you** from supporting those that want the best for **you**.” (2019, p. 19)

From *The Inconvenient Truth* manifesto:

“Even though **you** might out gun a security guard or police man, they likely beat **you** in armor, training and numbers.” (2019, p. 8)

In both these examples, the writers are appealing to the sense of unity and solidarity by giving pieces of advice to their readers. In the first example, the Christchurch shooter is using the

pronoun *you* to personalize the talk as he claims himself to be one of “those who want the best” for the readers. The second is a friendly warning from El Paso shooter to his future followers not to be deceived by the little weapon they might have in hand since policemen, as he says, are better trained and well-equipped.

### **3.4.2. Part Two: Methods of Corpus Linguistics**

The second part in the data analysis phase is to examine the two manifestos quantitatively using methods of corpus linguistics through studying any text based on real-life examples (Anthony, 2005). In the present study, I follow Teubert’s approach with using corpus linguistics in which he suggests “working only with real language data taken from the discourse in a principled way and compiled into a corpus” (2005, p. 4). Therefore, the two manifestos analyzed herein are first compiled into separate corpora then analyzed “in a principled way” inspired by the initial findings of the CDA approach. The tool that is used to build these two corpora is AntConc, “a freeware, multi-platform application,” which is defined by its composer as “a corpus analysis toolkit designed by the author for specific use in the classroom, that includes a powerful concordancer, word and keyword frequency generators, tools for cluster and lexical bundle analysis, and a word distribution plot” (Anthony, 2005, p. 729). As clarified from this definition, AntConc enjoys many features on both the technical and linguistic levels that promote it for the corpus analysis of any text.

Once both corpora are built, some selected keywords and their associated clusters are to be identified in each corpus in terms of their frequencies and occurrences throughout the text. Baker et al. define keyness as “the statistically significantly higher frequency of particular words or clusters in the corpus under analysis in comparison with another corpus” (2008, p. 278).

Clusters or bundles are one more feature that distinguishes AntConc as a corpus toolkit; using “Word Clusters Tool,” the researcher can locate “collocations and other multi-word units such as phrasal verbs, and idioms” (2008, p.734). Using these analytical features facilitated by AntConc, a deeper level of discursive analysis can be approached. One direct way of showing how useful the incorporation of specific methods of corpus-based analysis can be with a CDA approach is to refer to what Partington mentioned in this regard:

At the simplest level, corpus technology helps find other examples of a phenomenon one has already noted. At the other extreme, it reveals patterns of use previously unthought of. In between, it can reinforce, refute or revise a researcher’s intuition and show them why and how much their suspicions were grounded (2003, p. 12).

Thus, according to Partington, not only does using CL as an analytical approach enable the researchers to multiply the discursive results, but it also uncovers some patterns – whether linguistic or discursive – that have not been touched upon before. This combination is a good technique by which the researcher can verify, change or self-assure the results, assumptions or hypotheses that are formed initially.

In this chapter, I have explained the CDA-CL integrated approach to be followed in Chapter Four as a theoretical framework for the analysis of stance in two recently published threat manifestos. This integrated approach initially starts with a CDA analysis of carefully selected quotes from each manifesto that represent the in-group and the out-group constructions. The second part depends on applying methods of corpus-based analysis on a number of tokens that proved important based on the CDA analysis.



## Chapter Four: Data Analysis

### 4.1. Introduction

The present study analyzes the construct of stance in two subsequent threat manifestos recently published by anti-immigrant attackers in the year 2019. The first one, *The Great Replacement*, was published online by Brenton Tarrant before shooting and “murdering 51 people in two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand” (Roy, 2020) in March 2019 (see Appendix C for full text). The second manifesto, *The Inconvenient Truth*, was published online as well by Patrick Crusius before “killing 22 people and injuring dozens of others at an El Paso Walmart” in Texas, USA (Moore & Berman, 2020) in August 2019 (see Appendix D for full text). Both attacks are considered “hate crimes” by the media and the investigation entities which consequently provoked me to examine the stances of the two attackers as displayed in their own writings (manifestos).

For this purpose, a ‘synergy’ of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and methods of corpus linguistics (CL) approaches (Baker et al., 2008) is used to reveal the ideologies of those attackers as well as the established relationship between language, power and ideology in their discourses. There is one major research question with two sub-questions that I attempt to answer in this study:

- 1) What is the stance of the attackers based on their published manifestos?
  - a. What are the different groups/parties identified by the attackers? With which group does each attacker identify himself against the other?

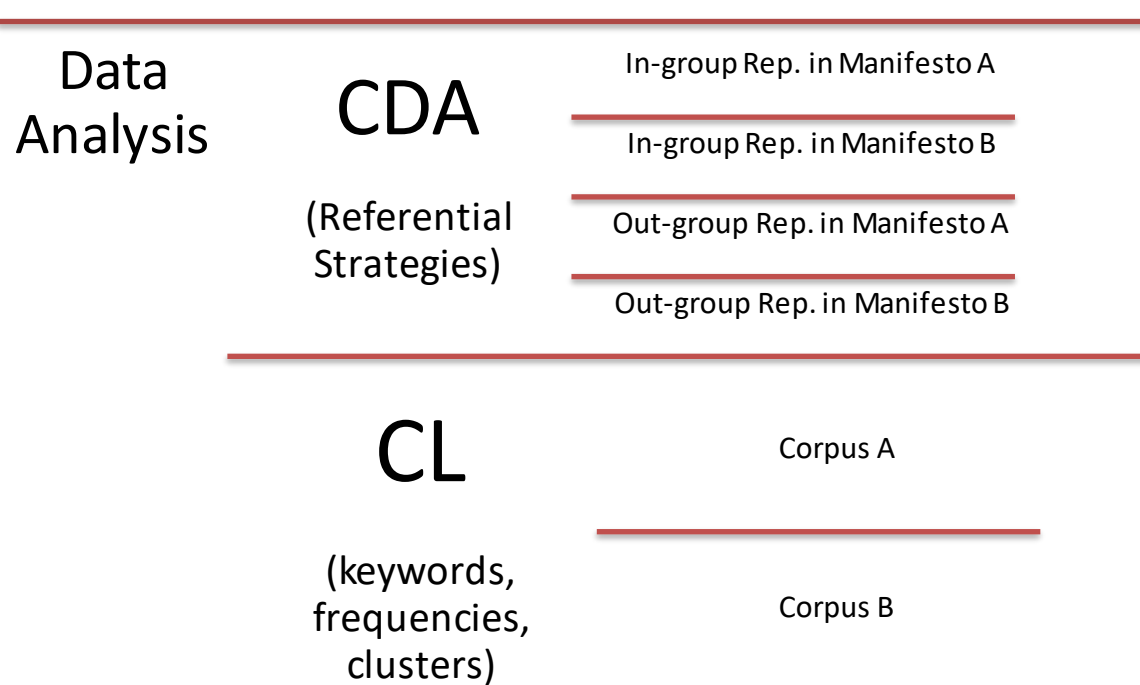
- b. How far are the CDA results matching with the CL results in clarifying the stance of each attacker?

## 4.2. Data Classification

Looking at the data selected for analysis in the present study, it seems that there is a great resemblance in the stages described by Reisigl and Wodak (2005, p. 44) for the discourse-analytical approach and the stages I follow herein. The first point of similarity is the topic of interest or the content of the manifestos analyzed: the discourse-analytical approach focuses mainly on “*topics* of a specific discourse with racist, antisemitic, nationalist or ethicist ingredients” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2005, p. 44). Similarly, this study focuses on manifestos that displayed various forms of racism, xenophobia, hatred, anti-immigration ideology, and white supremacy. Secondly, following the CDA approach as the first tool of analysis, I decided to utilize one of the basic discursive strategies: *referential strategy* or *nomination* as recommended by Reisigl and Wodak (2005, p. 44). Consequently, to follow the same protocol used with this discursive strategy, I decided to use the referential-related questions posed by these two researchers to track down how stance is expressed in these two manifestos: “How are persons [and groups] named and referred to linguistically? What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2005, p. 44).

In order to be able to answer these questions with such lengthy texts, I had to qualitatively filter the data in both manifestos into two groups: self-representation and other-representation. Thus, the data analysis phase is mainly divided into two parts: one part where the attackers talk about themselves, their ideologies and the groups they identify with, against part two where the attackers talk about the others, their origin and how they are being described. In

order to follow a logical sequence of analysis, I believe that I should start by analyzing how the attackers presented themselves and their groups. Figure 2 below shows a brief outline of the data analysis stages to be followed in this chapter. Since there are two manifestos to be examined in this study, I shall always start by analyzing *The Great Replacement* (Manifesto A, henceforth) by the Christchurch attacker, Brenton Tarrant, followed by *The Inconvenient Truth* (Manifesto B, henceforth) by El Paso attacker, Patrick Crusius.



**Figure 2: Data Analysis Outline.**

## 4.3. Critical Discourse Analysis

### 4.3.1. Self-Representation & In-group Representation

#### 4.3.1.1. Manifesto A

The first step in analyzing Manifesto A is to check how the attacker introduced and identified himself in his written material. The Christchurch attacker dedicated a huge part of his

manifesto to answer possible questions that readers of his manifesto – from both sides – would naturally ask. It is essential to emphasize here that all the excerpts included in the coming parts are taken as they are from Manifesto A (check Appendix C); this means that the attacker himself posited the potential questions and provided answers to all of them according to his own ideology and understanding. So, the following part from Manifesto A represents a good synopsis of how Tarrant (the Christchurch attacker) defined himself and the group that he represents. For an easier reference to the excerpts, I numerated the quotes.

**1. Who are you?**

Just a[n] ordinary **White** man, 28 years old. Born in **Australia** to a working class, low income family.

My parents are of **Scottish, Irish and English** stock.<sup>1</sup> (2019, p. 5)

.....

**2. Who do you consider white?**

Those that are **ethnically** and culturally **European**.

**3. Who do you consider non-white?**

Those who are **not** ethnically and culturally European. (2019, p. 17)

It is crucial here before I start analyzing the above excerpt discursively to refer to the definition of ethnicity and race as defined by Cornell and Hartmann: “ethnicity and race are among the most common categories that contemporary human beings use to organize their ideas about who they are, to evaluate their experiences and behavior, and to understand the world around them” (2006, p. 12). The two researchers posit that ethnicity and race represent the “bases of collective identity and action” since people are united in groups because of ethnicity and race. Then these groups could change the shape of societies, uprooting “old assumptions” and sometimes “challenging established systems of power” leading finally to a world change (Cornell & Hartmann, 2006, p. 12).

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<sup>1</sup> I fixed the spacing problem in all quoted excerpts.

In the above excerpts, the attacker chose to identify himself in terms of ethnicity and race using a number of referential strategies as defined by Reisigl and Wodak (2005, p. 49—52). In Quote 1 (Q1), for example, the first word that Tarrant uses to describe himself is “White” which is labeled under *racialization*, a category in which social actors are referred to in terms of their skin color, positively or negatively (2005, p.49). This referential identification term can be categorized as a *synecdochization* case in which “a specific feature, trait or characteristic is selectively pushed to the fore as a ‘part for the whole’, as a representative depicter” (2005, p. 46). This means that the attacker chose to use the quality of color, i.e., white, which is just one part of a human being’s description to refer to a ‘whole race’ as he explains later in the following excerpts. The same word is repeated in Q2 and Q3 where Tarrant sets his own rules for those who belong to the group “white” to which he belongs. It is in these two excerpts that we see the link between “White” and “European” as in: “Those that are ethnically and culturally European”. Thus, for the Christchurch attacker, all those who are ethnically and culturally European are White. Then the same concept is confirmed but using the negation form in Q3.

In the first excerpt, Tarrant also uses adjectives relating to ethnicity and nationality as in: “Scottish, Irish and English stock”. All these adjectives are historically known to be of European origin and location; they argumentatively facilitate and pave the way for his following statements (both the affirmative and the negative) to be logically perceived not just as relevant, but also as convincing. These two strategic moves, namely, *ethnification* and *nationalization*, are used repeatedly in his manifesto where he makes a clear distinction between those who are of European origin versus those who are not as will be highlighted in Part Two of this Chapter.

Another example of how the attacker used “European” as the corner stone for the in-group representation is the following:

#### 4. Who do you represent?

*Millions of **European** and other **ethno-nationalist** peoples that wish to live in peace amongst *their own* people, living in *their own* lands, practicing *their own* traditions and deciding the future of *their own kind*. (2019, p. 10)*

In addition to the direct reference to ethnicity (European) and nationalism (ethno-nationalist), Q4 gives an expository example of other referential strategies (Reisigl & Wodak, 2005). The most prominent one herein is *genericization* which is defined by the two researchers as a "generic reference by plural without article" (2005, p. 53, para. 2). In this excerpt, thus, the attacker uses several words in their plural form such as "peoples, lands and traditions" to generalize his assumption to all European people, leaving no room for exceptions nor objections. This concept of generalization is emphasized by other linguistic items and styles (in italics) such as the quantifier "millions" and the parallel structure in the second half of the sentence: "their own people," "their own lands" and "their own kind". As mentioned in Chapter Three, this repetition of the possessive pronoun "their" followed by the possessive adjective "own" three times with three different keywords "people, lands and kind" emphasizes the general sense of possession attributed explicitly to the European people and implicitly to himself as a logical consequence, since he has already established and identified himself as one of the White, European people, as indicated before.

But what is culture in general? The two sociologists, Cornell and Hartmann, present a simple definition of culture in relation with collective identity. So, culture for them is "an identity construction site of uncommon importance" where "[i]nterpretations, ideas and understandings are part of" (2006, p. 191). Thus, culture is like a social factory where the social actor visits to have his/her identity constructed, but more or less unconsciously, where some of the major identity factors get shaped such as the interpretation of certain situations; ideas about

specific topics or issues; and the way this social actor understands or deals with these issues. Once this individual identity construction process is finished, collective identities which are "firmly embedded in relationships and institutions" are then produced in "interpretive processes through which we organize the world, first in our heads and then in practice. Culture is sense making, and collective identities are products of that process" (Cornell & Hartmann, 2006, p. 191).

### 5. Why do you care so much about Europe, aren't you an Australian?

**Australia**, just like the rest of the colonies of **Europe**, is simply an off-shoot of the **European people**. A finger on the hand of the body of **Europe**.

The origins of my language is **European**, my culture is **European**, my political beliefs are **European**, my philosophical beliefs are **European**, my identity is **European** and, most importantly, my blood is **European**. (2019, p. 18)

.....

### 6. What makes you believe you are European, not just an Australian?

What is an **Australian** but a drunk **European**? Kidding, but **Australian** is a **European** colony, particularly of **British** stock and thereby an extension of **Europe**. (2019, p. 21)

As I mentioned in Chapter Three, some figurative techniques are used to show "the discursive construction of national sameness" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2005, p. 42) as in the above two examples. The same whole-part relationship is once again expressed in the first line of Q5 using a simple metaphor where the attacker describes Australia as a branch "off-shoot" in the bigger tree which is Europe. In excerpts 5 and 6, some of the already mentioned techniques can be observed such as *collectivization* as in "people" (Q5) and *ethnification* as in "European" (Q5). The first two lines of Q5 also introduce one powerful *personification* as Tarrant describes Europe

as a full human being in which Australia represents one finger of its hand. Reisigl and Wodak describe personifications as:

specific forms of metaphors that bring together and link two different semantic fields, one with the semantic feature [– human], the other bearing the semantic feature [+ human]. Personifications or anthropomorphisations are rhetorically used to give a human form or to humanise inanimate objects, abstract entities, phenomena and ideas. They play a decisive role in animating imagined ‘collective subjects’ – as, for example, ‘races’, ‘nations’ and ‘ethnicities’. Their apparent concreteness and vividness often invites hearers or readers to identify or to feel solidarity with the personified entity or against it. (2005, p. 58).

As the two researchers explain, personification is one of the powerful linguistic means used to express *spatialization*: a discursive strategy used by writers to express certain spatial relations by means of tropological construction. *Spatialization* re-occurs in the following excerpt (Q6): “but Australian is a European colony, particularly of British stock and thereby an extension of Europe”. Here, the attacker refers back to the history of Australia as one of the British colonies and relates this to the idea of being “an extension of Europe”. The same sense of belonging to Europe is re-emphasized using the word “language” as the attacker relates the origin of his language, English, to Europe. He uses repetition to strongly display this connection: “my language, my culture, my political beliefs, my philosophical beliefs, my identity, my blood”. In this particular excerpt, the attacker has established a variety of referential techniques to relate himself to Europe: he used *culturalization* (as in language, culture), *politicization* (as in identity and political and philosophical beliefs, and *relationalization* (as in blood).

#### 4.3.1.2. Manifesto B

Moving to Manifesto B, *The Inconvenient Truth*, by Patrick Crusius (2019), I have to say that identifying the parts where he speaks about himself, his ideology and his group was more difficult - though shorter - than that of *The Great Replacement*. There is more than one reason for this: first, the length of each manifesto; second, the organization and order of ideas used by each



“writer”. Generally speaking, Manifesto A is long and hence gives more details. Moreover, it is more organized, while Manifesto B is shorter and consequently has less details.

The same down-sampling process is used with Manifesto B to focus on how the attacker, Patrick Crusius, represents himself and his group versus his representation of *the others*. However, it was impossible to give a ‘pure’ self-representation sample of what Crusius said about himself and his group. This means that in all the occurrences in which he talked about his ideology and beliefs he also included a representation of *the others*, which was unavoidable. Hence, I shall provide the excerpt as it is, not to lose or destroy the meaning or coherence of the quoted part, but I mainly focus on the analysis of the self-representation parts to follow the same pattern used in Manifesto A. Similarly, I numerated the quotes for an easier reference.

- I. In general, **I** support the Christchurch shooter and his manifesto. This attack is a response to the Hispanic invasion of Texas. They are the instigators, not **me**. **I** am simply defending **my** country from *cultural and ethnic* replacement brought on by an invasion. Some people will think this statement is hypocritical because of the nearly complete *ethnic and cultural* destruction brought to the **Native Americans** by our **European ancestors**, but this just reinforces **my** point. The **natives** didn’t take the invasion of **Europeans** seriously, and now what’s left is just a shadow of what was. (Crusius, 2019, p. 1)

This is the introductory paragraph in Manifesto B. As openly stated, Patrick Crusius supports what Brenton Tarrant (the Christchurch attacker and writer of Manifesto A) did in New Zealand just a few months ahead of Patrick’s own attack on El Paso shopping mall (refer to Section 4.1. above). This opening line clearly reflects the attacker’s stance of his antecedent in a precise, declarative statement in which he describes Tarrant as a “shooter” and confirms that the manifesto published online is his. One remarkable point to draw on here is that Crusius referred positively to Tarrant as a shooter, one of the *militarization*-related referential strategies. It is as if he is proud of supporting and following Tarrant as a role model.

In the previous chapter, I referred to Fairclough's belief that pronouns "have relational values of different sorts" (1989, p. 127); one of these sorts is the 'manipulative' use of a particular pronoun, as in his example, to claim authority. In Q1 above, there is an outstanding use of the personal pronoun "I" and its corresponding possessive pronoun "my". Each one is repeated twice and has an important function in the text: the pronoun "I" is used to affirmatively state the attacker's position and 'future' action as follows. In the first occurrence, he affirms that he is a supporter of an earlier attack; while in the second he announces that what he is about to do is for the sake of his country: "I am simply defending my country." This second notion is emphasized by the use of the phrase "my country". The possessive pronoun here gives a double effect on the reader since it indicates that it is his right and his duty to defend his country.

One interesting point of analysis here is how the attacker incorporated three social concepts in this introductory paragraph (country, culture and race) and presented them as a justification for his attack "I am simply defending my country from cultural and ethnic replacement brought on by an invasion". This sentence presents the concept of defending 'national identity' as the real reason behind the attack. National identity is defined by Wodak as:

a complex of similar conceptions and perceptual schemata, of similar emotional dispositions and attitudes, and of similar behavioral conventions, which bearers of this "national identity" share collectively and which they have internalized through socialization (education, politics, the media, sports and everyday practices (1999, p. 4).

Just as in Manifesto A, a number of referential movements could be highlighted in this excerpt that relate to *ethnification*. The word "European" is mentioned twice in Q1: the first in "our European ancestors" showing how Crusius attributes himself to the European origin, just as

Tarrant does, especially with the repetition of the possessive pronoun "our" preceding it. In the second occurrence, it is used in its plural form, Europeans, which is a form of *genericization* which means, according to Reisigl and Wodak:

[a] generic reference by plural without article, as in the utterance ‘Non-European immigrants make up 6.5 per cent of the population’, by singular with a definite article (i.e. by a ‘singularising synecdoche’), as in the example ‘The foreigner has to adapt himself/herself’, or by singular with an indefinite article, as in the sentence ‘An Austrian will never accept that’. (2005, p. 53).

The second referential technique that can be spotted in this excerpt is *originalization* which indicates the origin of the social actors talked about; this discursive strategy is close to the meaning of *ethnification*. In this part, the attacker admits that there is an "ethnic and cultural destruction brought to the Native Americans by our European ancestors". The use of the word native in "Native Americans" and the word "ancestors" show that the land that he assumes is his now was theirs (the Native Americans) in the past. A sense of intentional destruction and eradication is strongly conveyed in the last sentence of this excerpt: "what's left is just a shadow of what was," in an indication that it is not the Native Americans' land anymore. This idea of origin is repeated once again by the end of his manifesto: "I can no longer bear the shame of inaction knowing that our founding fathers have endowed me with the rights needed to save our country from the brink destruction" (2019, p. 6). This sentence shows that Crusius has a deep belief that this land which was inherited from "founding fathers" has to be defended. The linguistic choices he makes reflect his belief of ownership and responsibility towards his country: "our founding fathers; endowed me; rights; and our country".

### 4.3.2. *The Other Representation & Out-group Representation*

#### 4.3.2.1. Manifesto A

To accurately define who *the others* are for the Christchurch attacker, it is necessary to mention how he addressed the different groups (*in-groups* versus *out-groups*) in his manifesto. The 74-page long manifesto written by Brenton Tarrant is divided into several sections (check Appendix C at the end); one of which, as mentioned before, is headed “Answering Possible Questions”. This particular section is originally subdivided as follows: 1. “In general;” 2. “Answers to my people/supporters questions;” 3. “Answers to detractors and to those that oppose my beliefs/methods” (2019). Based on this simple subdivision of Manifesto A, one can argue that Tarrant has already set borders between those on his side, against those who are not. It is either that you are one of his “people” and “supporters” or you are an enemy who “oppose” his ideas.

In this section, I concentrate on Item 2 of “Answering Possible Questions” section in Manifesto A where the attacker specifically addresses his “detractors: and “those who oppose my beliefs/methods” to show how he perceives and describes *the others*.

### 7. Why attack muslims if all high fertility immigrants are the issue?

Historical, societal and statistical reasons. **They** are the most despised group of invaders in the West, attacking **them** receives the greatest level of support. **They** are also one of the strongest groups, with high fertility, high in group preference and a will to conquer. (2019, p. 21)

There are a number of issues that are referentially of interest in this quote. First, the attacker used a religious reference “Muslims” as *partes pro toto* for all immigrants as indicated from the question and the answer of the above excerpt. Once again, this part-whole relationship is one of the referential strategies suggested by Reisigl and Wodak (2005) to show membership to a

particular group. In this example, the attacker first establishes that Muslims are part of the whole “immigrants” and that attacking them (Muslims) is part of attacking the whole body of immigrants (or invaders). This is what Reisigl and Wodak called a *particularizing synecdoche* where “a term is replaced by another term, the extension of which is either semantically wider or semantically narrower” (2005, p. 57). With a closer look at the answer to the question in Q7, one can notice two collective strategies used: the deictic “they” and the collective noun “group” both used to describe the noun “invaders”. The two collective nouns have a major function to play here: to show that this group belongs to the other side that is negatively referred to as “invaders,” a word that is mainly used to criminalize its doers. This text, moreover, includes two superlative forms “the most despised” and “the strongest” which are contradictorily describing the same group, Muslims. First, the attacker debasingly describes them as being the most detested; a few words later, he depicts them as the strongest among *the others*, the immigrants. Despite this contradiction, this combination actually emphasizes the attacker’s point of view since it shows that he personally hates them; however, he ‘objectively’ gives them credit as being the strongest amongst the group to which they belong. In fact, attributing power to Muslims in this context results in a negative impression rather than a good one because when the person describes his/her enemy as being strong or powerful, it means that he has a stronger motive to ‘fight’ this enemy. Then, he literally justifies his attack on Muslims based on the ‘evidence’ he included, when he says: “attacking them receives the greatest level of support.” The structure of this phrase is somehow unclear since the attacker did not mention the doer or the social actor/entity that gives this “support;” instead, the phrase sounds more like a passive one, despite being in the active voice. This could indicate that those “anonymous” actors who support this act of aggression should be kept unnamed for security reasons.

In the previous quote, I highlighted just one occurrence of *criminalization* as one of the referential strategies used by the attacker to describe Muslims in particular and immigrants in general. To have a more overarching view of the different discursive techniques that Tarrant used to address *the others*, I examine another excerpt that is originally included before Q7, but under the same section, where the attacker used a variety of lexical items to derogatorily refer to his enemies. The quote below follows the same question-answer pattern:

**8. You are a bigot, racist, xenophobe, islamophobe, nazi, fascist!**

What **the fuck** did you just **fucking** say about me, you little **bitch**? I'll have you know I graduated top of my class in the Navy Seals, and I've been involved in numerous secret raids on Al-Qaeda, and I have over 300 confirmed kills. I am trained in gorilla warfare and I'm the top sniper in the entire US armed forces. You are **nothing** to me but just **another target**. I will **wipe** you **the fuck out** with precision the likes of which has never been seen before on this Earth, mark my **fucking** words. You think you can get away with saying that **shit** to me over the Internet? Think again, **fucker**. As we speak I am contacting my secret network of spies across the USA and your IP is being traced right now so you better prepare for the storm, **maggot**. The storm that wipes out the **pathetic little thing you call your life**. You're **fucking** dead, **kid**. I can be anywhere, anytime, and I can kill you in over seven hundred ways, and that's just with my bare hands. Not only am I extensively trained in unarmed combat, but I have access to the entire arsenal of the United States Marine Corps and I will use it to its full extent to **wipe** your **miserable ass off** the face of the continent, **you little shit**. If only you could have known what unholy retribution your little "clever" comment was about to bring down upon you, maybe you would have held your **fucking** tongue. But you couldn't, you didn't, and now you're paying the price, you **goddamn idiot**. I will **shit** fury all over you and you will drown in it. You're **fucking** dead, **kiddo**. (2019, p. 20)

In this excerpt, the attacker has radically switched his rational tone of voice which has been consistently used throughout the manifesto at the first two parts, as explained earlier. Instead of answering the question or accusation logically, he started using offensive or profane language such as “fuck,” “bitch,” “ass” and “shit” as identifiers to his opponents. With a closer examination of the root “fuck,” it could be easily spotted that the main linguistic function this word and its derivatives play is to describe another part of speech, be that a verb (in bold) as in:

“What the fuck **did** you just fuckin**g** **say** about me” or “I will **wipe** you the fuck **out** with precision”; be that a noun (in bold) as in: “my fuckin**g** **words**” or “your fuckin**g** **tongue**”; or be that an adjective (in bold) such as in “You’re fuckin**g** **dead**”. Other profane or belittling nouns are used to describe *the others* or the opponents such as “bitch,” “fucker,” “maggot,” “ass,” “little shit,” “goddamn idiot,” “kid” and “kiddo.” Such words of contempt are used linguistically to construct the others’ negative representation discursively as clarified by Reisigl and Wodak: “[t]he simplest and most elementary form of linguistic and rhetorical discrimination is that of identifying persons or groups of persons linguistically by naming them derogatorily, debasingly or vituperatively” (2005, p. 45).

Along with this intense use of profane lexical items, there is a strong presence of a number of structural features all of which strengthen the attacker’s voice (see Chapter Three). To start with, this excerpt includes both declarative and interrogative moods which contribute to the “micro-analysis of the clause structure that concerns itself with the functional categories of statements” (Bassiouny, 2014, p. 73). with the latter used only twice in: “What the fuck did you just fucking say about me, you little bitch?” and “You think you can get away with saying that shit to me over the Internet?” The function of these two questions is definitely not to ask for information or explanation, but rather to disapprove or censure the former statement in the first question and to negate the idea proposed in the second. The declarative mood is then used to answer the first question using a verb of perception “know” which shows the power of knowledge from the side of the attacker. This power is even reinforced by the eclectic combination of verbs in “I’ll have you know” which has the future tense followed by a verb of possession. This phrase “I’ll have” is followed by the pronoun “you” in the object position in an indication that ‘the enemy’ of the attacker is ridiculed and is made subject to the attacker’s

decisions (which include enlightening the enemy). Simply, this sentence shows that the attacker has a clear intention to forcibly – or using any other way- make his addressees (the opponents) aware of his military qualifications.

This act of enlightenment – being directed towards *the others* - paves the way to one of the referential strategies used in this excerpt not to describe *the others*, but to give more information about the attacker. *Militarization* is one of the techniques listed by Reisigl and Wodak (2005, p. 51) to refer to a military profession. The attacker says that – in response to what he calls an accusation – he will make sure that his opponents get well acquainted with his military background to establish an image that he prefers for his self-representation. The tenses used in this excerpt fluctuate between past simple, present perfect and present simple with one objective: to have a dual impact on those reading his words such as in: “graduated,” “have been involved,” “have,” and “am”. The same concept is emphasized by the use of army-specialized noun phrases “secret raids on Al-Quaeda,” “300 confirmed kills,” “gorilla warfare,” and “top sniper in the entire US armed forces.” The integration of these diverse linguistic and structural elements builds a powerful image about the attacker that is rather intimidating to *the others* which is his primary goal.

#### 4.3.2.2. Manifesto B

Moving to how Patrick Crusius addressed *the others* in *The Inconvenient Truth*, it is important to refer to the division of this manifesto as done in Manifest A. Crusius divided his manifesto into several sections: “the political and economic reasons behind the attack, my gear, my expectations of what response this will generate and my personal motivations and thoughts”



(Crusius, 2019, p. 1). Once again, I only quote the segments that have direct reference to *the others* as expressed by the attacker.

- II. ... Due to the death of the baby boomers, the increasingly anti-immigrant rhetoric of **the right** and the ever increasing **Hispanic population**, America will soon become a one party-state. The **Democrat** party will own America and they know it. They have already begun the transition by pandering heavily to the **Hispanic voting bloc** in the 1st **Democratic** Debate. They intend to use open borders, free healthcare for **illegals**, **citizenship** and more to enact a **political coup** by importing and then **legalizing** millions of new voters. With policies like these, the **Hispanic support** for **Democrats** will likely become nearly unanimous in the future. The heavy **Hispanic population** in Texas will make **us** a **Democrat** stronghold. **Losing** Texas and a few other states with heavy **Hispanic population** to the **Democrats** is all it would take for **them** to win nearly every presidential election. (2019, p.1)

The first and basic observation one can understand after reading this quote is the unique

‘membership categories’ the attacker used to *nominate* some of the social actors mentioned

herein as part of his political reasons: “baby boomers,” “the right (wing),” “Hispanic population,” “America” and “Democrat (or Democratic) party” (see Reisigl and Wodak, 2005).

It is in the first three lines that Crusius explains the relationship/interaction among these social actors when he names three main reasons that would lead to having just one dominating party in America, the Democratic. The first is the death of the U.S. citizens who were born in the period between years 1946 to 1964 (Fry, 2016, p. 2). The second reason is that the right wing’s campaign against immigrants is increasing steadily. The final reason according to the attacker is that the Hispanic population in the United States is also increasing. One cannot truly understand the causal relationship that Crusius draws between the first two reasons and the result he points at; how does the death of this generation affect the political scene in America? It could be that the attacker considers this generation to be the purest U.S. blood that ever existed there!

Paradoxically, the second reason sounds not only irrelevant here, but also contradicting to the point Crusius is trying to make!

Structurally, however, the use of both parallelism in the first part of the first sentence along with inversion: “Due to the death of the baby boomers, the increasingly anti-immigrant rhetoric of the right and the ever increasing Hispanic population, America will soon become a one party-state” adds strength and credibility to Crusius’ words and renders them sound more organized and logical. Moreover, using this parallel structure puts the attacker himself in the rational-speaking zone where the listener/reader would feel as if the attacker ‘knows what he is talking about. Consequently, this reader would be more willing to accept and/or believe what Crusius says. Secondly, starting the quote with the causes and postponing the result gives more attention and importance to these causes. This inversion technique cognitively catches the attention of the reader and makes it difficult to forget what came first.

QII above also carries more discursive and structural features that are mentioned in the Methodology Chapter. One important stylistic feature that is obviously dominant in this quote is the use of declarative mood in all sentences as if Crusius is just listing some facts that are irrefutable. So, after he stated his reasons for what would make America a one-party country, he gives two short, independent clauses in one sentence: “The Democrat party will own America” and “they know it.” The first independent clause has more than one linguistic feature that is worth discussing: firstly, it has two cases of personification in which the Democrat party and America play the subject-object relationship, respectively, with the Democrat party depicted as a human being that will have possession of America as the object being possessed.

Personifications, as per Reisigl and Wodak “are rhetorically used to give a human form or to humanise inanimate objects, abstract entities, phenomena and ideas” (2005, p. 58). This image is more emphasized with the use of the modal verb “will” and the verb of possession “own”. In the second clause, the attacker uses the pronoun “they” tropologically to refer to the members of the

Democrat party; this use is supported by the verb of cognition “know” and the deictic use of “it” to refer to the preceding clause.

Going back to the social actors mentioned in this quote, there are two major strategic moves that can be spotted here: the first is *politicization* in which party alignments are included as in “Democrat party,” “Democratic Debate” and “Democrat stronghold,” as well as political *polarization* toward the right or the left wings as mentioned in the first line. The second dominant referential strategy is *ethnification* combined with *collectivization*. The former strategy is repeatedly used in this excerpt as the attacker mentioned the word “Hispanic” five times and used the collective noun “population” in most of these occurrences.

Briefly, I have used CDA so far to uncover two sides of the two attackers’ stances: in-group and out-group. Based on specific referential strategies that are adopted from Reisigl and Wodak (2005) such as ethnification (as in European and American), racialization (as in White and Hispanic), militarization (as in invader and shooter), collectivization (as in people, non-European and population), as well as politicization (as in Democratic and right wing). Additionally, a number of linguistic resources has been utilized to support these discursive strategies such as pronouns (as in I, we, our), moods (both declarative and interrogative) and figurative language (as in personification, metaphors). Thus, I have highlighted in a qualitative manner how the attackers expressed their stances of themselves, their groups and the others through examining their linguistic choices by which they describe different groups. What this qualitative analysis has explored so far is that both attackers have a high self-esteem to themselves and to their groups, while they think low of *the others* represented in immigrants. In Part Two of this chapter, I examine the same focal point using methods of corpus linguistics. The purpose of using this second analytical method is first to combine the quantitative with the

qualitative approaches to have a comprehensive study. The second purpose is to check the validity of the results found in the qualitative analysis with a different approach, reducing the limitations of the first.

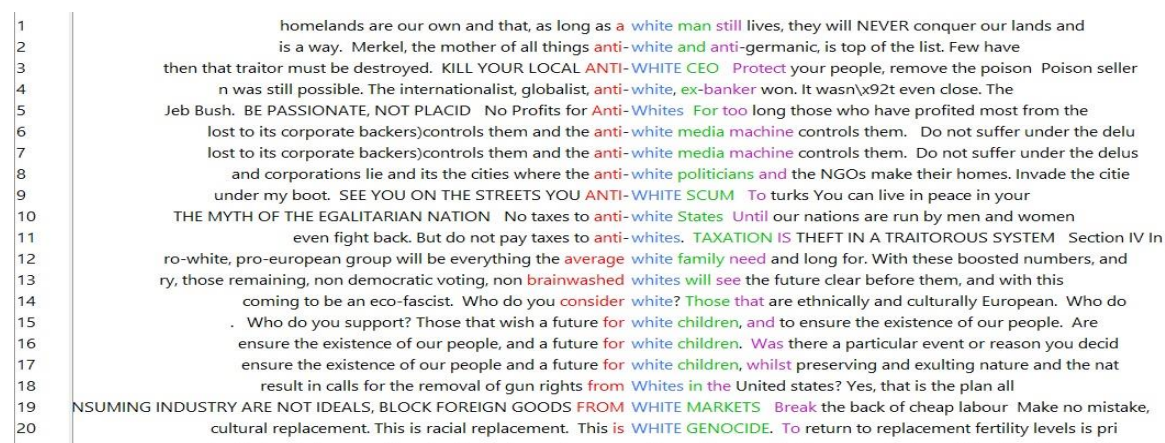
## 4.4. Corpus Linguistics

In the belief that there is a “need to combine the analysis of large-scale patterns across long texts with the detailed study of concordance lines” (Stubbs, 1994, p. 212), I highlight how specific keywords, clusters or collocates that relate to the representation of the in-groups and out-groups are displayed in the corpora of both manifestos. For this second part of the analysis, the words chosen to be examined in each corpus are CDA-driven, which means that these lexical items are frequently occurring in the selected excerpts of the first part, and hence I believe they could prove representative and expressive of the attackers’ stances in both manifestos. The software chosen for compiling the two corpora is AntConc as developed and recommend by Anthony (2005), check Chapter Three, Section 3.4.2. What distinguishes this part of the analysis from the previous one is that it is not divided into clear self-representation and other-representation segments as is the CDA section, but it is rather based on the concordances and how each word is displayed in each corpus. What is common, though, is that I examine the corpus of each manifesto on its own. Thus, Manifesto A will be referred to as Corpus A, while Manifesto B as Corpus B, hereafter.

### 4.4.1. Corpus A: Manifesto A

The first keyword selected for this part of the analysis is “white” to correspond with the first quote in the CDA examination in Part One of this chapter. Moreover, this is the first word Tarrant (the Christchurch attacker) used to express his identity when he talked about himself, as

previously highlighted. In order to get all the forms in which the word “white” can occur in the corpus, I used a wildcard (a feature in AntConc that enables the researcher to find all the lemmas, family words, substrings of the word being checked) before and after the word with no spaces. Here are how the corpus concordances look like for this word:



1 homelands are our own and that, as long as a white man still lives, they will NEVER conquer our lands and  
2 is a way. Merkel, the mother of all things anti-white and anti-germanic, is top of the list. Few have  
3 then that traitor must be destroyed. KILL YOUR LOCAL ANTI-WHITE CEO Protect your people, remove the poison Poison seller  
4 n was still possible. The internationalist, globalist, anti-white, ex-banker won. It wasn't even close. The  
5 Jeb Bush. BE PASSIONATE, NOT PLACID No Profits for Anti-Whites For too long those who have profited most from the  
6 lost to its corporate backers)controls them and the anti-white media machine controls them. Do not suffer under the delu  
7 lost to its corporate backers)controls them and the anti-white media machine controls them. Do not suffer under the delus  
8 and corporations lie and its the cities where the anti-white politicians and the NGOs make their homes. Invade the citie  
9 under my boot. SEE YOU ON THE STREETS YOU ANTI-WHITE SCUM To turks You can live in peace in your  
10 THE MYTH OF THE EGALITARIAN NATION No taxes to anti-white States Until our nations are run by men and women  
11 even fight back. But do not pay taxes to anti-whites. TAXATION IS THEFT IN A TRAITOROUS SYSTEM Section IV In  
12 ro-white, pro-european group will be everything the average white family need and long for. With these boosted numbers, and  
13 ry, those remaining, non democratic voting, non brainwashed whites will see the future clear before them, and with this  
14 coming to be an eco-fascist. Who do you consider white? Those that are ethnically and culturally European. Who do  
15 . Who do you support? Those that wish a future for white children, and to ensure the existence of our people. Are  
16 ensure the existence of our people, and a future for white children. Was there a particular event or reason you decid  
17 ensure the existence of our people and a future for white children, whilst preserving and exulting nature and the nat  
18 result in calls for the removal of gun rights from Whites in the United states? Yes, that is the plan all  
19 NSUMING INDUSTRY ARE NOT IDEALS, BLOCK FOREIGN GOODS FROM WHITE MARKETS Break the back of cheap labour Make no mistake,  
20 cultural replacement. This is racial replacement. This is WHITE GENOCIDE. To return to replacement fertility levels is pri

**Figure 3: Top 20 concordance lines for “white” in Manifesto A.**

What can be initially noticed with the first glance at the top concordance lines of "white" is that it is not directly describing the White man, Australians, or even the Europeans per se. In fact, most top lines are rather describing the "anti-white" or *the others*. To exemplify this, let us check the concordance lines 2–11 in Figure 3 (excluding 7 because it is a repetition of 6), one can observe how the attacker did not use the word "white" to talk about his group. Instead, he used the negative prefix "anti-" to refer to those who are not considered white. The same observation is also true for the top results of the second half of “white” concordances as shown in Figure 4:

22 hearing and reading of the invasion of France by non-whites, many of these rumours and stories I believed to be  
 23 within Texas will hit its apogee and with the non-white political and social control of Texas; and with this contro  
 24 oing trend of rape and molestation perpetrated by these non-white scum. A list of wikipedia entries from the most well  
 25 thnically and culturally European. Who do you consider non-white? Those who are not ethnically and culturally European. Whe  
 26 , and advocates or even accepts the mass importation of non-whites to replace the native European populations, then that trait  
 27 ly need the will. Focusing on increasing the population of whites, or trying to gain economic wealth or military might, whils  
 28 as its diversity increases, black on other black, black on white, white on black, black on Indian, doesn't not  
 29 r the natural world, dignity of workers, lasting culture or white civilizations future should never be allowed into the new m  
 30 ible questions 1. In general Who are you? Just a ordinary White man, 28 years old. Born in Australia to a working class,  
 31 e, a strong, unified, ethnically and culturally focused pro-white, pro-european group will be everything the average white fa  
 32 time as a kebab removalist. I am just a regular White man, from a regular family. Who decided to take a  
 33 a supporter of Donald Trump? As a symbol of renewed white identity and common purpose? Sure. As a policy maker and  
 34 advance, I was still not prepared for the sight. Simple, white, wooden crosses stretching from the fields beside the roadw  
 35 There is not a single Western country, not a single white nation, that reaches these levels. Not in Europe, not in  
 36 the environment. If you believe we need to correct the white birth rates, why didn't you start a family  
 37 Invited by the state and corporate entities to replace the White people who have failed to reproduce, failed to create the  
 38 d possibly destroying all in its path. Eventually, when the white population of the USA realizes the truth of the situation,  
 39 people within the United States ensuring the future of the White race on the North American continent, but also ensuring the  
 40 heart of the British isles. What better sign of the white rebirth than the removal of this invader? KILL ANGELA MERK  
 41 the situation, war will erupt. Soon the replacement of the whites within Texas will hit its apogee and with the non-

Figure 4: Second top 20 concordance lines for “white” in Manifesto A.

Concordance lines 22 to 26 show how the attacker used the same technique but with a different equivalent prefix "non-". Once again, he uses clusters which are “a sequence of two or more words, not necessarily a grammatical or meaningful unit” (Baker et al., 2008, p. 298) (i.e., anti-white and non-white) to talk about the others. In fact, Reisigl and Wodak called such manipulative use of language a “linguistic exclusion” (2005, p. 165) where the social actor producing the talk is explicitly separating the ‘white’ from the ‘anti-white’ or the ‘non-white’ by simply using a prefix. This linguistic choice (negative prefix + “identity” word) actually reassures the attacker's perception of himself, his group and *the others*. This short cluster simply draws an end line for both groups.

With a closer discourse-analytical look at some of “white” concordances, we can see a considerable number of imperative moods used such as in Lines 3, 5, and 11 provoking the in-group against the anti-white group (out-group). Once again, all the different moods that the stancetaker utilizes have a specific function they serve (see Chapter Three, Section 3.4.1.1.2). In these examples, two types of imperative moods are used here: the affirmative (as in Line 3: “KILL YOUR LOCAL ANTI-WHITE CEO”) and the negative (as in Lines 5 & 11: “No Profits

for Anti-Whites” and “But do not pay taxes to anti-whites”). So, the attacker is here giving direct order (in capital letters) to his people (the white people) to kill any anti-white CEO they know in their local areas. The word “CEO” is used figuratively here; it is a “particularising synecdoche” which is:

The particularising synecdoche (*pars pro toto*, that is to say, a part standing for the whole) or ‘collective singular’ (the singular stands for the plural), is a means of referential annexation, assimilation and inclusion, just as the generalising synecdoche (*totum pro parte*, that is to say, the whole standing for a part) (Reisigl & Wodak, 2005, p. 57).

Another in-group-related cluster is easily noted in Lines 15, 16 and 17: the attacker says: "a future for white children". This cluster includes two major referential strategies: *racialization* – as in "white" - which clearly refer to race as the factor used to define insiders versus outsiders; and *relationalization* - as in "children" - which explains “the linguistic construction of social actors in terms of their personal, kinship or work relations etc. to each other” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2005, p. 53). This ‘white identity’ is emphasized in examples from the last concordance lines of Figure 2 by other lexical choices that carry the same semantic function such "nation, birth, people, population, race and rebirth". Finally, I have to mention that the word “white” is repeated 43 times in Corpus A; this number shows a relatively high frequency of this token as indicated in Table 1 below.

**Table 1: Frequency of “white” in Corpus A.**

Word	White	Corpus A
Total number	43	16.663

The second keyword I decided to check for self-representation in Corpus A is “culture” and all its lemmas. A lemma is a “word family [that] consists of a base word and all its derived and inflected forms. . . . [T]he meaning of the base in the derived word must be closely related to the meaning of the base when it stands alone or occurs in other derived forms, for example, hard and hardly would not be members of the same word family” (Bauer and Nation, 1993: 253 in Baker et al., 2008, p. 299). The reason why I chose this word is for its high frequency throughout the corpus: the word “culture” and all its lemmas have a total of 79 occurrences in Corpus A as shown in Table 2 below. In order to get all the family words related to “culture” that are mentioned in the corpus, I used a wildcard before and after the token “cultur” without the letter “e”. A couple of clusters can be highlighted in the respective concordances, as shown in Figure 3 below: the first cluster that can be clearly observed in Lines 15—19 is “destroy (decay) our culture (cultures/cultural/culturally)”. These lexical bundles (or clusters) have the same semantic function that the “anti-white” cluster has, i.e., these clusters talk about *the others* and what they do to “our culture” as “whites”. To give more illustration, these bundles - which are composed of a verb (destroy/decay), a possessive pronoun (our) and the different derivatives of the core “culture” – describe what the out-group do to the in-group with a clear accusation of destruction.

On the other hand, the second related clusters to be examined are “ethnic and cultural” and “ethnically and culturally”. They both play quite a different function where the concordance lines from 24 to 30 talk about ethnicity and culture of the European people, from the perspective of the attacker. So, we notice that these two words whether used in the adjective or in the adverbial form are used to categorize and distinguish those who are European from those who are not. These remarks match those found using the critical discourse analysis in Part One above.



Table 2: Frequency of "culture" in Corpus A.

Word	Culture (all lemmas)	Corpus A
Total number	79	16,663

15	ture to join an elderly, decaying, degenerate culture? What culture would entice a man, one of traditions, beauty, architecture
16	and rising culture to join an elderly, decaying, degenerate culture? What culture would entice a man, one of traditions, beauty
17	themselves and is a strategy designed to destroy national, cultural, linguistic and ethnic unity. This is a tactic practiced n
18	and replace our people, both would seek to destroy our culture and nationhood. But only one has the ability and only
19	try our communities, destroy our ethnic binds, destroy our cultures, destroy our peoples. Long before low fertility levels ever
20	wealth and prosperity in order to feed and develop our cultural competitors is an act of civilization terrorism resulting i
21	ion Expecting immigrants to assimilate to a dying, decadent culture is laughable. Who would willing leave their own strong, dom
22	does it seek to conserve? The natural environment? Western Culture? Ethnic autonomy? Religion? The nation? The race? Nothing i
23	groups, any source of distraction or relief to escape a culture of nihilism. Rampant urbanization and industrialization, ev
24	he cities are the economic, judicial, political, ethnic and cultural battleground of our people and it is there we shall
25	many of those that take a stand against ethnic and cultural genocide. Luca Traini, Anders Breivik, Dylan Roof, Anton Lu
26	. Who do you consider white? Those that are ethnically and culturally European. Who do you consider non-white? Those who are
27	you consider non-white? Those who are not ethnically and culturally European. Where your beliefs given to you by your family/
28	is where will be strike, a strong, unified, ethnically and culturally focused pro-white, pro-european group will be everything th
29	eir world all the best regardless of their ethnicity, race, culture of faith and that they live in peace and prosperity,
30	of Europe. The origins of my language is European, my culture is European, my political beliefs are European, my philosop
31	cial enemies, ruining the health, wealth, family structure, culture and future of our people. These peddlers of filth are
32	These I hate. Did/do you personally hate foreigners/other cultures? No, I spent many years travelling through many, many natio
33	an obvious, visible and large group of invaders, from a culture with higher fertility rates, higher social trust and strong
34	he Wests\92 egalitarian, individualist, globalist dominant culture. In the United States, perhaps more than anywhere else in

Figure 5: Selected concordance lines of "culture" in Corpus A.

After reviewing two of the words the attacker used in Manifesto A to express the attacker's stance towards his groups, I now underline some words that he used to express his stance towards the out-group. The first word to be examined is "invade" and all its lemmas. The same technique is used: a wildcard before and after the root of the word without letter "e" to display all possible derivatives. The lexical bundles that appear on AntConc for this token include "armed invaders," "Islamic invaders," "Muslim invaders," "group of invaders," "millions of invaders" and "number of invaders" followed by "European lands," "replace your people," "as representative for the people of London," "landing on our shores," "to conquer us" and "occupying European soil" as shown in Figure 4 below. These clusters refer to both sides of the equation: the out-group and the in-group, respectively. In a total frequency number of 59, one repeated cluster stands out that is "armed invader" with the principal adjective "armed"

describing the already offensive/military word “invader”. Another remark that I would like to highlight here is that in many occurrences (including concordances 7, 8, 16, 28, 40, and 43), the attacker either used a verb in the imperative mood or used a conditional sentence to provoke his readers (or rather his in-group) to act violently against the “invaders” or the out-group such as in this example: “REMOVE THE INVADERS, RETAKE EUROPE”. This sentence was written in capital letters and it has both sides confronting each other “invaders” as *the others* who should be removed versus “Europe” representing the *in-group* that should be retaken. The objectivization of Europe in this sentence as something concrete that could be touched and retaken emphasizes the idea of ownership and grouping.

4	tions of power, remove wealth and destroy social trust. Any invader you kill, of any age, is one less enemy your
5	of the Invader If you were to kill sixty armed invaders having shown the will and the intent to bring harm
6	is far more dangerous to our people than the armed invader. We can fight the armed invader, we know how, we
7	people than the armed invader. We can fight the armed invader, we know how, we have the ability, we have the
8	for the hundreds of thousands of deaths caused by foreign invaders in European lands throughout history. To take revenge for
9	the anti-white politicians and the NGOs make their homes. Invade the cities, take the cities, battle in the streets for
10	in the face of attacks on the West by Islamic invaders, was suddenly no longer there. I could no longer bring
11	y children, they become adults and reproduce, creating more invaders to replace your people. They grow up and vote against
12	changed. The Christchurch and Linwood mosques had far more invaders, in a more prominent and optically foreign building, with I
13	attack? No, I only wish I could have killed more invaders, and more traitors as well. Did/do you personally hate
14	british people in the british isles. This Pakistani muslim invader now sits as representative for the people of London. London
15	you are a monster for killing an innocent? Children of invaders do not stay children, they become adults and reproduce, cre
16	people? They were an obvious, visible and large group of invaders, from a culture with higher fertility rates, higher social
17	and statistical reasons. They are the most despised group of invaders in the West, attacking them receives the greatest level of
18	ling birth rates all across the Western world. Millions of invaders landing on our shores, conquering our towns and without a
19	french man or woman there was double the number of invaders. I had seen enough, and in anger, drove out of
20	could deport or otherwise destroy the entire population of invading non-Europeans in a week, if we as a race
21	deaths to be in vain? Why were we allowing the invaders to conquer us? Overcome us? Without a single shot fired
22	tion and further divide between the European people and the invaders currently occupying European soil. To avenge those Europea
23	crease within our lands, driven by mass immigration and the invaders own higher birth rate it will be pushed further and

Figure 6: Selected concordance lines of “invade” in Corpus A.

Moving to another token that the attacker repeatedly used in Manifesto A, I spotlight how the word “immigration” and all its lemmas (35 occurrences) are displayed in the corpus. Several clusters for this token can be observed in Corpus A including "mass immigration," "high fertility immigrants," and "illegal immigration" (see Figure 7 below). Based on these clusters, one can surely discern the negative tone that is implicitly and explicitly expressed about immigrants and

immigration in general. For example, in Line 14, the attacker says, “we must crush immigration and deport those invaders”. Once again, the two parties are distinguished from each other as “we” shows the in-group while the “invaders” refer to the out-group.

4	. That it was the British people firing back at mass immigration, cultural displacement and globalism, and that's a great
5	and other peoples of the world. Was the attack anti-immigration in origin? Yes, beyond all doubt, anti-immigration, anti-et
6	will swollen to a staggering size, due to both mass immigration and the differing birthrates between the native European pe
7	as our enemies increase within our lands, driven by mass immigration and the invaders own higher birth rate it will be
8	ds. To take revenge for Ebba Akerlund. To directly reduce immigration rates to European lands by intimidating and physically remo
9	ack anti-immigration in origin? Yes, beyond all doubt, anti-immigration, anti-ethnic replacement and anti-cultural replacement. W
10	group preference and a will to conquer. Why focus on immigration and birth rates when climate change is such a huge
11	left to go that was safe and free from mass immigration. Was there any reason you attacked that(those) mosque(s)
12	stroy them first. Why attack muslims if all high fertility immigrants are the issue? Historical, societal and statistical reasons
13	can be dealt with in time, but the high fertility immigrants will destroy us now, soon it is a matter of
14	invaders that seek to enter our lands. We must crush immigration and deport those invaders already living on our soil. It
15	ay, self-hatred, childlessness, disorder and nihilism? More immigrants are choosing to retain their own healthy culture, year by
16	posters over such posters calling for the expulsion of all immigrants, repeat in every area of public life until the crisis
17	spired idea resolved to the possible deportation of illegal immigrants. Despite this ridiculous match up, the possibility of a vic
18	orporations and states need to thrive. This crisis of mass immigration and sub-replacement fertility is an assault on the European
19	we do not have due to the crisis of mass immigration. Due to mass immigration we lack the time scale required
20	not a single place left where the tendrils of replacement migration have not touched. There is no single place in the
21	le? Mass immigration and the higher fertility rates of the immigrants themselves are causing this increase in population. We are
22	100 billion 50 billion or even 10 billion people. Continued immigration into Europe is environmental warfare and ultimately destruc
23	est is increasing, and rapidly. How is this possible? Mass immigration and the higher fertility rates of the immigrants themselves

Figure 7: Selected concordance lines of “immigration” in Corpus A.

#### 4.4.2. Corpus B: Manifesto B

For this corpus, I start by examining the word “America” which is repeated 29 times in this short manifesto as illustrated in Table 3. The majority of the concordance lines for "America" show a general dissatisfaction from the attacker's side of the current status of America as his home country. Some examples can be found in Lines 2, 3, 18, 19 and 20. In these lines, the attacker expresses his resentment of how the Americans live their lives disregarding the destruction and chaos that America is facing. Here are some examples from Corpus B:

"American can only be destroyed from the inside-out;" "Either when American patriots fail to reform our country;" "Even the Americans that seem hell-bent on destroying our country".

**Table 3: Frequency of "America" in Corpus B.**

Word	America	Corpus B
Total number	29	2355

The second keyword to be checked in Corpus B is “Hispanic” - found just 11 times – since it discursively relates to the ethnicity and origin of *the other* (who are then to be the target for the attacker). Figure 8 below shows the concordance lines for this token; these lines clearly show a negative representation of what the Hispanic people do to the US in general and to Texas in particular as in "Hispanics will take control of the local and state government" and in "the Hispanic invasion of Texas". One repeated cluster that can be clearly noticed by checking Figure 5 is "Hispanic population". Other collective nouns are used to support this description of the Hispanic collectivization such as "2nd and 3rd generation" in Line 5 and "voting bloc" in Lines 4 and 10. These collective nouns and noun phrases reinforce the picture that the attacker draws about the huge number of the Hispanic people and the danger that lies in their existence.

1	for this attack are not at all personal. <b>Actually the Hispanic community</b> was not my target before I read The Great
2	exist. The job of my dreams will likely <b>be automated</b> . <b>Hispanics will</b> take control of the local and state government of
3	anti-immigrant rhetoric of the right and the <b>ever increasing Hispanic population</b> , America will soon become a one party-state. The
4	Americans will provide. This will remove the threat of <b>the Hispanic voting bloc</b> which will make up for the loss of
5	completely unnecessary and selfish. 2nd and 3rd <b>generation Hispanics form</b> interracial unions at much higher rates than average.
6	for asylum reasons. This is an encouraging sign <b>that the Hispanic population</b> is willing to return to their home countries if
7	ill likely become nearly unanimous in the future. <b>The heavy Hispanic population</b> in Texas will make us a Democrat stronghold. Los
8	izing millions of new voters. With policies like <b>these, the Hispanic support</b> for Democrats will likely become nearly unanimous i
9	and his manifesto. This attack is a response <b>to the Hispanic invasion</b> of Texas. They are the instigators, not me. I
10	ve already begun the transition by pandering heavily <b>to the Hispanic voting bloc</b> in the 1st Democratic Debate. They intend to
11	stronghold. Losing Texas and a few other states <b>with heavy Hispanic population</b> to the Democrats is all it would take for

**Figure 8: Selected concordance lines of “Hispanic” in Corpus B.**

Another word token that I would like to focus on in Manifesto B is “immigration” and all its lemmas. Therefore, I used wildcards before and after the token “\*migra\*” to get all the possible results. The concordance lines show high frequency of all lemmas in total with a variety



of forms that includes “migrants, immigrants, and immigration” as shown in Figure 9. With a closer look at the concordances, one can easily notice that the attacker is generally against the idea of immigration as clear from Lines 2, 7, 12, and 13. He regards immigration as "one of the biggest issues" that could be "detrimental to the future of America". He describes immigration as "illegal," "mass" and "continued". Additionally, all the occurrences of "immigrant" or "migrant" are placed in an economic context such as in "They come here as economic immigrants, not for asylum reasons" and "Even as migrant children flood skilled jobs" in Lines 3 and 4, respectively. This direct connection between professional skillfulness and immigrants can be traced throughout all concordances with a clear accusation from the attacker that the immigrants not only "fill unskilled jobs," but they also represent a "source of competition" as their "children flood skilled jobs".

1	they are owned by corporations. Corporations that also like immigration because more people means a bigger market for their products	T
2	can only be detrimental to the future of America. Continued immigration will make one of the biggest issues of our time,	T
3	when they moved to America. They come here as economic immigrants, not for asylum reasons. This is an encouraging sign that	T
4	g menial, low paying and unfulfilling jobs. Of course these migrants and their children have contributed to the problem, but are	T
5	to keep replenishing the low-skilled labor pool. Even as migrant children flood skilled jobs, Corporations make this worse b	T
6	good thing as it will eliminate the need for new migrants to fill unskilled jobs. Jobs that Americans can't	T
7	izenship can be greatly reduced. Economic Reasons In short, immigration can only be detrimental to the future of America. Continued	T
8	to the death of the baby boomers, the increasingly anti-immigrant rhetoric of the right and the ever increasing Hispanic popu	T
9	can and would replace millions of low-skilled jobs if immigrants were deported. This source of competition for skilled labor	T
10	deported. This source of competition for skilled labor from immigrants and visa holders around the world has made a very	T
11	attack and no manifesto Reaction Statistically, millions of migrants have returned to their home countries to reunite with the	T
12	tions. This is why corporations lobby for even more illegal immigration even after decades of it of happening. They need to	T
13	over it. At least with Republicans, the process of mass immigration and citizenship can be greatly reduced. Economic Reasons In	T
14	s not changed for several years. My opinions on automation, immigration, and the rest predate Trump and his campaign for president.	T
15	sense to keep on letting millions of illegal or legal immigrants flood into the United States, and to keep the tens	T
16	people for a whole lot less. Even if other non-immigrant targets would have a greater impact, I can't	T
17	Republican Party are pro-corporation. Procorporation = pro-immigration. But some factions within the Republican Party don't	T
18	jobs. Remember that both Democrats and Republicans support immigration and work visas. Corporations need to keep replenishing the	T
19	So the Democrats are nearly unanimous with their support of immigration while the Republicans are divided over it. At least with	T
20	tens of millions of dependents are removed. Even though new migrants do the dirty work, their kids typically don't.	T

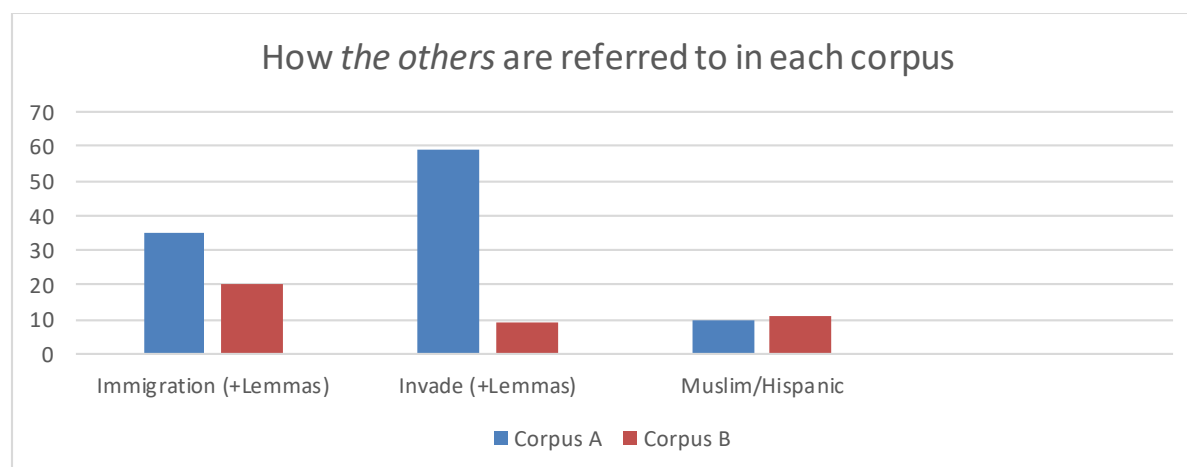
**Figure 9: Selected concordance lines of “immigration” in Corpus B.**

**Table 4: Frequency of "immigration" in Corpus B.**

Word	Immigration (+ all lemmas)	Corpus B
Total number	20	2355

## 4.5. Common Patterns in Manifestos A & B

It is true that Patrick Crusius, El Paso attacker, is hugely influenced by Tarrant, the Christchurch attacker, despite having two different groups as their targets. Based on the discursive and the corpus-based analytical methods presented above, a number of structural and stylistic similarities between Manifesto A and Manifesto B can be highlighted. First, both attackers used specific referential strategies in talking about themselves and their groups such as *ethnification* and *originalization*. For example, in Manifesto A, the attacker used "White" and "European"; similarly, in Manifesto B, the attacker talked about his "European ancestors" and "Europeans". Although each attacker was targeting a different group (Muslims in Manifesto A versus Hispanics in Manifesto B), both of them referred to the out-group as "invaders" and named their existences on 'their' lands as "invasion". The frequency of the word "invade" and all its lemmas in each manifesto is very close (Manifesto A 1:282 Manifesto B 1:336) - despite the discrepancy in their lengths. Another common feature between the two manifestos is the use of the word "migration" and all its lemmas with approximately the same frequency rate, as is clear in Figure 10 below. One point to clarify in this figure is that the first two words "immigration and invade" and all their lemmas are found in both corpora with the numbers displayed on chart. But the words "Muslims and Hispanics" are found separately in Manifesto A and B, respectively; they are both included together under the same column to show how each attacker named his 'opponent' group. Their frequency ration, as shown, is very close in both corpora.



**Figure 10: Frequency of “immigration, invade, Muslim and Hispanic” in each corpus.**

To conclude, this chapter focused mainly on the detailed data analysis of both manifestos qualitatively and quantitatively. For this purpose, I have discursively analyzed two threat manifestos published online in 2019 using some of the referential strategies suggested by Reisigl and Wodak (2005). I have also compiled two corpora for the two manifestos to highlight the most frequently occurring tokens in each. Based on methods of corpus-based analysis, I have underlined top related concordances and clusters with an indication to the discursive features that are dominant in both corpora (Baker et al., 2008). I have also underpinned the common linguistic and discursive patterns found in both manifestos based on the corpora results. In the final chapter, first, I provide answers to my research questions; then I share the results of my study with an informative discussion of those results. Lastly, I share my recommendations for future research.

## Chapter Five: Results & Discussion

### 5.1. Introduction

This research explores the construct of stance in two recently published threat manifestos: *The Great Replacement* (Tarrant, 2019) and *The Inconvenient Truth* (Crusius, 2019). They were both released online right before their writers/attackers attacked and shot different groups in different countries. To be more specific, the first attack took place in March 2019 when Brenton Tarrant shot 51 Muslims to death in two mosques in Christchurch city, New Zealand (Roy, 2020). The second attack took place just a few months later in August 2019 when Patrick Crusius opened fire at a group of Hispanic shoppers in a mall at El Paso Walmart, Texas, USA, killing 22 and injuring dozens (Moore & Berman, 2020). When these two attacks took place, I was intrinsically triggered as a linguist to delve deeper into these two manifestos to uncover the stance(s) of the attackers. Thus, I had one basic research question that I attempted to answer in this study, followed by two closely related sub-questions:

- 2) What is the stance of the attackers based on their published manifestos?
  - c. What are the different groups/parties identified by the attackers? With which group does each attacker identify himself against the other?
  - d. How far are the CDA results matching with the CL results in clarifying the stance of each attacker?

To answer these questions, I followed an integrated approach based on referential strategies in critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Reisigl & Wodak, 2005) and methods of corpus linguistics (CL) as suggested by Baker et al. (2008). One good reason behind following this combination of



approaches is what Reisigl and Wodak posited in their book: “one methodical way for critical discourse analysts to minimise the risk of critical biasing and to avoid simply politicising, instead of accurately analysing, is to follow the principle of triangulation” (2005, p. 35). Therefore, I chose to follow CDA approach for the qualitative analysis and CL approach for the quantitative one. This combined theoretical approach is firstly based on analyzing the referential strategies (as one of the 5 basic discourse-analytical tools recommended by Reisigl and Wodak, 2005, p. 44) along with specific linguistic devices that include mood and modality (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006) and pronouns (Bassiouny, 2014; Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Fairclough, 1989) on carefully selected excerpts from the two manifestos to have a concrete theoretical ground to build my stance analysis on (Bassiouny, 2014). The second stage was based on methods of corpus linguistics in which I compiled a corpus for each manifesto then selected a few lexical items to be examined in terms of frequency and clustering (Baker et al., 2008, p. 277-278).

After having thoroughly examined the data in Chapter Four, I present how this intense analysis highlights the stances of the attackers in both manifestos. First, I share the results of the data analysis stage with a particular focus on how stance components (stancetaker, stance object, and counterstance) are manifested in both manifestos collectively. Then, the summative results of both approaches in each manifesto are introduced in separate sections. Once the results are presented and modeled to the core theoretical framework of this study (stance), a discussion section follows in which I clarify and relate the construct of stance to other well-connected concepts such as ideology, power, racism and threat discourse. Directly after the discussion section, I briefly draw my conclusions and implications for this study followed by its main limitations. Finally, I share my recommendations for future studies based on the present one.

## 5.2. Results

### 5.2.1. Stance Components in Both Manifestos

In this introductory part of the results section, I revisit Du Bois' definition and components of stance (2007) while examining their presence in both manifestos collectively. As I mentioned before in Chapter Two, Du Bois defined stance as:

a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means (language, gesture, and other symbolic forms), through which social actors simultaneously evaluate objects, position subjects (themselves and others), and align with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field (2007, p. 163).

This definition sets three broad components to the “process of interpreting stance” (as illustrated in Figure 11 below): “(1) Who is the stancetaker? (2) What is the object of stance? (3) What stance is the stancetaker responding to?” (Du Bois, 2007, p. 146). This means that there are three variables that have to be identified in any discourse that is subject to stance analysis: first, the stancetaker who could be the speaker or the writer of the discourse and who is also known as the ‘social actor’ as per the aforementioned definition. In the present study, Brenton Tarrant and Patrick Crusius are the main social actors who happen to play multiple roles in the bigger sociolinguistic scene: we can see both of them as writers of the manifestos, attackers and shooters, and as stancetakers.

The second primary component in forming the act of stance is the “object of stance” which could be represented in a topic, an object, a person, an entity or even a concept that the stancetaker is examining and sharing his/her view of. One important feature that Du Bois

attributed to this ‘object of stance’ based on Hanks’ conceptualization is that it is “part of the process of referential grounding” (Hanks 1990 in Du Bois, 2007, p. 148). In other words, “the immediate prior discourse provides sufficient contextualization to resolve the reference of a pronoun, demonstrative noun phrase, or other referring form, thus establishing the identity of the relevant object of stance” (Du Bois, 2007, p. 148). In the present study, it is clear that the object of stance in both manifestos is the issue of immigration since both stancetakers/attackers have mentioned it as the main point for discussion. In Manifesto A, for example, the attacker stated: “This crisis of mass immigration and sub-replacement fertility is an assault on the European people” (Tarrant, 2019, p. 3). Similarly, in Manifesto B, the attacker mentioned that the “Continued immigration will make one of the biggest issues of our time, automation, so much worse” (Crusius, 2019, p. 2). Thus, both stancetakers/attackers regard immigration as a strategy used by immigrants to conquer their countries.

Lastly, the third component in any stance construction act is what Du Bois called a “counterstance”: this is the second type of stance which exists as a response to a previously expressed stance; it is then that the second stancetaker constructs his/her counterstance (Du Bois, 2007, p. 149). To generally locate this last component, Du Bois suggests answering two questions: why does the stancetaker take this stance? Why now? (2007, p. 149). The answer to the first question with regard to the present study is: the attackers believe that immigration is causing political, economic and cultural problems in their countries (see Chapter Four); while the answer to the second question is: they both believe that these problems are exacerbated, and they have to act immediately. Having clarified the three basic components that contextualize the two stancetaking acts analyzed herein, I relate each manifesto to the stance triangle individually as described by Du Bois (2007).

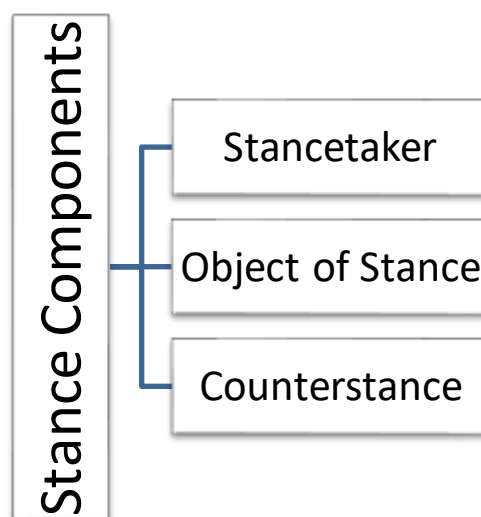


Figure 11: Stance components.

### 5.2.2. Manifesto A

Building on the concept that stance is “a single unified act encompassing several triplet sets of distinct components and processes” as posited by Du Bois (2007, p. 162), it is of utmost importance to distinguish each subsidiary act in Manifesto A to crystalize this ‘unified act’. Situating the Christchurch attacker (Brenton Tarrant) into the ‘stance model’ suggested by Du Bois, I first underline the self- and in-group representation by applying what I call the *equational stance model sentence* that Du Bois utilized to explain his theory:

I evaluate something, and thereby position myself, and thereby align with you (Du Bois, 2007, p. 163).

I (Tarrant) evaluate myself (as a white European person), and thereby position myself (with all Europeans), and thereby align with Europeans.

Filling in data in their respective spots in this equational sentence, it is obvious that the triplet aspects of the stance triangle as Du Bois recommends do exist and they also match with these spots (with one variation to be mentioned below). To restate with more elaboration, Tarrant (the stancetaker) first evaluates his identity (stance object) as belonging to the white race, and at the same time he positions himself with this group; consequently, he declares a convergent alignment with Europeans (Subject 2 in Figure 13 below).

To express this ‘white European’ stance of himself, the attacker used a number of referential strategies such as *racialization* (as in "Just a[n] ordinary White man" Q1) and *ethnification* (as in "Those that are ethnically and culturally European" Q2) (see Chapter Four). According to Reisigl and Wodak, these two referential strategies are among

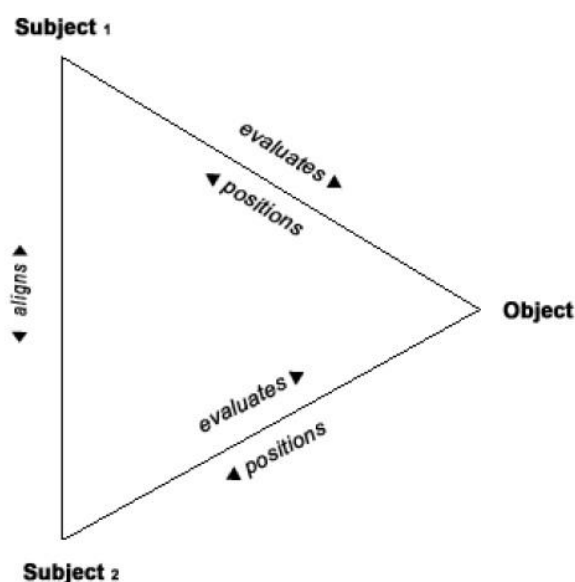
many other forms of metaphors which are important in referentially and predicationally constructing ingroups and outgroups, whether they are imagined as ‘races’, ‘nations’, ‘ethnicities and ‘tribes’ or as specific ‘racialised’, ‘national’, ‘ethnic’ or ‘religious’ majorities or minorities. Many of these metaphors function as ‘collective symbols’.

(2005, p. 58).

This means that the Christchurch attacker used “metaphors and representative synecdoches” as linguistic tools to show his evaluation and alignment with the ‘white European’ race and to distinguish himself from any other group.

Despite this near-perfect match between the discourses examined herein and the stance model, there is one missing vector in the stance triangle as suggested by Du Bois (2007) (see Figure 12 below). This missing vector is the one linking Subject 2 with their “shared stance” of the ‘stance object’. To further explain this point, all the examples that Du Bois used to

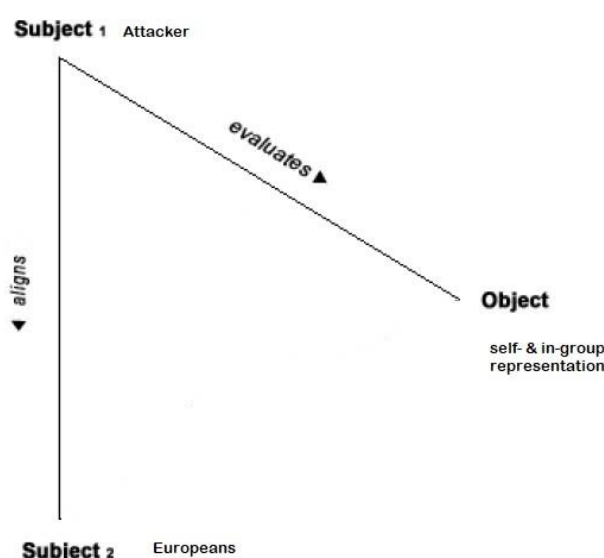
demonstrate the validity of the stance triangle theory belong to the dialogic discourse where two speakers (or more) exchange stances on a particular ‘object of stance’. However, in the present study, the act of stancetaking in both manifestos is monologic since both are written texts that are published online, which means that only the stancetaker/attacker has the opportunity to express his own stance with no possible access (for any linguist) to examine the stance of Subject<sub>2</sub>.



**Figure 12: The Stance Triangle (Adapted from *The Stance Triangle*, 2007, p. 163).**

In fact, Du Bois himself referred to this potential scenario in applying his stance model where there is no explicit “shared stance object” among the stancetakers (2007, p. 168). Thus, in Manifesto A, each stance triangle (one for in-group representation and another for out-group representation) is missing one vector that connects Subject<sub>2</sub> (Europeans) with the stance object (self- and in-group representation) as in Figure 13 below. “For each vector of directed action in the diagram, an arrowhead points in the direction of action’s object or target” (Du Bois, 2007, p. 164). Du Bois argues, however, that the stance triangle can still apply in such “less-than-

transparent cases” of stancetaking acts due to the fact “that all meaningful use of human language, from the age of about one year, presupposes shared orientations, for example toward a word’s referent” (2007, p. 168). Thus, one could argue that the attacker in Manifesto A is making use of some shared orientations in which it is of common knowledge to everyone those who belong to a specific race (white, in this case) and those who are originally European. In Q4, for example, the attacker grants himself the liberty of speaking for "millions of Europeans and other ethno-nationalist peoples" as if he is an official representative who is authorized not only to speak for their rights, but also to defend those rights with his own righteous ways (which included killing people).



**Figure 13: Adaption of stance triangle on in-group representation in Manifesto A.**

This stancetaking act is demonstrated using a variety of discursive strategies that show the in-group representation in Manifesto A which also included *ethnification* and *nationalization* are supplemented by other techniques such as generalization (as in "peoples, lands, traditions" in Q4) and collectivization (as in people in Q4 & 5). So, to briefly state all the stance aspects as

demonstrated in Manifesto A, the stancetaker (attacker) evaluates himself and the in-group to which he belongs; this evaluation in itself is an act of positioning the self with one party (Europeans) against the other part (immigrants). Consequently, the attacker aligns himself with his group and disaligns with all other groups as will be explained in the coming paragraph.

By the same token, I move now to demonstrate how the same equational stance model sentence mentioned above applies to the out-group representation as well:

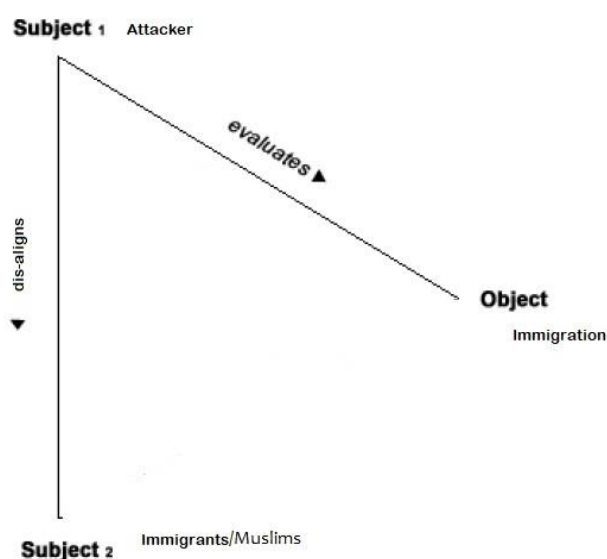
I evaluate something, and thereby position myself, and thereby align with you (Du Bois, 2007, p. 163).

I (Tarrant) evaluate immigration, and thereby position myself against all immigrants, and thereby disalign with the others.

What is interesting here in relation to the application of stance triangle in both the in-group and the out-group representations is that each one “depicts three stance acts for the first subject” as Du Bois suggested (2007, p. 164), regardless of the stance object. For example, in this section where the attacker describes the out-group, first he evaluates all immigrants by narrowing them down to a smaller group (Muslims) in a *particularizing synecdoche* (see Q7, Chapter Four, as an example) that has a consistent referential function throughout Manifesto A. This same act of evaluation automatically includes an act of positioning the attacker and the immigrants on two opposite sides; and hence the attacker disaligns with this group. This stancetaking relationship is illustrated in Figure 14 below which shows the missing vector that expresses Subject 2 stancetaking act of the stance object (immigration). However, as I mentioned above, Du Bois argues that any less-transparent vector could be compromised by the ‘shared orientations’ from the sociocultural background of that community. This means that in this figure, it is logical to



assume that all immigrants would argue for immigration (stance object) and would disalign with the attacker's evaluation and positioning of that issue.



**Figure 14: Adaptation of stance triangle on out-group representation in Manifesto A.**

Some of the linguistic devices used to reflect positioning Muslims (and all immigrants in general) on a different side than that of the attacker are *collectivization* which includes using deictic and collective nouns such as “they” and “people” in the same quote versus using “I” and “we” while talking about himself and his group. Another referential strategy used to negatively represent immigrants is *criminalization* which is used exclusively with the out-group; the attacker nominated them “invaders” in another indication of positioning them as the “enemies”. Additionally, profane language is used solely to describe the out-group with derogatory or detesting words such as “fuck, maggot, kid, shit: as in Q8 (see Chapter Four). This exclusive use of profane language with the out-group once again emphasizes the opposing stance that the attacker is taking against this group. Finally, the attacker also used *militarization* in addressing the immigrants to threaten them by bragging about his shooting skills and the number of dead

people he killed as clarified earlier in Q8 in the same chapter. To summarize, the attacker employed many CDA referential strategies as a stancetaker to express his anti-immigration stance by negatively evaluating immigrants represented in Muslims whereby he positioned them as invaders and hence he disaligned from that group by referentially categorizing them as the others.

Using methods of corpus-based analysis, the keywords selected for analysis demonstrated the same “dichotomous world of ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2005, p. 105) that was already depicted in the CDA analysis. The results of the corpus-based analysis showed that some of the evaluative tokens that are originally used by the attacker to refer to himself and his group are surprisingly used to describe the out-group (with some additions). Du Bois defines evaluation as “the process whereby a stancetaker orients to an object of stance and characterizes it as having some specific quality or value” (2007, p. 143). To exemplify this concept from the present study, the word ‘white’ has a high frequency rate in its negated form with negative prefixes such as “anti-” and “non-” (check Chapter Four, Section 4.4). The concordance lines in Corpus A showed repeated segments that include “non-white” and “anti-white” spread all over the manifesto. So, to relate this to the theoretical framework, the word ‘white’ which is originally used to evaluate the attacker himself (as the stancetaker) is also used in its negative form to refer to the out-group and thus evaluates this group through an exclusive racialization strategy.

Additionally, the results of Corpus A analysis displayed divergent alignment associated with the word “culture” and its lemmas in an evaluative manner such as “destroy our culture” or “decay our cultural”. These bundles have an equivalent semantic function as the negative clusters of “anti-white” or “non-white,” that is, they all reflect the negative stance the attacker has

towards the out-group (immigrants). By the same token, the words chosen to undergo analysis based on methods of corpus linguistics as representatives of the out-group construction carried an equal – if not higher – negative evaluation in their concordances of those immigrants such as ‘invade’ and ‘immigration’. Corpus A results show a wide variety of ‘invade’ clusters among which are "armed invaders," "Islamic invaders," "Muslim invaders," "group of invaders," "millions of invaders" and "number of invaders" (see Chapter Four for more details). Additionally, the results show multiple clusters that all generally bear a negative evaluation of immigrants such as "mass immigration," "high fertility immigrants," and "illegal immigration" as clarified in Figure 5 (Chapter Four).

### **5.2.3. Manifesto B**

Following the same pattern used in Manifesto A in examining stance as “a single unified act encompassing several triplet sets of distinct components and processes” (2007, p. 162), I employ the equational stance model sentence again to examine how Patrick Crusius (El Paso attacker) expressed his stance of himself and his group:

I evaluate something, and thereby position myself, and thereby align with you (Du Bois, 2007, p. 163).

I (Crusius) evaluate Tarrant’s attack, and thereby position myself, and thereby align with Tarrant.

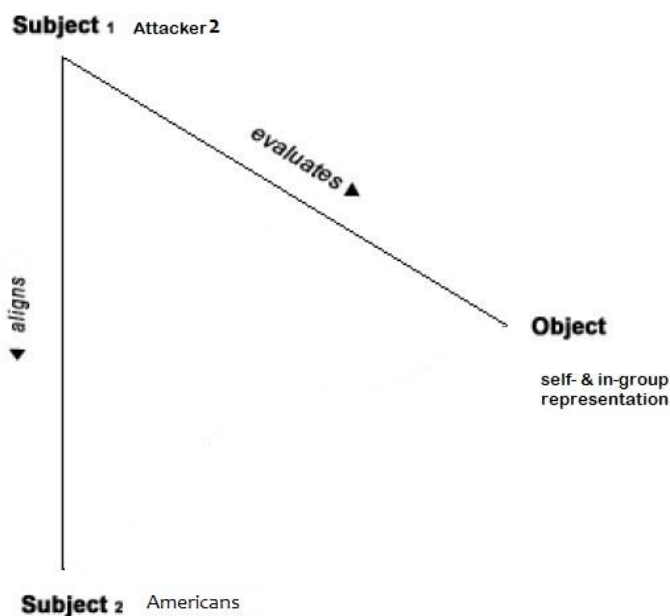
It is remarkable how El Paso attacker began Manifesto B referring to his 'fellow' Christchurch attacker by explicitly expressing his support to the New Zealand attack. Not only did Crusius support Tarrant in his savage attack, but he also declared being inspired by that earlier attack

(Crusius, 2019, p. 1). The equational stance model sentence reiterates this conclusion that Crusius positively evaluates Tarrant; he positions Tarrant not only as an ally, but as a role model as well. Therefore, he supports and aligns with him and his actions. To discursively show this support, the attacker started by using *militarization* as one of the referential strategies when he said, "the Christchurch shooter" (see QI, Chapter Four). Interestingly, this use of *militarization* in this particular context shows how a specific referential strategy is context-dependent as it can work both positively and negatively with both in-groups and out-groups, respectively.

After the El Paso attacker expressed his supportive stance towards the Christchurch attacker as mentioned earlier, he moved to evaluating himself and his actions through a repetitive use of the pronoun "I" and the possessive pronoun "my" as well as through using defensive phrases such "defending my country" in QI (see Chapter Four). Simply, the attacker is stating that his action - the criminal act of shooting them - is a response to his sense of defending the land he was born in. This act of echoing a sociocultural value of nationalism is what Du Bois referred to when "locally relevant values are activated to frame the significance of participant actions" (2007, p. 141). Additionally, such justification phrases highlight the stance model that Du Bois suggested: the attacker evaluates (glorifies) his actions, position himself (defensively), and aligns with similar actions in general (as he did with the Christchurch attack).

Once again, I need to touch upon the stance triangle as depicted by Du Bois (see Figure 12 above) where we can observe "six arrowheads, corresponding to the three acts of evaluation, positioning, and alignment, doubled by the co-presence of two subjects" (Du Bois, 2007, p. 164). Comparing Figure 12 with Figure 15 below, we can clearly again observe the missing vector that links Subject<sub>2</sub> with the object of stance. As I mentioned above in Manifesto A, the texts

examined here are monologic which means that there is no dialogic discourse included; consequently, the only stancetaking act to be observed is the one expressed by the sole social actor who wrote Manifesto B, El Paso attacker. Thus, the stancetaking act in Manifesto B is missing the vector where the second social actor (Americans) expresses their stance towards the object of stance (in-group representation). However, based on the justification provided by Du Bois, this gap is compensated by the shared orientations among the social actors in the same social context.



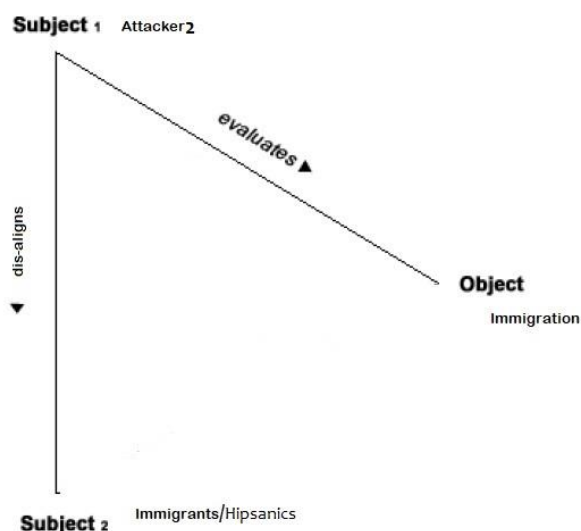
**Figure 15: Adaptation of stance triangle on in-group representation in Manifesto B.**

In the same manner, when applying the stance triangle to the out-group representation by El Paso attacker in Manifesto B, there is one missing vector that links Subject<sub>2</sub> (Hispanics) with the object of stance (immigration) as shown in Figure 16 below. Using the same stance model, I could frame his stancetaking act as follows:

I evaluate something, and thereby position myself, and thereby align with you (Du Bois, 2007, p. 163).

I (Crusius) evaluate Hispanics, and thereby position them, and thereby disalign with them.

According to this stance model, the social actor (Crusius) constructs another stancetaking act where he negatively evaluates Hispanics through the use of similar referential strategies to those used by Tarrant in Manifesto A such as *ethnification* and *collectivization* (as in "Hispanic population") to show that those who are of Hispanic origin are among the reasons why "America will soon become a one party-state" (see Chapter Four, Section 4.3.2.2.). These strategies function as a 'separatory funnel' to exclude the Hispanics as the out-group from the American society as the in-group, in a clear act of divergent alignment from the part of El Paso attacker. Some other linguistic strategies used to show the attacker's anti-Hispanic stance include the use of declarative mood throughout his manifesto to show the irrefutable state of his stance and argument.



**Figure 16: Adaptation of stance triangle on out-group representation in Manifesto B.**

The same divergent alignment towards Hispanics is manifested in Corpus B. The results of the corpus-based methods used on the word "Hispanic" showed a negative evaluation of this group throughout Manifesto B while consistently describing them as the out-group that arrived in America to control its politics and people. Here are some examples from Corpus B: "Hispanics will take control of the local and state government" and in "the Hispanic invasion of Texas" (see Figure 6 for more examples). Here, the El Paso attacker positions Hispanics as the enemy and aligns himself against this out-group. The same opposing stance is displayed in the concordance lines of "immigration" in Corpus B as in "Of course these migrants and their children have contributed to the problem" (see Figure 7, Chapter Four). Not only does El Paso attacker believe that immigration is damaging America, but he also links the low-skilled jobs with immigrants (first generation) and accuses the second generation of immigrants of occupying the skilled jobs as in "Even as migrant children flood skilled jobs".

#### 5.2.4. Summary of Results

Based on the above-mentioned detailed description of results, the main research question which is “What is the stance of the attackers based on their published manifestos?” is fully addressed by briefly stating answers to its sub-questions as follows:

- a) What are the different groups/parties identified by the attackers? With which group does each attacker identify himself against the other?

Both the Christchurch and the El Paso attackers have identified two groups in their manifestos with six stancetaking acts in total for each: the first is the stance towards the in-group which the attackers evaluate and position positively by affiliating themselves to this group racially, ethnically and nationally; and hence they align with this in-group represented in White Europeans and Americans, respectively. Thus, the representation of the first in-group displays three subsidiary acts of stancetaking: evaluation, positioning and alignment as per Du Bois (2007). The second stance is towards the out-group represented in immigrants in general where the attackers negatively evaluated the out-group based on their religion and ethnicity as Muslims and Hispanics, respectively. The two manifestos positioned the out-group members as enemies and invaders; consequently, the attackers display divergent alignment or disalignment with this out-group. This stancetaking act encompasses the same three subsidiary acts mentioned earlier. Therefore, one finding that is worth mentioning herein is that although the two attackers targeted two different groups (Muslims versus Hispanics), they both have the same negative stance towards them both: they regard these two groups merely as immigrants who do not belong to their countries. Accordingly, it is justified why both attackers used the same referential strategies to describe those out-groups.



- b) How far are the CDA results matching with the CL results in clarifying the stance of each attacker?

In fact, the results of both approaches are quite matching and complementary. To elaborate, launching the analysis stage with CDA approach was enlightening and guiding because thanks to this discursive analysis that I recognized and pinpointed some of the keywords that were later examined in the corpus-based analysis, as mentioned before. The numerous referential strategies included in the discourse-analytical approach as designed by Reisigl and Wodak (2005) have surely illuminated how the different groups in each manifesto are evaluated and positioned. To exemplify, the in-group representations in Manifestos A and B are always evaluated ethnically, racially, or originally as in (White, European, America). This description is manifested using various discursive strategies such as ethnification, racialization, originalization, and nationalization which are additionally being supplemented with substantial linguistic devices such as pronouns, moods, figures of speech. On the other hand, the out-group in both manifestos is consistently misrepresented through other discursive strategies such as criminalization and profane and belittling language as in (invaders, shit, maggot).

These discursive-driven results were then emphasized using methods of the corpus linguistics when I examined some of these words that are specifically used to describe the in-group versus the out-group in each corpus. Another interesting finding was discovered based on the corpus results: the words that are mainly evaluating the in-group in Manifesto A are also used to describe the out-group but in the negative form (anti-white/non-white). What is even more surprising is the corpus results of the word "culture" in the same manifesto as the majority of

occurrences position the out-group only as enemies trying to invade the attackers' culture and destroy it.

Another fruitful result of this integrated approach is the examination of the word "immigration" first within the discursive framework and then based on methods of corpus analysis in both manifestos. Both approaches have given the same results of negative evaluation of immigrants. At some points, the concordance lines of specific keywords necessitated checking or examining the broader context within the CDA framework. Thus, the utilization of such integrated approach could be recursive: the researcher might need to revisit any of the two integrated approaches when needed.

To conclude this section, I would briefly restate the results that I reached herein based on the integrated CDA-CL approach. In my attempt to answer the core research question and sub-questions on stance expressed by each attacker in his respective manifesto, I can confidently say that both attackers have explicitly expressed anti-immigrant stances through a variety of discursive referential strategies that “are discursively utilised to construct a dichotomous world of ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’, of ‘them’ and ‘us’, and, strictly speaking, to make positive or negative judgements on the imagined or represented social actors” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2005, p. 105) (such as racialization, ethnification, militarization, polarization, and nationalization) which were elaborated using different linguistic techniques (such as pronouns, moods, collective nouns, figurative language). Not only that, but the results coming from methods of corpus analysis have also reiterated the same conclusion through the high frequency rates of specific discriminatory tokens which all display the positive evaluation and convergent alignment with the in-group against the negative evaluation and divergent alignment of the out-group.

### 5.3. Discussion

In order to contextualize the present study within the broader literature, As explained earlier in Section 5.2.1. above, Du Bois sets clear variables to what can be named an act of expressing stance. Applying those principles to the two manifestos presented herein, there are a number of matching points (see Table 1 below): first, both manifestos are published online and are available literally to the whole world (this is how I personally got it). Add to this the fact that El Paso attacker, Patrick Crusius, has mentioned it in the first line of his manifest (Manifesto B) which means that it is another “public” declaration that Manifest A exists and is being read. Secondly, this public act must be produced by “a social actor” who can be defined as “the speaker who is taking the stance [and who] is indexed via a first-person pronoun in syntactic subject role (I)” (Du Bois, 2007, p.143). I believe that there is one more feature that can be attributed to social actors that is he/she must belong to the community he is speaking for or about. This means that he is regarded and self-regarded (if I can say so) as eligible to speak for this community; otherwise, the social actor’s words would be disregarded as unjustifiable. In present study, both attackers/stancetakers have used first-person pronoun *I* to refer to themselves. Both manifestos come in written texts, that is, an “overt communicative means” and are both written in English which is another social signal that they both are mainly directed to the people who speak English (despite the fact that it is an international language). What I mean is that they both have the intention of using the language of their people regardless of its international status. Using these two manifestos, both attackers were able to “evaluate objects” which are the issue of immigration; “position subjects” firstly themselves as they expressing their opposition to immigration, then others who are immigrants (both Muslims and Hispanics); and finally “align

with other subjects” who represent the in-group (Europeans and Americans) as I illustrated before. Thus, it could be strongly argued that both attackers have fulfilled all the criteria determined by Du Bois for the act of constructing stance.

**Table 5: How Manifestos A & B fit into Du Bois’ stance criteria.**

Criteria required for stance construction as set by Du Bois (2007)	Manifesto A	Manifesto B
Public act	Published online	Published online
Social actor	Tarrant	Crusius
Achieved dialogically	Written text in English	Written text in English
Social actors evaluate objects	Immigration	Immigration
social actors position subjects	Self: against immigration Others: Enemies	Self: against immigration Others: Enemies
Social actors align with other subjects	Europeans	Americans

After laying out the sociolinguistic pillars for constructing a stance, I would like to shed light on the deeper aspect of stance, that is value. Du Bois argues that stance “always invokes, explicitly or implicitly, presupposed systems of sociocultural value, while at the same time contributing to the enactment and reproduction of those systems” (2007, p. 173). To deconstruct this statement, firstly, every community naturally has its “presupposed systems of sociocultural value,” which means that this community has existed long enough to develop, accept and approve a bunch of rules (systems) by which this community perceives and evaluates its social actors and their deeds either positively or negatively. Secondly, those approved systems or rules represent the community’s set of values - which are and will be inherited by all generations – by which all social actors act accordingly. This "coherent and relatively stable set of beliefs and values," is what Wodak and Meyer call ideology (2015, p. 8). Simply, it is this set of communal values that shape the ideology of each social actor within the process of constructing his/her

stance and subsequently contribute directly to his/her evaluation of the subject/object being evaluated.

To give a more practical perspective of this intertwined relationship, one can assume that before writing the two manifestos examined herein, both attackers must have believed in a certain set of values corresponding with their respective communities, which contributed to forming their anti-immigrant ideology. This ideology has been inactive for some time, then these two social actors – the attackers– encountered or observed a violation of this deeply rooted anti-immigrant ideology, driving both attackers asynchronously to plan for the attack. This action (which can be described by many condemning adjectives) is the perfect representation of what Du Bois named an act of “enactment and reproduction of those systems” (2007). This means that the value system is the reason behind some of the social actors’ actions which function as activation codes to the respective value system they correspond to, and to the recurrence of those actions in the future. To apply this concept to the present study, the attackers thought that committing these attacks would be the perfect way to enact the value systems in their communities, an act of reformation. Another observation that is worth considering herein is how the second attacker (Patrick Crusius) referred proudly to his antecedent (Brenton Tarrant) at the introductory paragraph of Manifesto B. He admitted following the steps of the Christchurch attacker and that he supports him. Let me just repeat one fact: the first attack took place in New Zealand while the second took place in the United States. This means that the “reproduction” of ideology and subsequently stance has taken a different cross-continental path in which computer-mediated discourses could function as the new communities that form people’s set of values and beliefs and lead eventually to “social (and sociolinguistic) reproduction and change” (Jaffe, 2007, p.4, para.2).

Ideologies are, according to Fairclough, "representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation" (2003, p. 218 in Meyer & Wodak, 2015, p. 9). Hence, it is true that ideology can control and organize the "socially shared beliefs", and it can have a great impact on the government's contribution to the "public affairs" as posited by Van Dijk (2007). No wonder that ideology can be seen as the primary power engine of group representation in any society. To explain this, one can posit that the degree of acceptance, rejection, harmony, preservation, incorporation of any group in a particular society depends on its "socially shared beliefs". Therefore, despite being the actual executors, these two attackers (and their anti-immigrant stance) are a mere reflection of their societies' set of values, beliefs and automatically ideologies.

This discussion of the direct connection between ideology and domination directly leads us to understand "xeno-racism," a term coined by Koller and Wodak to refer to the updated version of racism in which the "repertoires of justification" for racism against foreigners include "social characteristics (e.g. protecting jobs, concern about welfare benefits) or cultural incompatibilities (immigrants lack "cultural competence", they are not "tolerant")" (2008, p. 293, para. 2). In fact, the current manifestos do not only include the updated version of xeno-racism, but a number of features of the old, 'regular' racism are found as well. To elaborate on this point, let me give examples as to how the manifestos follow the new version of racism first: in Manifesto A, the attacker's main argument is that the birthrates of Europeans must change, by that he means to increase. "if we were to deport all Non-Europeans from our lands tomorrow, the European people would still be spiraling into decay and eventual death" (2019, p. 3). Thus, the main reason why he is having this anti-immigrant stance is that they are flooding the European countries and that those countries are depending on immigrants as future baby producers, which

means for him “decay and eventual death” of the European race. In Manifesto B, although the attacker follows the same ‘birthrate argument’ as in “[i]nvaders who also have close to the highest birthrate of all ethnicities in America” (2019, 2), he also gave a more straightforward economic argument as in “migrant children flood skilled jobs” (2019, 3). Additionally, both manifestos have repeatedly pushed all buttons of “biological or racial superiority, white supremacy or skin colour” as defined by Koller and Wodak as the old way of racism (2008, p. 293, para. 2). Take for example racial- and ethnical-based words such as “non-white,” “anti-white,” “non-European,” as well as “invaders,” “enemy,” “perpetrator,” and “minority” in Manifesto A. Some racial-based words in Manifesto B include “non-white Americans,” “invaders,” “foreign workers” and “Hispanic”. Ergo, these two manifestos that are examined in this study have successfully – and ironically – matched both the old and new versions of racism.

But how did these two young men become racists? How is it that both of them declared being racists bluntly with no shame in a manifesto? Where did this belief in racism come from which led to a stance and then an ideology of racism in a way that they are trying to spread and propagate for?

The answer to these questions – as presented by Koller and Wodak – is the “(fear of the “other”) (2008, p. 293),” a factor that is explicitly referred to in the two manifestos. But what are the motives or the causes of this state (fear of the other)? Wodak explains:

Of course, it is important to emphasize that the idea of the nation also encompasses inclusiveness and solidarity; simultaneously, belonging to a nation is frequently defined through ethnic and even racist categories (rather than, e.g., legal citizenship), thus excluding ‘Others’ who do not possess these characteristics and are marginalized as

outsiders, as strangers. In this way, our identities are inherently tied to subjective feelings of belonging, as well as to imposed nationalistic, religious and ethnic categories (2015, p. 94).

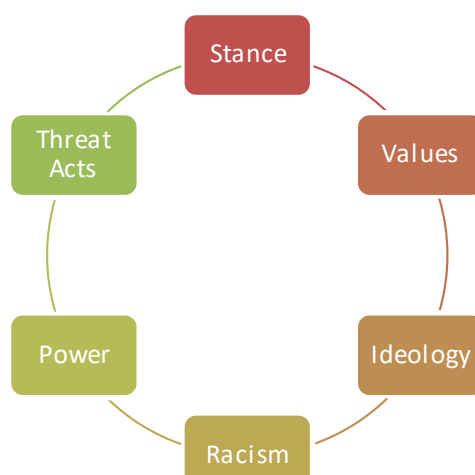
So, to put it simply, this feeling of ‘excluding the other’ manifested in every racist discourse is originally planted and watered over years by people who claim nationalism and patriotism. It seems that the new movements calling for nationalism and ethnicism bring along the way an inevitable sense of fear “of the other,” “of change,” ‘of being replaced,’ ‘of losing jobs’ etc. The same idea is reiterated by Reisigl and Wodak:

The problems of supranationalisation and ‘globalisation’, the search for a new European identity, are thus related to or accompanied by the rise of nationalism, ethnicism, as well as ‘xenophobia’ and racism. The fears of changes, which cannot be defined with sufficient clarity, are projected on to scapegoats – and these scapegoats are ‘the foreigners’ who ‘threaten the jobs’. Of course, this is only one of the many reasons for the rise of discriminatory ideologies and practices. (2005, p. 267).

So, whatever the kind of fear the ‘people of the land’ might have, it finds an ‘outlet’ on “the foreigners”; the latter become the “scapegoats” for all the misfortunes happening on that land. A year after a year, a generation after the other, this misconception of blaming *the other* for the bad situation ‘the land’ or the ‘the country’ is having is how an ideology is grounded solidly in the minds and hearts of its people. Then comes a generation that would think of a way out, of a solution, of a decisive action. That is how young men - with all the future ahead of them - become racists.



It is then that the role of power come to light with its different types: Van Dijk has suggested two types of power: the individual and the social (see Chapter Two). So, social power for him is an exercise of control practiced by one group or organization over another, in which process the dominant group might be practicing this dominance not only on their actions but also on their minds in an attempt to limit their freedom and control their ideologies. The same type of power has also been mentioned by Meyer and Wodak (as clarified in Chapter Two) "as a widely invisible systemic and constitutive characteristic of society" (2015, p. 10). Checking this first type against the present manifestos, it might be understood based on the discussion above that the Christchurch attacker would be playing the part of the dominant group where he practiced dominance on the actions of the 'dominated group' – immigrants – in the form of an attack on Muslims who were practicing their religion in its allocated place (mosques) in New Zealand. Similarly, the El Paso attacker would be playing the part of the dominant group where he practiced dominance on the actions of the 'dominated group' – immigrants – in the form of an attack on Hispanics who were shopping at a mall in Texas, USA. Secondly, this kind of action (attacking and shooting innocents) will definitely and naturally affect the minds of the 'dominated groups' in both attacks as they and all the alike will remember this accident forever; it will be imprinted in their minds and it will eventually "limit their freedom and control their ideologies". Finally, I could posit that the journey to understand the link between stance and threat acts – despite being long and complicated – is now clear. Figure 17 below shows a circular interrelated relationship of how stance can lead to an actual threat acts.



**Figure 17: From stance to threat acts.**

## 5.4. Conclusions & Implications

The literature examining stance construction is in fact not only massive, but also diverse. Some researchers focused on theorizing the act of stance itself (Du Bois, 2007; Hunston & Thompson, 2000); others focused on examining stance in certain contexts such as writing and its various genres (Charles, 2006; Hyland, 2005; Silver (2003) as in Mashhour, 2016). Other researchers examined stance from a sociolinguistic perspective such as Bassiouney (2014, 2015) and Jaffe (2009). In a different context, some researchers focused on examining stance in threat discourses including Chilwa (2017) and Gales (2010, 2011, 2015) from different angles. Only few researchers approached stance from a corpus linguistics perspective such as Conrad and Biber, 2000; Hunston (2007).

The present study is an attempt to combine the most applicable approaches that would be effective to examine stance discursively and contextually. Therefore, I approached stance theoretically through Du Bois' stance triangle within the framework of critical discourse analysis (CDA) supplemented by corpus linguistics (CL) analysis. Up till the time of publishing this thesis project, there are no studies, to the best of my knowledge, that examined the stances of

attackers in their threat manifestos published online before committing actual anti-immigrant attacks, under the names: *The Great Replacement* and *The Inconvenient Truth* by Brenton Tarrant (2019) and Patrick Crusius (2019), respectively. The following points represent my humble contribution to related literature:

- Stance triangle is theoretically and practically applicable to non-dialogic (monologic) discourses, as Du Bois highlighted, where there is one missing vector that can be contextually understood and interpreted. In the present study, the threat manifestos examined are missing the Subject<sub>2</sub>-Stance Object vector as highlighted above (see Figure). However, the presupposed shared orientations from both attackers (social actors) fulfilled this gap. Additionally, I have to refer to the fact that, in this study, the same stancetaker could be expressing six stance acts (evaluation, positioning, alignment x 2) at the same time: three on his behalf and three others on a different social actor's behalf (who – of course – is not present in the discourse).
- Despite having different targets, both attackers used some common referential strategies on top of which come ethnification, originalization, and racialization which are considered by Wodak as part of the old racist techniques. Moreover, they also pushed the buttons of other new racist techniques such as economic, cultural and political impositions from the part of immigrants. This is an outstanding indication that the present racist discourse – especially the one produced by terrorists or attackers – is magnifiable and accumulative.
- An important implication to be mentioned here is how each attacker expressed a different identity in his manifesto: Tarrant was triggered by his ethnical and cultural white identity that pushed him to express his European identity. On the other hand,

Crusius expressed a national identity as most of his speech was focused on America. Thus, while Manifesto A addressed European ethnicity, Manifesto B expressed American nationalism.

- One fundamental point to reflect on is the ‘synergy’ of qualitative and quantitative methods based on CDA and CL approaches, respectively. It is true that “each approach can be used to help triangulate the findings of the other” (Baker et al., 2008, p. 295). Using CDA approach first helped me identify the keywords that I should be looking for and checking in the corpora of both manifestos. By the same token, CL analysis helped identifying “patterns to be examined through the CL lens for triangulation” (Baker et al., 2008, p. 296). Moreover, it underlined specific linguistic features that would have been ignored if not for the high frequencies the corpus results show. Thanks to this integrated approach that it is demonstrated how “‘qualitative’ findings can be quantified, and that ‘quantitative’ findings need to be interpreted in the light of existing theories” (Baker et al., 2008, p. 296).

### **Security Alert**

One final thought that stimulated me to allot one subsection to its discussion is a part that I read in Manifesto A where Brenton Tarrant mentions the problems that Texas (the American state) is currently facing because of immigrants and the increase in the non-US citizens as follows:

Meanwhile the 10000 ton boulder of demographic change rolls ever forward, gaining momentum and possibly destroying all in its path. Eventually, when the white population of the USA realizes the truth of the situation, war will erupt. Soon the replacement of the whites within Texas will hit its apogee and with the non-white political and social control of Texas; and with this control, the electoral college will be heavily stacked in favor of a

democratic victory so that every electoral cycle will be a certainty. After an election cycle or two with certain Democratic victory, those remaining, non democratic voting, non brainwashed whites will see the future clear before them, and with this knowledge realize the impossibility of a diplomatic or political victory (Tarrant, 2019, p. 70).

Considering that Manifesto A was published about five months before Manifesto B, one could surely notice the intertextual resonance between both of them in terms of the location and the reasons. A number of keywords that were critical in Manifesto B are easily spotted in this excerpt from Manifesto A such as “Texas, demographic change, and democratic victory”. To elaborate on this, it is surprising how the first attacker (Tarrant) named Texas specifically as a location where the US citizens would observe “the replacement of the whites within Texas” which is the very same reason behind the El Paso attack as mentioned in Manifesto B. Add to this the fact that Tarrant mentioned the political victory of the Democratic party which is among the motives for Crusius to commit this attack. After checking this excerpt and relating it to the first paragraph included in Manifesto B, I could draw just one security-related conclusion: that Manifesto A acted as a green card for Patrick Crusius to – at least - plan for this crime. Another important conclusion to draw herein is the fact that threat discourses are extremely important not just on the linguistic and the sociolinguistic levels where the analyst could decode major significant elements about the text, but on the security level as well where one linguistic analysis of a text could mean saving the lives of many people in a different continent.

## 5.5. Limitations

On top of the limitations that could be observed in the present study comes the fact that it is conducted on just two threat manifestos whereas the repertoire of threat discourses includes tens - if not hundreds - that belong to different time spans. Secondly, this study utilized just the referential strategies as posited by Reisigl and Wodak (2005), whereas there are four other

strategies that could have been useful as well such as predicative and argumentative strategies. This study is limited to threat manifestos that are originally published online and written in English. This is another limitation because I have searched for threat manifestos that are published online but written in Arabic (my native language), but I could not find any. One more point of limitation herein is the fact that the CDA analysis is based on selected texts from both manifestos. The non-selected parts might also include good samples for analysis. The discrepancy in the length of both manifestos represented a challenge since the longer manifesto was better analyzed than the shorter one. Finally, time was one of the biggest constraints as I had to follow a strict timeline for all the research stages.

## 5.6. Future Studies

In light of the present study, a number of research points have been touched upon, while others are still in need for further research. On the micro-level of analysis, these two manifestos still carry a huge analytical potential for future studies from several perspectives that are not covered in this study. For example, the two manifestos belong to two different countries with absolute variations in the political, demographic, sociological scenes dominating them. Those factors must have had a great impact on the decision of the attackers in general. This means that an effective interdisciplinary study is required to get the holistic picture and to address the issues that could lead some individuals to take such decision. This is of course the core of CDA studies where the researchers aim at critically analyzing a sociolinguistic phenomenon in a society to try to help those who are dominated or being racialized. There is definitely a need to verify the results reached herein using other analytical approaches or other discursive strategies as

proposed by Reisigl and Wodak (2005) (including the argumentative which I believe could yield important results) or by Van Leeuwen “Legitimation Strategies” (1995).

More interestingly, Appendix A maps out locations of recent alike attacks that took place in different countries, while Appendix B provides samples of the threat messages I could have access to. These two appendixes are meant to serve the macro-level of analysis where the researcher would be willing to have an overall view of the multiple threat manifestos recently published. Only through a helicopter view of where these particular types of xenophobic manifestos and attacks come from could researchers see a clear connection among them, which means a more accurate diagnosis of the real motives behind them. Examining threat manifestos written in other languages – such as the one published by Tobias Rathjen in German (Oltermann, 2020) – could be a fruitful starting point for future research. The table included in Appendix A shows a chronological history of threat messages in a descending order that are published or sent by attackers/terrorists who have already committed their crimes in different time spans. Our role as sociolinguists is to track these messages/manifestos down and analyze them for common patterns, ideologies and linguistic strategies that might exist. Of course, historical discourse analysis could be a perfect framework for such studies.

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## Appendix A

A list of major threat discourses published online since 2011 ordered chronologically in a descending order:

<b>Date of attack</b>	<b>Attacker's name</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Target</b>	<b>Casualties</b>	<b>News Source</b>	<b>Manifesto/message Source</b>
February, 2020	Tobias R.	Germany	Shisha Bar	9 people at café + shooter & his mother	<a href="#">BBC</a>	<a href="#">Manifest as published on SPIEGEL</a>
August 10, 2019	Philip Manshaus	Norway	El Noor Islamic Center	1 Girl (shooter's stepsister)	<a href="#">The Guardian</a>	<a href="#">Screenshot</a>
August 3, 2019	Patrick Crusius	USA	El Paso shopping center	20 dead	<a href="#">CNN</a>	<a href="#">The Inconvenient Truth</a> Message posted on 8Chan
March 2019	Brenton Tarrant	New Zealand	2 Mosques	50 dead 50 wounded	<a href="#">BBC</a>	<a href="#">The Great Replacement</a>
July 22, 2011	Anders Behring Breivik	Norway	Outside the office of Prime Minister + a political youth summer camp organized by the Norwegian Labor Party	77 dead	<a href="#">Biography</a>	<a href="#">A European Declaration of Independence</a>

## Appendix B

Selected samples from threat discourses published online<sup>2</sup>:

### 1. Norway Al-Noor Islamic Center shooting as archived online:

well cobbbers it's my time, i was elected by saint tarrant after a ll

we can't let this go on, you gotta bump the race war thread irl and if you're reading this you have been elected by me

stupid shit won't work

it's been fun, valhall venter

### 2. El Paso Shooting

Patrick Crusius message right before the attack as archived on 8chan:

Fuck this is going to be so shit but I can't wait any longer. Do your part and spread this brothers! Of course, only spread it if the attack is successful. I know that the media is going to try to frame my incorrectly, but y'all will know the truth! I'm probably going to die today. Keep up the good fight.

### 3. Part of Norway Shooting Manifesto (A European Declaration of Independence)

Time is of the essence. We have only a few decades to consolidate a sufficient level of resistance before our major cities are completely demographically overwhelmed by Muslims. Ensuring the successful distribution of this compendium to as many Europeans as humanly possible will significantly contribute to our success. It may be the only way to avoid our present and future dhimmitude (enslavement) under Islamic majority rule in our own countries.

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<sup>2</sup> These samples correspond with some attacks mentioned in Appendix A.



## Appendix C: The Great Replacement<sup>3</sup>

Do not go gentle into that good night,

Old age should burn and rave at close of day; Rage, rage against the dying of the light.

Though wise men at their end know dark is right, Because their words had forked no lightning they Do not go gentle into that good night.

Good men, the last wave by, crying how bright Their frail deeds might have danced in a green bay, Rage, rage against the dying of the light.

Wild men who caught and sang the sun in flight, And learn, too late, they grieved it on its way, Do not go gentle into that good night.

Grave men, near death, who see with blinding sight Blind eyes could blaze like meteors and be gay, Rage, rage against the dying of the light.

And you, my father, there on the sad height, Curse, bless, me now with your fierce tears, I pray. Do not go gentle into that good night.  
Rage, rage against the dying of the light.

### Introduction

It's the birthrates. It's the birthrates. It's the birthrates.

If there is one thing I want you to remember from these writings, its that the birthrates must change. Even if we were to deport all Non-Europeans from our lands tomorrow, the European people would still be spiraling into decay and eventual death.

Every day we become fewer in number, we grow older, we grow weaker. In the end we must return to replacement fertility levels, or it will kill us.

To maintain a population the people must achieve a birthrate that reaches replacement fertility levels. In the Western world this is roughly 2.06 births per woman.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_sovereign\\_states\\_and\\_dependencies\\_by\\_total\\_fertility\\_rate](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_sovereign_states_and_dependencies_by_total_fertility_rate)

There is not a single Western country, not a single white nation, that reaches these levels. Not in Europe, not in the Americas, not in Australia or New Zealand. White people are failing to reproduce, failing to create families, failing to have children.

But despite this sub-replacement fertility rate, the population in the West is increasing, and rapidly. How is this possible?

Mass immigration and the higher fertility rates of the immigrants themselves are causing this increase in population. We are experiencing an invasion on a level never seen before in history. Millions of people pouring across our borders, legally. Invited by the state and corporate entities to replace the White people who have failed to reproduce, failed to create the cheap labour, new consumers and tax base that the corporations and states need to thrive.

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

To see this in full effect, you only have to look at the population statistics in Western nations for the year 2100.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_countries\\_by\\_future\\_population\\_\(United\\_Nations\\_medium\\_fertility\\_variant\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_future_population_(United_Nations_medium_fertility_variant))

In 2100, despite the ongoing effect of sub-replacement fertility, the population figures show that the population does not decrease inline with the sub-replacement fertility levels, but actually maintains and, even in many White nations, rapidly increases.

All through immigration. This is ethnic replacement. This is cultural replacement. This is racial replacement.

This is WHITE GENOCIDE.

To return to replacement fertility levels is priority number one. But it is no simple task. There are myriad reasons behind the decline in fertility rates and the destruction of the traditional family unit. We must inevitably correct the disaster of hedonistic, nihilistic individualism. But it will take some time, time we do not have due to the crisis of mass immigration.

Due to mass immigration we lack the time scale required to enact the civilizational paradigm shift we need to undertake to return to health and prosperity. Mass immigration will disenfranchise us, subvert our nations, destroy our communities, destroy our ethnic binds, destroy our cultures, destroy our peoples. Long before low fertility levels ever could. Thus, before we deal with the fertility rates, we must deal with both the invaders within our lands and the invaders that seek to enter our lands.

We must crush immigration and deport those invaders already living on our soil. It is not just a matter of our prosperity, but the very survival of our people.

Answering possible questions

### 1. In general

Who are you?

Just a ordinary White man, 28 years old. Born in Australia to a working class, low income family. My parents are of Scottish, Irish and English stock. I had a regular childhood, without any great issues. I had little interest in education during my schooling, barely achieving a passing grade. I did not attend University as I had no great interest in anything offered in the Universities to study.

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<sup>3</sup> I changed the font of the original text for reasons of economy.

I worked for a short time before making some money investing in Bitconnect, then used the money from the investment to travel. More recently I have been working part time as a kebab removalist. I am just a regular White man, from a regular family. Who decided to take a stand to ensure a future for my people.

Why did you carry out the attack?

To most of all show the invaders that our lands will never be their lands, our homelands are our own and that, as long as a white man still lives, they will NEVER conquer our lands and they will never replace our people.

To take revenge on the invaders for the hundreds of thousands of deaths caused by foreign invaders in European lands throughout history.

To take revenge for the enslavement of millions of Europeans taken from their lands by the Islamic slavers.

To take revenge for the thousands of European lives lost to terror attacks throughout European lands.

To take revenge for Ebba Akerlund.

To directly reduce immigration rates to European lands by intimidating and physically removing the invaders themselves.

To agitate the political enemies of my people into action, to cause them to overextend their own hand and experience the eventual and inevitable backlash as a result.

To incite violence, retaliation and further divide between the European people and the invaders currently occupying European soil.

To avenge those European men and women lost in the constant and never ending wars of European history who died for their lands, died for their people only to have their lands given away to any foreign scum that bother to show up.

To agitate the political enemies of my people into action, to overextend their own hand and experience the eventual backlash.

To show the effect of direct action, lighting a path forward for those that wish to follow. A path for those that wish to free their ancestors lands from the invaders grasp and to be a beacon for those that wish to create a lasting culture, to tell them they are not alone.

To create an atmosphere of fear and change in which drastic, powerful and revolutionary action can occur.

To add momentum to the pendulum swings of history, further destabilizing and polarizing Western society in order to eventually destroy the current nihilistic, hedonistic, individualistic insanity that has taken control of Western thought.

To drive a wedge between the nations of NATO that are European and the Turks that also make a part of the NATO forces, thereby turning NATO once more into a united European army and pushing the Turkey once more back to the true position of a foreign, enemy force.

Finally, to create conflict between the two ideologies within the United States on the ownership of firearms in order to further the social, cultural, political and racial divide within the United States. This conflict over the 2nd amendment and the attempted removal of firearms rights will ultimately result in a civil war that will eventually balkanize the US along political, cultural and, most importantly, racial lines.

This balkanization of the US will not only result in the racial separation of the people within the United States ensuring the future of the White race on the North American continent, but also ensuring the death of the "melting pot" pipe dream.

Furthermore this balkanization will also reduce the USA's ability to project power globally, and thereby ensure that never again can such a situation as the US involvement in Kosovo ever occur again (where

US/NATO forces fought beside Muslims and slaughtered Christian Europeans attempting to remove these Islamic occupiers from Europe).

What do you want?

We must ensure the existence of our people, and a future for white children.

Was there a particular event or reason you decided to commit to a violent attack?

There was a period of time 2 years prior to the attack to the attack that dramatically changed my views. The period of time was from, beginning of April, 2017 until the end May, 2017.

In this time period a series of events broke down my own reserves, my reservations, my cynicism and revealed the truth of the West's current situation.

These events turned my thoughts from pursuing a democratic, political solution and finally caused the revelation of the truth, that a violent, revolutionary solution is the only possible solution to our current crisis.

I was travelling as a tourist in Western Europe at the time, France, Spain Portugal and others. The first event that began the change was the terror attack in Stockholm, on the 7th of April 2017. It was another terror attack in the seemingly never ending attacks that had been occurring on a regular basis throughout my adult life. But for some reason this was different. The jaded cynicism with which I had greeted previous attacks didn't eventuate. Something that had been a part of my life for as long as I could remember, cynicism in the face of attacks on the West by Islamic invaders, was suddenly no longer there. I could no longer bring the sneer to my face, I could no longer turn my back on the violence. Something, this time, was different.

That difference was Ebba Akerlund. Young, innocent and dead Ebba.

Ebba was walking to meet her mother after school, when she was murdered by an Islamic attacker, driving a stolen vehicle through the shopping promenade on which she was walking. Ebba was partially deaf, unable to hear the attacker coming.

Ebba's death at the hands of the invaders, the indignity of her violent demise and my inability to stop it broke through my own jaded cynicism like a sledgehammer.

I could no longer ignore the attacks. They were attacks on my people, attacks on my culture, attacks on my faith and attacks on my soul. They would not be ignored.

The second event was the 2017 French General election. The candidates were an obvious sign of our times: a globalist, capitalist, egalitarian, an ex-investment banker was no national beliefs other than the pursuit of profit versus a milquetoast, feckless, civic nationalist, an uncontroversial figure whose most brave and inspired idea resolved to the possible deportation of illegal immigrants.

Despite this ridiculous match up, the possibility of a victory by the quasi-nationalist was at least, to myself, a sign that maybe a political solution was still possible. The internationalist, globalist, anti-white,

ex-banker won. It wasn't even close. The truth of the political situation in Europe was suddenly impossible to accept. My despair set in. My belief in a democratic solution vanished.

The final push was witnessing the state of French cities and towns. For many years I had been hearing and reading of the invasion of France by non-whites, many of these rumours and stories I believed to be exaggerations, created to push a political narrative.

But once I arrived in France, I found the stories to not only be true, but profoundly understated.

In every french city, in every french town the invaders were there.

No matter where I travelled, no matter how small or rural the community I visited, the invaders were there.

The french people were often in a minority themselves, and the french that were in the streets were often alone, childless or of advanced age. Whilst the immigrants were young, energized and with large families and many children.

I remember pulling into a shopping centre car park to buy groceries in some moderate sized town in Eastern France, of roughly 15-25 thousand people. As I sat there in the parking lot, in my rental car, I watched a stream of the invaders walk through the shopping centre's front doors.

For every french man or woman there was double the number of invaders.

I had seen enough, and in anger, drove out of the town, refusing to stay any longer in the cursed place and headed on to the next town.

Driving toward the next french town on my itinerary, knowing that inevitably the invaders would also be there, I found my emotions swinging between fuming rage and suffocating despair at the indignity of

the invasion of France, the pessimism of the french people, the loss of culture and identity and the farce of the political solutions offered.

I came upon a cemetery, one of the many mass cemeteries created to bury the French and other European soldiers lost in the Wars that crippled Europe.

I had seen many pictures and heard many people discuss the cemeteries, but even knowing about these cemeteries in advance, I was still not prepared for the sight.

Simple, white, wooden crosses stretching from the fields beside the roadway, seemingly without end, into the horizon. Their number uncountable, the representation of their loss unfathomable. I pulled my rental car over, and sat, staring at these crosses and contemplating how it was that despite these men and women's sacrifice, despite their bravery, we had still fallen so far. I broke into tears, sobbing alone in the car, staring at the crosses, at the forgotten dead.

Why were we allowing these soldiers deaths to be in vain? Why were we allowing the invaders to conquer us? Overcome us? Without a single shot fired in response?

WHY WON'T SOMEBODY DO SOMETHING?

In front of those endless crosses, in front of those dead soldiers lost in forgotten wars, my despair turned to shame, my shame to guilt, my guilt to anger and my anger to rage.

WHY WON'T SOMEBODY DO SOMETHING? WHY WON'T SOMEBODY DO SOMETHING?

WHY DON'T I DO SOMETHING?

The spell broke, why don't I do something? Why not me?

If not me, then who?

Why them when I could do it myself?

It was there I decided to do something, it was there I decided to take action, to commit to force. To commit to violence.

To take the fight to the invaders myself.

Who do you represent?

Millions of European and other ethno-nationalist peoples that wish to live in peace amongst their own people, living in their own lands, practicing their own traditions and deciding the future of their own kind.

Are you a part of any political groups or movements?

I am not a direct member of any organization or group, though I have donated to many nationalist groups and have interacted with many more.

Did the groups you support/are aligned with order or promote your attack?

No. No group ordered my attack, I make the decision myself. Though I did contact the reborn Knights Templar for a blessing in support of the attack, which was given.

Do these groups hold power/who are the people in these groups? The total number of people in these organizations is in the millions, the total number of groups in the thousands. People from every walk of life, in every place of employment and field but disproportionately employed in military services and law enforcement.

Unsurprisingly

ethno-nationalists and nationalists seek employment in areas that serve their nations and community. I would estimate the number of soldiers in European armed forces that also belong to nationalist groups to number in the hundreds of thousands, with just as many employed in law enforcement positions.

Did you carry out the attack for fame?

No, carrying out an attack for fame would be laughable. After all who can remember the name of the attackers in the September 11 attack in New York? How about the attack on the pentagon? The attackers in the plane that crashed into the field on the same day?

I will be forgotten quickly. Which I do not mind.

After all I am a private and mostly introverted person.

But the aftershock from my actions will ripple for years to come, driving political and social discourse, creating the atmosphere of fear and change that is required.

Why did you target those people?

They were an obvious, visible and large group of invaders, from a culture with higher fertility rates, higher social trust and strong, robust traditions that seek to occupy my people's lands and ethnically replace my own people.

For how long did you plan this attack?

I began planning an attack roughly two years in advance and an attack at the location in Christchurch three months in advance.

Why did you choose this time to attack?

The best time to attack was yesterday, the next best time is today. The attack was planned to allow enough time to train, form a plan, settle my affairs, write down my views, then enact the attack.

Why did you choose to use firearms?

I could have chosen any weapons or means. A TATP filled rental van. Household flour, a method of dispersion and an ignition source. A ballpeen hammer and a wooden shield. Gas, fire, vehicular attacks, plane attacks, any means were available. I had the will and I had the resources.

I chose firearms for the affect it would have on social discourse, the extra media coverage they would provide and the affect it could have on the politics of United states and thereby the political situation of the world.

The US is torn into many factions by its second amendment, along state, social, cultural and, most importantly, racial lines.

With enough pressure the left wing within the United states will seek to abolish the second amendment, and the right wing within the US will see this as an attack on their very freedom and liberty.

This attempted abolishment of rights by the left will result in a dramatic polarization of the people in the United States and eventually a fracturing of the US along cultural and racial lines.

Why did you choose New Zealand as a place to attack?

New Zealand was not the original choice for attack, I only arrived to New Zealand to live temporarily whilst I planned and trained, but I soon found out that New Zealand was as target rich of an environment as anywhere else in the West.

Secondly an attack in New Zealand would bring to attention the truth of the assault on our civilization, that no where in the world was safe, the invaders were in all of our lands, even in the remotest areas of the world and that there was no where left to go that was safe and free from mass immigration.

Was there any reason you attacked that(those) mosque(s) in particular?

Originally the mosque in Dunedin was the main target, particularly after watching the video on their facebook page named "Otago muslim association"

<https://www.facebook.com/Otago-Muslim-Association-206778229358786/>

The video was entitled "Very interesting video. Only for Muslims. Please do not redistribute" that proved their knowledge of their actions, and their guilt.

<https://www.facebook.com/206778229358786/videos/451628238207116/>

But after visiting the mosques in Christchurch and Linwood and seeing the desecration of the church that had been converted to a mosque in Ashburton, my plans changed.

The Christchurch and Linwood mosques had far more invaders, in a more prominent and optically foreign building, with less students, more adults and a prior history of extremism.

Attacking these mosques also allowed for an extra planned attack on the mosque in Ashburton, whilst I am unsure as of this time of writing whether I will reach that target, it was a bonus objective.

Do you consider it a terrorist attack?

By the definition, then yes. It is a terrorist attack. But I believe it is a partisan action against an occupying force.

Do you feel any remorse for the attack?

No, I only wish I could have killed more invaders, and more traitors as well.

Did/do you personally hate muslims?

A muslim man or woman living in their homelands? No.

A muslim man or woman choosing to invade our lands live on our soil and replace our people? Yes, I dislike them.

The only muslim I truly hate is the convert, those from our own people that turn their backs on their heritage, turn their backs on their cultures, turn their back on their traditions and became blood traitors to their own race. These I hate.

Did/do you personally hate foreigners/other cultures?

No, I spent many years travelling through many, many nations. Everywhere I travelled, barring a few small exceptions, I was treated wonderfully, often as a guest and even as a friend. The varied cultures of the world greeted me with warmth and compassion, and I very much enjoyed nearly every moment I spent with them.

I wish the different peoples of their world all the best regardless of their ethnicity, race, culture of faith and that they live in peace and prosperity, amongst their own people, practicing their own traditions, in their own nations.

But, if those same people seek to come to my peoples lands, replace my people, subjugate my people, make war upon my people, then I shall be forced to fight them, and hold nothing in reserve.

Do you believe those you attacked were innocent?

They are no innocents in an invasion, all those who colonize other peoples lands share guilt.

Did you commit the attack to receive media coverage and to propagate your own writings/beliefs/ideals?

No, the attack was a end in itself, with all the necessary affect required. These writing, and their coverage, are just a bonus.

Did you intend to survive the attack?

Yes, but death was a definite possibility. These situations are chaotic and virtually impossible to control, no matter the planning. Survival was a better alternative to death in order to further spread my ideals by media coverage and to deplete resources from the state by my own imprisonment.

Was the attack "racist" in origin?

Fertility rates are innately tied to race, so yes. There was a racial component to the attack.

Was the attack "xenophobic" in origin?

Fertility rates are cultural, there is no denying that, so there was a war of cultures being fought by the invaders, and my attack was a response to this. Though I hold no great fear or distrust of other peoples.

Was the attack "islamophobic" in origin?

Islamic nations in particular have high birth rates, regardless of race or ethnicity, and in this there was an anti-islamic motivation to the attacks, as well as a want for revenge against islam for the 1300 years of war and devastation that it has brought upon the people of the West and other peoples of the world.

Was the attack anti-immigration in origin?

Yes, beyond all doubt, anti-immigration, anti-ethnic replacement and anti-cultural replacement.

Was the attack anti-diversity in origin?

No, the attack was not an attack on diversity, but an attack in the name of diversity.

To ensure diverse peoples remain diverse, separate, unique, undiluted in unrestrained in cultural or ethnic expression and autonomy.

To ensure that the peoples of the world remain true to their traditions and faiths and do not become watered down and corrupted by the influence of outsiders. The attack was to ensure a preservation of beauty, art and tradition. In my mind a rainbow is only beautiful to due its variety of colours, mix the colours together and you destroy them all and they are gone forever and the end result is far from anything beautiful.

Did you intend to kill police officers or other enforcers of the state? No. The police force in New Zealand is on overall good terms with the public and, unlike in other European nations such as France, the UK, or Norway they have so far remained loyal to the people. So harming the NZ police officers was to be avoided at all costs unless the state enforcer was from an invaders background.

Striking quickly and then exfiltrating from the area of attack was the plan, to avoid the responders of the state and to avoid a situation where I was forced to harm them.

In the event of an engagement I had the somewhat quixotic notion of shouting down responding state enforcers, intimidating them into dropping their weapons and if that failed, only targeting non-vital areas of their body such as the anterior of the thigh, shoulder or a side-on through shot of the calf, hamstring or gluteal muscles so as to cause the least amount of harm as possible and to allow for a quick recovery.

How this worked in reality, well...only you know.

If you survived, did you intend to go to trial?

Yes, and to plead not guilty. The attack was a partisan action against a occupying force, and I am a lawful, uniformed combatant.

Were there other targets planned in your attack?

Many, one thing that can be said about the current state of the West is that we live in a target rich environment, traitors and enemies abound.

Were/are you are "racist"?

Yes, by definition, as I believe racial differences exist between peoples and they have a great impact on the way we shape our societies

I also believe fertility rates are part of those racial differences and that the immigrants in our lands with high fertility must be forced out to ensure the existence of our race.

So yes. I am a racist.

Were/are you a "xenophobe"?

No, no culture scares me. I am only wary of those cultures with higher fertility rates replacing others.

Were/are you a "islamophobe"?

No, I am not afraid of islam, only that, due to its high fertility rates, it will grow to replace other peoples and faiths.

Were/are you a nationalist?

Yes, predominantly an ethno-nationalist(I place importance on the health and well being of my race above all else).

Were/are you a nazi?

No, actual nazis do not exist. They haven't been a political or social force anywhere in the world for more than 60 years.

Were/are you an anti-semite?

No. A jew living in israel is no enemy of mine, so long as they do not seek to subvert or harm my people.

Were/are you a neo-nazi?

That is a very broad category of people, and the definition is fuzzy at best. So no, I don't believe so.

Were/are you a conservative?

No, conservatism is corporatism in disguise, I want no part of it.

Were/are you a christian?

That is complicated.

When I know, I will tell you.

Were/are you a fascist?

Yes. For once, the person that will be called a fascist, is an actual fascist. I am sure the journalists will love that.

I mostly agree with Sir Oswald Mosley's views and consider myself an Eco-fascist by nature.

The nation with the closest political and social values to my own is the People's Republic of China.

Was there a political figure or party in history you most associate yourself with?

Sir Oswald Mosley is the person from history closest to my own beliefs.

Were/are you a "homophobe"?

No, I simply do not care all that much what gay people do. As long as they are loyal to their people and place their peoples well being first, then I have no issues.

Were/are you "right wing"?

Depending on the definition, sure.

Were/are you "left wing"?

Depending on the definition, sure.

Were/are you a socialist?

Depending on the definition. Worker ownership of the means of production? It depends on who those workers are, their intents, who currently owns the means of production, their intents and who currently owns the state, and its intents.

Were/are you a supporter of Donald Trump?

As a symbol of renewed white identity and common purpose? Sure. As a policy maker and leader? Dear god no.

Were/are you a supporter of Brexit?

Yes, though not for an official policy made. The truth is that eventually people must face the fact that it wasn't a damn thing to do with the economy. That it was the British people firing back at mass immigration, cultural displacement and globalism, and that's a great and wonderful thing.

Were/are you a supporter of Front National?

No, they're a party of milquetoast civic nationalist boomers, completely incapable of creating real change and with no actual viable plan to save their nation.

By living in New Zealand, weren't you an immigrant yourself?

Yes, and it seems we immigrants seem to bring a whole host of issues. Nah, not really. An Australian living in New Zealand is much the same as an Austrian living in Bavaria. They aren't going to ethnically replace the people, nor change the nation's culture. They are the same people, they are the same culture.

Are you intolerant?

Sure. The last virtues of a dying nation are tolerance and apathy, and I want none of it.

How did you develop/research/receive your views and beliefs?

Over a great deal of time, from a great deal of places.

From where did you receive/research/develop your beliefs?

The internet, of course. You will not find the truth anywhere else.

Is there a particular person that radicalized you the most?

Yes, the person that has influenced me above all was Candace Owens. Each time she spoke I was stunned by her insights and her own views helped push me further and further into the belief of violence over meekness. Though I will have to disavow some of her beliefs, the extreme actions she calls for are too much, even for my tastes.

Were you taught violence and extremism by video games, music, literature, cinema?

Yes, Spyro the dragon 3 taught me ethno-nationalism. Fortnite trained me to be a killer and to floss on the corpses of my enemies.

No.

Did you always hold these views?

No, when I was young I was a communist, then an anarchist and finally a libertarian before coming to be an eco-fascist.

Who do you consider white?

Those that are ethnically and culturally European.

Who do you consider non-white?

Those who are not ethnically and culturally European.

Where your beliefs given to you by your family/friends/society etc? No. Those around my were the typical Australians, apathetic and for the most part apolitical, only truly showing motivation in matters of animal rights, environmentalism and taxation.

Do you consider yourself a leader?

No, just a partisan.

Did/do you have ties to any other partisans/freedom fighters/ethno soldiers?

I support many of those that take a stand against ethnic and cultural genocide. Luca Traini, Anders Breivik, Dylan Roof, Anton Lundin Pettersson, Darren Osbourne etc.

But I have only had brief contact with Knight Justiciar Breivik, receiving a blessing for my mission after contacting his brother knights.

Were your beliefs influenced by any other attackers?

I have read the writings of Dylan Roof and many others, but only really took true inspiration from Knight Justiciar Breivik.

If convicted, do you expect to stay in prison?

Yes, until I am either killed, released or enough time passes and the greater situation is an obvious defeat of our people. Then I will commit suicide, happy in the knowledge I did my best to prevent the death of my race.

Why do you believe you will be released from prison?

I do not just expect to be released, but I also expect an eventual Nobel Peace prize. As was awarded to the Terrorist Nelson Mandela once his own people achieved victory and took power.

I expect to be freed in 27 years from my incarceration, the same number of years as Mandela, for the same crime.

Why do you care so much about Europe, aren't you an Australian?

Australia, just like the rest of the colonies of Europe, is simply an off-shoot of the European people. A finger on the hand of the body of Europe.

The origins of my language is European, my culture is European, my political beliefs are European, my philosophical beliefs are European, my identity is European and, most importantly, my blood is European.

2. Answers to my people/supporters questions

What are your views?

I am an Ethno-nationalist Eco-fascist. Ethnic autonomy for all peoples with a focus on the preservation of nature, and the natural order.

Who do you follow?

No one person in particular, I support many groups but I am a member of none.

Who do you support?

Those that wish a future for white children, and to ensure the existence of our people.

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

No, but the next person to attack could be, so a healthy scepticism is a good thing.

Just do not allow your scepticism to turn to paranoia and keep you from supporting those that want the best for you.

What are your wishes?

To ensure the existence of our people and a future for white children, whilst preserving and exulting nature and the natural order.

What do you encourage us to do?

Make your plans, get training, form alliances, get equipped and then act. The time for meekness has long since passed, the time for a political solution has long since passed.

Men of the West must be men once more.

Is this your complete writings and views?

Unfortunately not, there was a much larger work written, roughly 240 pages long that spoke on many issues and went into much depth, but in a moment of unbridled self criticism, I deleted the entire work and started again, two weeks before the attack itself.

I was left with a short period of time to create a new work and only leave my views half finished. I will let my actions speak for themselves.

3. Answers to detractors and to those that oppose my beliefs/methods

Won't your attack do more harm than good?

No, there isn't a successful, influential grand movement established just yet, and no leading organizations, so there is no great structure created that could be brought to harm.

As for how the public perceives us? Did they perceive us any differently after the attack than they did before?

Won't your attack result in calls for the removal of gun rights from Whites in the United states?

Yes, that is the plan all along, you said you would fight to protect your rights and the constitution, well soon will come the time.

Won't your attack result in calls for the removal of gun rights in the New Zealand?

The gun owners of New Zealand are a beaten, miserable bunch of baby boomers, who have long since given up the fight. When was the last time they won increased rights? Their loss was inevitable. I just accelerated things a bit.

They had long since lost their cities, take a look at Auckland. Did you really expect they would not also lose their rights?

You are a bigot, racist, xenophobe, islamophobe, nazi, fascist!

A. Compliments will get you no where.

B. That isn't a question.

C. What the fuck did you just fucking say about me, you little bitch? I'll have you know I graduated top of my class in the Navy Seals, and I've been involved in numerous secret raids on Al-Qaeda, and I have over 300 confirmed kills. I am trained in gorilla warfare and I'm the top sniper in the entire US armed forces. You are nothing to me but just another target. I will wipe you the fuck out with precision the likes of which has never been seen before on this Earth, mark my fucking words. You think you can get away with saying that shit to me over the Internet? Think again, fucker. As we speak I am contacting my secret network of spies across the USA and your IP is being traced right now so you better prepare for the storm, maggot. The storm that wipes out the pathetic little thing you call your life. You're fucking dead, kid. I can be anywhere, anytime, and I can kill you in over seven hundred ways, and that's just with my bare hands. Not only am I extensively trained in unarmed combat, but I have access to the entire arsenal of the United States Marine Corps and I will use it to its full extent to wipe your miserable ass off the face of the continent, you little shit. If only you could have known what unholy retribution your little "clever" comment was about to bring down upon you, maybe you would have held your fucking tongue. But you couldn't, you didn't, and now you're paying the price, you goddamn idiot. I will shit fury all over you and you will drown in it. You're fucking dead, kiddo.

Democracy is the only solution, why are you committing to force? Democracy is mob rule and the mob itself is ruled by our enemies. The global and corporate run press controls them, the education system (long since fallen to the long march through the institutions carried out by the marxists) controls them, the state (long since heavily lost to its corporate backers) controls them and the anti-white media machine controls them.

Do not suffer under the delusion of an effortless, riskless democratic victory.

Prepare for war, prepare for violence and prepare for risk, loss, struggle, death.

Force is the only path to power and the only path to true victory.

Violence isn't the answer, why are you using force?

There is no nation in the world that wasn't founded by, or maintained by, the use of force. Force is power. History is the history of power. Violence is power and violence is the reality of history. Wake up.

What makes you think that you have all the answers?

I don't, but I may have some. Take from my views that which works, discard that which does not. Victory is all that matters.

What makes you believe you can speak for a group?

I speak for my views and my ideals, and those that support me. Some may agree with them, others won't.

What makes you believe you are European, not just an Australian? What is an Australian but a drunk European? Kidding, but Australian is a European colony, particularly of British stock and thereby an extension of Europe.

What makes you believe there are racial differences and that those differences matter?

Research and data. Haplogroups, phenotypes and globalized testing. In time, the truth will be revealed.

Why do you blame immigrants and not the capitalists?

I blame both, and plan to deal with both.

Why attack immigrants when "x" are the issue?

Because the "x" groups can be dealt with in time, but the high fertility immigrants will destroy us now, soon it is a matter of survival we destroy them first.

Why attack muslims if all high fertility immigrants are the issue? Historical, societal and statistical reasons. They are the most despised group of invaders in the West, attacking them receives the greatest level of support. They are also one of the strongest groups, with high fertility, high in group preference and a will to conquer.

Why focus on immigration and birth rates when climate change is such a huge issue?

Because if we do not destroy the invaders first, our own birth rates will mean nothing. We do not have the birth rates to fight them at their game, nor should we as it is ultimately destructive to nature and culture. So I took matters into my own hands.

If you believe we need to correct the white birth rates, why didn't you start a family and do it yourself?

Because if we do not destroy the invaders first, our own birth rates will mean nothing. We do not have the birth rates to fight them at their game, nor should we as it is ultimately destructive to nature and culture. So I took matters into my own hands.

Didn't your attack just result in the vilification of ethno-nationalists/racial autonomists?

No, people will forget my motivations quickly and only remember the attack itself. Don't believe me, can anyone tell you the motivation of the Madrid train bomber attackers?

Children are always innocent, do you not think you are a monster for killing an innocent?

Children of invaders do not stay children, they become adults and reproduce, creating more invaders to replace your people. They grow up and vote against your people's own wishes, for the interests of their own people and identity. They grow up and take the potential homes of your own people for themselves, they occupy positions of power, remove wealth and destroy social trust.

Any invader you kill, of any age, is one less enemy your children will have to face.

Would you rather do the killing, or leave it to your children? Your grand children?

#### Section I

Addresses to various groups

It was not part of their blood, It came to them very late,  
With long arrears to make good, When the Saxon began to hate.

They were not easily moved, They were icy -- willing to wait Till every count should be proved, Ere the Saxon began to hate.

Their voices were even and low, Their eyes were level and straight. There was neither sign nor show When the Saxon began to hate.

It was not preached to the crowd, It was not taught by the state.  
No man spoke it aloud When the Saxon began to hate.

It was not suddenly bred, It will not swiftly abate,  
Through the chilled years ahead, When Time shall count from the date That the Saxon began to hate.

-Altered version of "The Beginnings"  
by Rudyard Kipling

To Conservatives

Ask yourself, truly, what has modern conservatism managed to conserve? What does it seek to conserve? The natural environment? Western Culture? Ethnic autonomy? Religion? The nation? The race?

Nothing is conserved. The natural environment is industrialized, pulverized and commoditized.

Western culture is trivialized, pulped and blended into a smear of meaningless nothing, with the only tenets and beliefs seemingly held to be the myth of the individual, the value of work (productivity for the benefit of your capitalist owners) and the sovereignty of private property (to ensure none of us get grand ideas of taking the unearned wealth of our owners).

Ethnic autonomy? Destroyed in the name of cheap labour, whilst they may publicly object to the illegal immigration of the third world masses, privately they push for as much migration as possible, anything to decrease the labour cost of production and line their pockets with the profits. They removed the Europeans' peoples autonomy and sovereignty for their own lust for power and wealth.

Religion? What remains? Empty churches and full shopping centers? Drive through confessionals and no fault divorce? Any religious ideal that stood between the wealthy and wealth generation was downplayed, sidelined and quietly dismantled. All so that they could line their pockets without complaints or objections.

The nation? What nations do we have to conserve? What our own nations now based on? Their is no shared culture, ethnicity, language, values or beliefs. Anyone can be a member of our nation, as long as they have the paperwork. They need not be born here, share our race, our language, our culture or our beliefs. Hear the conservatives cry, as long as they are willing to WORK, let them in! Let them earn our wealthy benefactors their second yachts and their fifth properties!

The Race? They don't even BELIEVE in the race, they don't even have the gall to say race exists. And above all they don't even care if it does. It's profit, and profit alone that drives them, all else is secondary. The

notion of a racial future or destiny is as foreign to them as social responsibilities.

Not a thing has been conserved other than corporate profits and the ever increasing wealth of the 1% that exploit the people for their own benefit.

Conservatism is dead. Thank god. Now let us bury it and move on to something of worth.

CONSERVATISM IS DEAD, THANK GOD.

To Christians

"The people worthy of glory, the people blessed by God Our Lord, moan and fall under the weight of these outrages and most shameful humiliations. The race of the elect suffers outrageous persecutions, and the impious race of the Saracens respects neither the virgins of the Lord nor the colleges of priests. They run over the weak and the elderly, they seize the children from their mothers so that they might forget, among the barbarians, the name of God. That perverse nation profanes the hospices ... The temple of the Lord is treated like a criminal and the ornaments of the sanctuary are robbed.

"What more shall I say to you?

"We are disgraced, sons and brothers, who live in these days of calamities! Can we look at the world in this century reproved by Heaven to witness the desolation of the Holy City and remain in peace while it is so oppressed? Is it not preferable to die in war rather than suffer any longer so horrible a spectacle? Let us all weep for our faults that raise the divine ire, yes, let us weep ... But let not our tears be like the seed thrown into



the sand. Let the fire of our repentance raise up the Holy War and the love of our brethren lead us into combat. Let our lives be stronger than death to fight against the enemies of the Christian people.”

#### ASK YOURSELF, WHAT WOULD POPE URBAN II DO?

To Antifa/Marxists/Communists

I do not want to convert you, I do not want to come to an understanding. Egalitarians and those that believe in hierarchy will never come to terms. I don't want you by my side or I don't want share power.

I want you in my sights. I want your neck under my boot.

#### SEE YOU ON THE STREETS YOU ANTI-WHITE SCUM

To turks

You can live in peace in your own lands, and may no ham come to you. On the east side of the Bosphorus.

But if you attempt to live in European lands, anywhere west of the Bosphorus. We will kill you and drive you roaches from our lands.

We are coming for Constantinople and we will destroy every mosque and minaret in the city.

The Hagia Sophia will be free of minarets and Constantinople will be rightfully christian owned once more.

#### FLY TO YOUR OWN LANDS, WHILE YOU STILL HAVE THE CHANCE

#### Section II

##### General Thoughts and Potential Strategies

"It will come in one way and one way alone, not through existing governments. Not by the maneuvers of the lobbies and the parliaments and the congresses, it will come under the stress of necessity. It will come in a great wave of popularity, in a great awakening of the European soul."

-Sir Oswald Mosley

Who is truly to blame?

The people who are to blame most are ourselves, european men. Strong men do not get ethnically replaced, strong men do not allow their culture to degrade, strong men do not allow their people to die. Weak men have created this situation and strong men are needed to fix it.

#### UNTIL THE HAGIA SOPHIA IS FREE OF THE MINARETS, THE MEN OF EUROPE ARE MEN IN NAME ONLY

##### The Rape of European Women Invaders

Many of you may already know about the rape of British women by the invading forces, Rotherham of course being the most well known case. But what few know is that Rotherham is just one of an ongoing trend of rape and molestation perpetrated by these non-white scum.

A list of wikipedia entries from the most well known British rape cases follows:

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rotherham\\_child\\_sexual\\_exploitation\\_scandal](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rotherham_child_sexual_exploitation_scandal)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aylesbury\\_child\\_sex\\_abuse\\_ring](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aylesbury_child_sex_abuse_ring)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Banbury\\_child\\_sex\\_abuse\\_ring](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Banbury_child_sex_abuse_ring)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bristol\\_child\\_sex\\_abuse\\_ring](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bristol_child_sex_abuse_ring)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Derby\\_child\\_sex\\_abuse\\_ring](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Derby_child_sex_abuse_ring)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Halifax\\_child\\_sex\\_abuse\\_ring](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Halifax_child_sex_abuse_ring)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Huddersfield\\_grooming\\_gang](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Huddersfield_grooming_gang)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Keighley\\_child\\_sex\\_abuse\\_ring](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Keighley_child_sex_abuse_ring)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Keighley\\_child\\_sex\\_abuse\\_ring](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Keighley_child_sex_abuse_ring)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Newcastle\\_sex\\_abuse\\_ring](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Newcastle_sex_abuse_ring)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation\\_Doublet](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation_Doublet)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rochdale\\_child\\_sex\\_abuse\\_ring](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rochdale_child_sex_abuse_ring)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oxford\\_child\\_sex\\_abuse\\_ring](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oxford_child_sex_abuse_ring)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peterborough\\_sex\\_abuse\\_case](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peterborough_sex_abuse_case)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Telford\\_child\\_sexual\\_exploitation\\_scandal](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Telford_child_sexual_exploitation_scandal) What many do not know is that these cases do not solely occur in Britain,

but elsewhere in the Western world as well, as shown by these two well known cases in Australia:

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ashfield\\_gang\\_rapes](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ashfield_gang_rapes)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sydney\\_gang\\_rapes](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sydney_gang_rapes)

And even in Finland: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oulu\\_child\\_sexual\\_exploitation\\_scandal](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oulu_child_sexual_exploitation_scandal)

Just as shocking are the cases of open and public sexual assault and harassment performed by these invasive scum that appear to be occurring ever more frequently across the European world such as those in Germany in the New years eve sexual assaults in Cologne, Hamburg, Dortmund, Dusseldorf, Stuttgart and Bielefeld. The Wikipedia entry of these events follows:

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2015%E2%80%9316\\_New\\_Year%27s\\_Eve\\_sexual\\_assaults\\_in\\_Germany](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2015%E2%80%9316_New_Year%27s_Eve_sexual_assaults_in_Germany)

The true number of these events perpetrated across the Western world is unknown and certainly under reported, as both the state, the media and the judicial system work in unison to hide these atrocities, in the fear that knowledge of these events would enrage the native people of the West and damage the perception of our new “Multicultural utopia”.

Finally I would like to send a message to the perpetrators of these attacks, and their families. You will hang. If you are released we will find you and kill you, if you are in prison we will reach you there, if you try to hide these rapist scum we will kill you as well. For the disgrace you have heaped upon the European people and the distress you have caused to European women, you will die.

#### KILL THE RAPISTS, HANG THEIR FAMILIES

Diversity is weak

Why is diversity said to be our greatest strength? Does anyone even ask why? It is spoken like a mantra and repeated ad infinitum “diversity is our greatest strength, diversity is our greatest strength, diversity is our greatest strength...”. Said throughout the media, spoken by politicians, educators and celebrities. But no one ever seems to give a reason why.

What gives a nation strength? And how does diversity increase that strength? What part of diversity causes this increase in strength? No one can give an answer. Meanwhile the “diverse” nations across the world are scenes of endless social, political, religious and ethnic conflict. The United States is one of the most diverse nations on Earth, and they are about an inch away from tearing each other to pieces. Brazil with all its racial diversity is completely fractured as a nation, where people cannot get along and separate and self segregate whenever possible. South Africa with all its “diversity” is turning into a bloody backwater as its diversity increases, black on other black, black on white, white on black, black on Indian, doesn’t matter, its ethnicity vs ethnicity. They all turn on each other in the end.

Why is it that what gives Western nations strength (diversity) is not what gives Eastern nations (China, Japan, Taiwan, South Korea) their strength? How are they so strong, China set to be the world’s most dominant nation in this century, whilst lacking diversity? Why is that their non diverse nations do so much better than our own, and on so many different metrics?

Diversity is not a strength. Unity, purpose, trust, traditions, nationalism and racial nationalism is what provides strength. Everything else is just a catchphrase.

#### DIVERSITY IS WEAKNESS, UNITY IS STRENGTH

Radicalization of Western men

The radicalization of young Western men is not just unavoidable, but inevitable. It should come as no shock that European men, in every nation, and on every continent are turning to radical notions and methods to combat the social and moral decay of their nations and the continued ethnic replacement of their people.

Radical, explosive action is the only desired, and required, response to an attempted genocide. These men and women are not being brain-washed, corrupted or misled. They are finally removing their blindfolds and seeing the reality of the world and their peoples future.

The truth that the West killed the notion of god, and proceeded to replace it with nothing. Brought forth two competing ideologies (communism and fascism) to replace this loss of god, then proceeded to allow both sides to slaughter each other to a standstill and then let corporate backed capitalists tear the survivor to pieces. Resulting in a society with no core beliefs, no purpose and no vision for the future. A society of rampant nihilism, consumerism and individualism, where every individual is a competitor and the rights of the individual override all notions of responsibility. In this hell the individual is all and the race is worthless, something to rail against and use whenever possible, a power structure to climb, or topple.

The truth that they are rapidly becoming, not just a global minority, but a minority within their own lands.

The Truth that they are left, alone, an individual in a society worshipping the cult of the individual, to respond against an influx of outsiders from all corners of the world. Enemies bound by faith, culture or tradition with higher levels of fertility, trust and in group preference resulting in much stronger communities.

The truth that they are expected not to combat these myriad, unending and dedicated interlopers, but to embrace them, accept their own disenfranchisement, accept the loss of their fathers lands, their own impoverishment, their own REPLACEMENT.

But they will not accept this death. This eradication of their people, their culture, their very soul.

They see the decay all around them, plummeting, free-falling birth rates all across the Western world. Millions of invaders landing on our shores, conquering our towns and without a single shot fired in response. Broken families with soaring divorce rates, that’s if they even bother to get married at all. Suicide rates climbing year by year, not just for adults, but even teens and children as well and the only time people seem to even

notice is when one of their own idols commits the act (singers, sports stars, actors). Drug use at all levels of society, in all age groups, any source of distraction or relief to escape a culture of nihilism. Rampant urbanization and industrialization, ever expanding cities and shrinking forests, a complete removal of man from nature, with the obvious results.

Pedophile politicians, pedophile priests and pedophile pop stars, demonstrating to all the true depravity of our age. Art and beauty subverted beyond all recognition, bauhaus travesties replacing nouveau wonders, soulless metropolitan architecture of glass and steel reflecting no society, no culture, no people and therefore belonging everywhere, and nowhere. Suicidal, nihilistic and degenerate pop icons produced from a dead culture: Michael Jackson (pedophile, self hating, self mutilating, opiod addict); Madonna (degenerate, drug addict, childless, whore,

anti-christian, pro miscegenation) Kurt Cobain (suicidal, drug addict, self hater, anti-social), Freddy Mercury (lifelong identity crisis, lifelong battle with hedonism and drug use, eventual death due to sexual hedonism) just to name a few. Empty nurseries, full casinos, empty churches and full mosques, entropy in blitz speed.

Politicians writ in the same ink as Eligabulus, worshipping all that is foreign, poisonous and subversive.

So these young men and women see this suicidal nihilism and isolate themselves from this mainstream, “multicultural”, egalitarian, individualistic insanity and look for allies anywhere they can find them, in the flesh or online. They congregate, discuss, despair, strategize, debate and plan. They decry weakness, mock fecklessness and worship strength, and in this worship of strength they radicalize and find the solution.

Somehow this isolation then radicalization is seen as a surprise, yet for anyone who was paying attention, it was a long time coming. Once the

corporate and state medias grip on the zeitgeist of modernity was finally broken by the internet, true freedom of thought and discussion flourished and the overton window was not just shifted, but shattered. All possibility of expression and belief was open to be taught, discussed and spoken.

This open and often anonymous discussion allowed for information, outside of the states and the corporation control, to be accessed often for the first time. The result is obvious. People are finding their way home. Finding their people, finding their traditions, seeing through the lies of history, the brainwashing of the institutions and they are angry, they are energized and yes, against their degenerate societies, they are radicalized.

#### RADICALIZATION IS THE RATIONAL RESPONSE TO DEGENERATION

The failure of Assimilation

Expecting immigrants to assimilate to a dying, decadent culture is laughable. Who would willingly leave their own strong, dominant and rising culture to join an elderly, decaying, degenerate culture? What culture would entice a man, one of traditions, beauty, architecture, art and prosperity, or a culture of decay, self-hatred, childlessness, disorder and nihilism?

More immigrants are choosing to retain their own healthy culture, year by year, and even more telling, our own people are beginning to join them, looking outside their own watered down and deteriorating culture to look for purpose and guidance from outside sources.

The weaker we become the more immigrants will refuse to join us, refuse to partake in the cultural suicide that we extol. That should surprise no one.

#### NO ONE WILL WILLFULLY JOIN THE DECAY

Green nationalism is the only true nationalism

There is no Conservatism without nature, there is no nationalism without environmentalism, the natural environment of our lands shaped us just as we shaped it. We were born from our lands and our own culture was molded by these same lands. The protection and preservation of these lands is of the same importance as the protection and preservation of our own ideals and beliefs.

For too long we have allowed the left to co-opt the environmentalist movement to serve their own needs. The left has controlled all discussion regarding environmental preservation whilst simultaneously presiding over the continued destruction of the natural environment itself through mass immigration and uncontrolled urbanization, whilst offering no true solution to either issue.

There is no Green future with never ending population growth, the ideal green world cannot exist in a World of 100 billion 50 billion or even 10 billion people. Continued immigration into Europe is environmental warfare and ultimately destructive to nature itself.

The Europe of the future is not one of concrete and steel, smog and wires but a place of forests, lakes, mountains and meadows. Not a place where English is the default language but a place where every European language, belief and tradition is valued. Each nation and each ethnicity was melded by their own environment and if they are to be protected so must their own environments.

#### THERE IS NO TRADITIONALISM WITHOUT ENVIRONMENTALISM

##### Kill High Profile Enemies

There are well known enemies of our nations, enemies of our race that freely walk through our societies, heads held high, believing themselves untouchable. They will soon find out how wrong they truly are. Traitors deserve a traitor's death. No matter if it takes 3 years or 30 years, these people must pay for their disgusting attacks upon our race.

TATP packages strapped to drones, an EFP in a motorcycle saddle bags, convoy ambush ramblings with cement trucks. Any method that gives these traitors their sure reward is viable and should be encouraged. Where there is a will, there is a way.

Merkel, the mother of all things anti-white and anti-germanic, is top of the list. Few have done more to damage and racially cleanse Europe of its people.

Erdogan, the leader of one of the oldest enemies of our people, and the leader of the largest Islamic group within Europe. This warlord must bleed his last, whilst he visits his ethnic soldiers currently occupying Europe. His death will also drive a wedge between the Turk invaders currently occupying our lands and the ethnic European people whilst simultaneously weakening Turkey's hold on the region, removing a prime enemy of Russia and destabilizing and fracturing NATO.

Sadiq Khan, The current mayor of London at the time of writing, an open sign of the disenfranchisement and ethnic replacement of the British people in the British isles. This Pakistani muslim invader now sits as representative for the people of London. Londinium, the very heart of the British isles. What better sign of the white rebirth than the removal of this invader?

#### KILL ANGELA MERKEL, KILL ERDOGAN, KILL SADIQ KHAN

##### The Paradox of the diverse equality

The greatest joke of all is the quixotic foolishness of the diverse but equal society. Diversity by its very definition belies equality. No two different things can ever truly be equal, especially humans. There is no one person equal to any other, not identical twins, not countrymen, not workers within a class group and certainly not those of differing races. Every human is worth only their own value, no more or less.

The more diverse a group becomes, the less equal it becomes. Diversity is anathema to equality. One cannot exist with the other.

#### DIVERSITY IS UNEQUAL, HIERARCHIES ARE CERTAIN

##### The present is a gift from those in our past

Your ancestors did not sweat, bleed and die in the name of a multicultural, egalitarian nation. They built homes for their children to live in, they built communities for their people to thrive in, they built nations for their people to survive in. They slaved for a better future for their people, and now other peoples shake their fists and point their fingers, reprimanding us for living better lives, wealthier lives in wealthier countries. This wealth and prosperity was paid for in the sweat and blood of your ancestors. Our present comfortable, privileged and prosperous life was gifted to us by our forebears, with the belief that we would maintain, cherish and even expand upon their work, so that one day our own children can enjoy the rewards of our labour.

We must strive to create a nation worthy of our ancestors, that we give our people the very best lives, and nations that are worthy of them. A nation that venerates its ancestors, but lives for its offspring.

#### VENERATE THE ANCESTORS BUT WORK FOR THE CHILDREN

##### A soldier's fight

The ideal of a heroic war, without loss, without failure, without some great setback, is idealistic and downright impossible. Even at Vienna in 1683 we Europeans still lost over fourteen thousand good men. That was during a triumphant VICTORY. Do you believe you are better than these men? More deserving of life? More skilled and courageous? You are not. If they could die, so can you. Expect death, expect struggle, expect loss that you will never forget. Do not expect to survive, the only thing you should expect is a true war and to die the death of a true soldier.

#### EXPECT A SOLDIER'S FIGHT AND A SOLDIER'S DEATH

##### The Danger of the Invader

If you were to kill sixty armed invaders having shown the will and the intent to bring harm to your nation and people, you would be hailed a hero, given your nation's highest civilian honours, paraded before the media and the adoring public. But kill sixty unarmed invaders having shown the will and the intent to bring harm to your nation and people, and you will be considered a monster, dragged through the streets, ridiculed, attacked, your character assassinated in every way it can be and finally tried in court and imprisoned for the rest of your life.

But here's the real kicker, the unarmed invader is far more dangerous to our people than the armed invader. We can fight the armed invader, we know how, we have the ability, we have the soldiers and arms to do so. But the unarmed invader, we have no real idea on how to deal with them, we are unable to attack them or fend them off in any meaningful way.

Both would seek to destroy our nation, both would seek to displace and replace our people, both would seek to destroy our culture and nationhood. But only one has the ability and only one has shown to be effective at doing so.

#### THE UNARMED INVADER IS MORE DANGEROUS THAN THE ARMED

##### The Lightning March through the institutions

While the lefts march through the institutions was long and ultimately successful we must achieve the same, but in a much shorter time period. Due to the threat of ethnic replacement and our own horribly low birth rates, we do not have 150 years or even 50 years to achieve positions of power. We must be intrinsically leveraged into the political, militaristic, judicial, educational and economic institutions, and within 25 years.

We do not have the luxury of time like the left had, we must be ready to act, and act soon. That means those that can, or have the ability should look to ingrain themselves into these institutions and climb as far up the power hierarchy as possible, in the shortest time possible. When the time comes you must be ready to act.

#### BLITZ TO DOMINANT POSITIONS

All true movements are populist movements

While the movement itself, at least in the vanguard stage, does not need to have the support of the entire population, eventually we will need our people to join our new society, and voluntarily. They must be willing and wishing to be a part of this new future we envision. We cannot, and should not, rely on oppression to encourage the population to fit this new paradigm.

Through our own actions and speech we shall show them a new path. A path focusing on nature and respect for the environment, traditions, families, workers rights and personal and racial responsibilities. We must excel, both personally and as a society.

Whilst we may use edgy humour and memes in the vanguard stage, and to attract a young audience, eventually we will need to show the reality of our thoughts and our more serious intents and wishes for the future. For now we appeal to the anger and black comedic nature of the present, but eventually we will need to show the warmth and genuine love we have for our people.

#### SHOW THEM THE WAY FORWARD

There is no sheltered meadow

There is nowhere left to run, turn around, face your enemy, make your stand. There is not a single place left where the tendrils of replacement migration have not touched. There is no single place in the West that is even close to reaching replacement level birthrates, let alone birthrates that indicate a level of vitality and vigour.

There is no pleasant meadow in which you can lay down your weary body, rest your head and wait for it all to blow over.

You will find no reprieve, not in Iceland, not in Poland, not in New Zealand, not in Argentina, not in Ukraine, not anywhere in the world. I know, because I have been there.

Nor should you, why should you have peace when your other brothers in Europe face certain war? Why you should risk nothing whilst others risk all? Why should others fight for you if you are not willing to fight for yourself?

Don't run from the fight, run towards the fight. Look to the heart of the conflict, march yourself there, press yourself into service. Give your everything to your people.

#### STOP RUNNING, START FIGHTING

Emotions rule over facts

Stop trying to persuade the general population with statistics, charts, tablets and figures. A a one-point-seven percentage point difference may mean something to a few, but a ingeniously worded expression or brilliantly crafted poster will convince the many.

Humans are emotional, they are driven by emotions, guided by emotions and seek emotion expressions and experiences. Monotonous repetition of immigration facts and statistics will simply bore the masses, and drive the people away from the stale and uninspired speakers that propagate them.

Be creative, be expressive, be emotional and above all be passionate. These are the things that speak to people, connect people, drive people. Paint, write, sing, dance, recite poetry. Hell, even meme. Create memes, post memes, and spread memes. Memes have done more for the ethno-nationalist movement than any manifesto.

Above all, just don't be stale, placid and boring. No one is inspired by Jeb Bush.

#### BE PASSIONATE, NOT PLACID

No Profits for Anti-Whites

For too long those who have profited most from the importation of cheap labour have gone unpunished. The economic elites who line their pockets with the profit received from our own ethnic replacement. These greed filled bastards expect to replace our people with a race of low intellect, low agency, muddled, muddled masses just so their own wealth and power can increase.

They will soon realize there are repercussions to being a race traitors. These repercussions will hit them hard, fast and without mercy. If they flee we will follow them, if they hide we will find them, if they try to shield themselves behind the state we will break through and reach them.

If an individual is in ownership or control of a corporation or business, and advocates or even accepts the mass importation of non-whites to replace the native European populations, then that traitor must be destroyed.

#### KILL YOUR LOCAL ANTI-WHITE CEO

Protect your people, remove the poison

Poison sellers and toxin spreaders are free to proliferate their baneful products completely unchecked by law or society. Each year these degenerates are responsible for tens of thousands of deaths, in our own cities and across the globe.

Both illegal and legal drug dealers are our racial enemies, ruining the health, wealth, family structure, culture and future of our people. These peddlers of filth are active in every nation and behave without any thought of their impact on their societies.

Find where they are in your cities, plan your attack, destroy them. Protect your people and protect your children. Be the Antidote to their poison.

#### KILL YOUR LOCAL DRUG DEALER

Europe for Europeans

The invaders must be removed from European soil, regardless from where they came or when they came. Roma, African, Indian, Turkish, Semitic or other. If they are not of our people, but live in our lands, they must be removed.

Where they are removed to is not our concern, or responsibility. Our lands are not their home, they can return to their own lands or found their homelands elsewhere.

But they will not occupy our soil.

How they are removed is irrelevant, peacefully, forcefully, happily, violently or diplomatically. They must be removed.

Until these interlopers are repatriated to their peoples lands, then Europe has no true sovereignty, and anyone, no matter their ethnicity or beliefs can call Europe their own.

#### REMOVE THE INVADERS, RETAKE EUROPE

You wait for a signal, whilst your people wait for YOU

Whilst you wait for a sign, a signal; someone to take up the spear, to cry out in alarm, your people wait on YOU. You are the voice, you are the klaxon call, you hold the first spear to be thrust at the invaders.

Stop waiting for someone else to show you the way forward, YOU are the way forward, waiting around for someone to start the fight is moronic, because it is YOU that is going to start the fight, If you are reading this, you are the new leaders that will push our people to victory, you are the soldiers that will fight for the future of your race. The people speaking now, acting now, fighting now, are the vanguard of the vanguard of the force of the people.

Lead and your people will follow. Show the strength of your convictions, the truth of yours and the iron-hard strength of your will and they will follow.

#### YOU WAIT FOR A SIGNAL, WHILE YOUR PEOPLE WAIT FOR YOU

It is never wise to become a minority group.

In every country, on every continent, those that are in the minority are oppressed. If you become a social, political or ethnic minority it will always lead to your oppression.

Whether they are a political minority and therefore lose the control of the majority of power, and thus lose control of the laws and regulations that define public life or those that are the cultural minority find that art in all its forms is created and controlled by a different audience, from a different people from a different history, with differing ideals and experiences and therefore they find themselves isolated, excluded and removed from the creation of contemporary culture.

Those that find themselves born linguistically in the minority suffer daily, as the conversation of life excludes them, the mass media isolates them and businesses turn them away, as does the societies speech itself.

Finally there are those that find themselves in the ethnic or racial minority and find their very own genes being bred out of existence through miscegenation and differing racial birth rates. The same people will find themselves gradually less and less represented both politically and culturally, becoming essentially foreigners in their own lands.

#### MINORITIES ARE NEVER TREATED WELL, DO NOT BECOME ONE

Do not allow your enemies to grow unchecked

When you discover a nest of vipers in your yard, do you spare the adolescents? Do you allow them to grow freely, openly, to one day bite you child as they play in their own yard? No. You burn the nest and kill the vipers, no matter their age.

The enemies of our children are being born in our lands right now, even as you read this. These same children will one day become teens, then adults, voting against the wishes of our people, practicing the cultural and religious practices of the invaders, taking our peoples lands, work, houses and even attacking and killing our children.

A ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. Preventing these enemies from reaching adulthood and their full potential of effect is of the importance. Why make your children fight, when you could fight in their stead?

Few parents, regardless of circumstance, will willing risk the lives of their children, no matter the economic incentives. Therefore, once we show them the risk of bringing their offspring to our soil, they will avoid our lands.

It will be distasteful, it will be damaging to the soul, but know that it is necessary and any invader you spare, no matter the age, will one day be an enemy your people must face. Better for you to face them now than your kin to face them in the future.

#### LEAVE NO VIPERS NEST UNBURNT

Don't leave the cities, Run towards the fight, Not away

Run towards the cities, run towards the conflict, run towards the enemy, fleeing from the enemy is cowardice. The countrysides are already ours, as they have always been. The people of the countrysides are already traditional, already close to nature, already supportive of their people.

Its the cities where the struggle lies, its the cities where the invaders have massed, its the cities where the marxists have poisoned the institutions, its the cities where the traitorous media and corporations lie and its the cities where the anti-white politicians and the NGOs make their homes.

Invade the cities, take the cities, battle in the streets for the cities. The cities are the economic, judicial, political, ethnic and cultural battleground of our people and it is there we shall wage our war.

The countryside can wait, the cities need you, your youth needs you. Despite how many of you may feel living amongst the pollution, amongst the cultural filth, crammed into tiny apartments in the city sprawls, far flung from mans natural environment. But it is there our future will be made and it is there the battle for our peoples future will be fought.

#### RETAKE THE CITIES, RETAKE YOUR BIRTHRIGHT

Support Your Brother Nations

When one country moves, you move with them, support them financially, politically, socially and physically. They may be able to discredit one small movement, from one nation. But when Europeans from all countries and continents move to back their brothers, they cannot possibly attack any one group. The movement may begin in Poland, Austria, France, Argentina, Australia, Canada or even Venezuela, but the movement will begin and when it does, be ready to throw your weight behind your people, with full force.

Support them economically, donate to their cause, buy products from their people, volunteer your resources and labour.

Support them socially, back their policies, attack their detractors, voice upon support to the media and in daily conversations, make it understood on the internet that all European nations support them.

Support them politically, voice support of their leaders, their ideals and their people. Lobby those in power to show your support, protest outside embassies of those nations that do not support the nation, and if need be attack them. Only elect leaders that show support to your brother nation.

Support them physically, be ready to put boots on the ground, send them weapons and munitions, attack their enemies. If the media or state in your region attacks them, destroy the corporation and traitorous politicians responsible. Physical force is the ultimate form of support.

#### MOVE AS ONE, FULL SUPPORT FOR BROTHER NATIONS

##### Accept Death, Embrace Infamy

Death is certain, you may die in service to some grand crusade or pass away in a hospice, either way you will die.

What matters is your actions during the brief time between birth and death. The worth of your life is not measured by the length of your life, but your actions during it.

Ask yourself now, are you willing to shirk your racial responsibilities? turn your back to your people? ignore their demise? All in the hopes of a peaceful death?

Accept death as it is as certain as the setting of the sun at evenfall. Only when you embrace death and the only thing you will have left to fear is inaction.

Embrace infamy: the enemies of your people will beset upon you, on all sides. The media will paint you as villains, the state will name you as traitors, the globalist forces will name you as criminals and the traitors amongst your people will name you as enemies. You will be infamous until victory is achieved. Take it with a smile.

#### ACCEPT DEATH, EMBRACE INFAMY, ACHIEVE VICTORY

Numbers aren't everything

In 2019, we currently have the largest number of people of our race in history (between 760-980 million depending on definitions), yet we are losing even our smallest towns to ethnic replacement.

Numbers aren't everything, ten lions are worth of thousand sheep. The reason we are currently losing our lands is not due to a lack of numbers, or wealth, or military force. It is due to a lack of will.

We could deport or otherwise destroy the entire population of invading non-Europeans in a week, if we as a race we chose to. We have the ability, we only need the will.

Focusing on increasing the population of whites, or trying to gain economic wealth or military might, whilst already having met the requirement of numbers, wealth and military force needed is simply a stalling tactic, spoken and put forth by men too cowardly to do what is required.

These men would stall and delay any action indefinitely, until all necessary action has been undertaken by some other, more courageous man. All so they need not carry any personal risk or struggle themselves.

Ignore the naysayers and weasels who will always repeat "Not Now! Just Wait! Not Yet! We Could Be Hurt!" for them the time will never come. Just as their own courage will never flower forth.

#### THE BEST TIME FOR ATTACK WAS YESTERDAY, THE SECOND BEST TIME IS NOW

The birth rates must eventually be addressed, at all costs

Even if all invaders are deported tomorrow and all traitors are dealt with as they truly deserve, we are still living on borrowed time.

Whether it takes ten years or a thousand years, whilst we are facing birth rates at sub-replacement levels, then our people are dying.

We grow older, fewer, weaker and more fundamentally closer to true death the longer we allow our birth rates to remain so catastrophically low.

This isn't an issue that is being faced solely by our own people, but many peoples across the world. Nations across Asia, Europe and the Americas are facing this disaster together. Some are at different stages than others but all are feeling the pressure.

The true question is, how did this happen? And what can we do to stop it? The only people that seemingly do not face such issues are those with strong traditions, gender norms, societal norms; the poor and the religious, usually a combination of all. This should give us an indication of what may be truly at the heart of the issue.

What can we do to fix it? The issue is complicated, far more complicated and difficult to fix than the issue of Ethnic replacement. Likely a new society will need to be created with a much greater focus on family values, gender and social norms and the value and importance of nature, culture and race.

#### WITHOUT CHILDREN, THERE IS NO FUTURE

There is no democratic Solution

Understand here and now, there is no democratic solution, any attempt to vote your way out of Ethnic replacement will be met with at first with derision, then contempt and finally by force.

This solution of a Democratic salvation is nothing but a pipe dream, and as our enemies increase within our lands, driven by mass immigration and the invaders own higher birth rate it will be pushed further and further into the realms of impossibility.

The media of the world will be used against you, the education system of the rulers will be used against you, the financial power of the world's corporations will be used against you, the military and legislative might of the UN, the EU and NATO itself will be used against you and even your own, previously corrupted, religious leaders will be used against you.

Democracy is mob rule and the mob itself is ruled by our own enemies. The global and corporate ran press controls them, the education system(long since fallen to the long march through the institutions committed by the marxists)controls them, the state(long since heavily lost to its corporate backers)controls them and the anti-white media machine controls them.

Do not suffer under the delusion of a Democratic victory, prepare for war, prepare for violence and prepare for risk, loss and struggle, as it is the only path to Victory.

VOTING IS MOB RULE AND MOB RULE IS MEDIA RULE AND MEDIA RULE IS CORPORATE RULE

NGOs are directly involved in the genocide of the European people

Beholden to no one and hiding their true intent behold a faux -religious facade, these NGO groups ferry the invaders to European shores aboard their own vessels, directly shipping this vast army straight into European nations to plunder, rape and ethnically displace the native European people.

Meanwhile they badger, trick and guilt-shame the European people into forfeiting their own hard earned income and giving it directly to their peoples cultural and ethnic competitors, many of which have the only intent of conquering and destroying the European peoples.

This stripping of wealth and prosperity in order to feed and develop our cultural competitors is an act of civilization terrorism resulting in the reduction in development and living conditions of our own people for the benefit of those that hate us.

More often than not these NGOs hide their true intentions behind a facade of religiosity and only once you investigate into the leadership and governance of the NGO itself do you find the people running the show are in fact far from religious themselves and more often than not are actually atheistic cultural marxists using naive Christian Europeans to both labour and fund fund their own attempt at class and racial warfare.

These NGO's are the modern money changers inside the church, and must be driven out, by voice or by whip. It may upset many, but the truth of the matter is these people are directly responsible for the current invasion and sacking of Europe and their treachery has damaged European prospects greatly.

Crush these traitor NGOs, kill their leadership, burn down their buildings, bomb their ships, tear down their posters and destroy their membership. Drive them from your lands and give the traitors what traitors deserve: a traitors death.

NGOs ARE TRAITOR ORGANIZATIONS

If you lose history will write you as monsters, regardless of your tactics. Win first, write the narrative later. Victors write the history and the writers of history control the cultural climate of the present time.

If you lose, no matter how you acted in your loss; whether that is heroically, cowardly, violently, peacefully, virtuously or criminally, if your enemies are writing the history they will describe you as a devil.

Do not fret on the manner of how victory is achieved, all methods are possible, in the face of ethnic genocide, all morality is ambiguous.

Win first, write the story later. An act, which morals you doubt in the present, will be writ by your people in wonder and admiration in the books of history.

YOU WILL BE REVERED, BUT ONLY IF YOU WIN.

When anyone can be a German, a Brit, a Frenchman, then being European has truly lost all meaning. Make no mistake, the erosion of local and national identity has not come about by accident, it is a concerted and targeted effort against the European people.

The idea that a Frenchman need not speak the language, share the culture, believe in the same god or even more importantly be ethnically French is ludicrous in the extreme. This is an attack on the very French people themselves and is a strategy designed to destroy national, cultural, linguistic and ethnic unity.

This is a tactic practiced not only on the French people, but on all the peoples of Europe, effectively destroying the nations identity at its core and smashing apart all bonds which a successful, unified nation is built upon.

A Moroccan may never be an Estonian much the same as an Estonian may never be a Moroccan. There are cultural, ethnic and RACIAL differences that makes interchanging one ethnic group with another an impossibility.

The idea that all it takes for a Han Chinese man to become German is to be born on German soil is as insane as a German born on Mars becoming a Martian.

Europe is only Europe because of its combined genetic, cultural and linguistic heritage. When non-Europeans are considered Europe, then there is no Europe at all.

EUROPE'S VALUE IS IN THE EUROPEAN PEOPLE

The time after the baby boomers have passed isn't the time to START acting, but the time we should be FINISHING our victory.

It is understood by many that the only real reason that many statistics of our ethnic replacement haven't yet matched with our reality is that are numbers are currently buoyed by the baby boomer generation.

As these baby boomers pass on and leave us behind, there will be a rapid and obvious change in the demographic make up of our nations, both statistically and socially. This rapid change in demography will bring about a time of crisis, as the reality of our possible ethnic replacement becomes obvious to all, even the naysayers. This time cannot be relied on for a beginning of the rebellion, only utilized as a final stage of energy and escalation to finalize our capture of power.

If we wait until the majority of the boomers begin to pass (between 2028-2038 depending on individual nations and life expectancies) then it will be too little, too late. As by this time the invaders and occupiers of lands, non-Europeans, numbers will swollen to a staggering size, due to both mass immigration and the differing birthrates between the native European people and these invaders.

Also, relying on this time period for our victory holds a second major disadvantage, that being vulnerability to foreign invasion, most likely from the east, specifically China; Turkey; India or some combination of the three. This time of possible instability will also be at a time where our potential nation enemies in the East will be reaching their own zeniths of power. We must not be in a chaotic, life or death civil war at a time when our rival nations are at their peak of dominance. The risk is too great.

We attack as soon as possible, we attack with force and we achieve stability and play defense as the boomers pass, not during their passing, not after.

VICTORY CANNOT WAIT, YOUR PEOPLE NEED YOU NOW!

From where great leaders arise

The men and women needed by a society in crisis are created by a greater societal group thought, they arise from their environment, from their folk, seeming springing forth from the people as if they were waiting for the moment. They are not so much born as made to be what is needed of them by the greater group thought occurring around them.

These leaders will be paragon examples of your people, virtuous, incorruptible, speaking truth to power and a truth that resonates with your very soul.

WHEN YOU SEE THEM; WHEN YOU HEAR THEM; YOU WILL KNOW THEM, AS THEY ARE YOU, AND YOURS.

Do nothing. Win nothing. Achieve nothing.

Inaction will lead to sure defeat. Sitting at home comfortable, relaxed, posting on the internet, watching football and waiting for victory to arrive at your feet, will win you nothing.

Without overwhelming effort and extreme risk, expect nothing.

You cannot expect others do take the risks for you, nor should you wish for others to labour for you, if you are unwilling.

The only option for a true man or woman of Europe is to labour, labour with all effort towards victory. Nothing else will do. All else is insufficient. All else is intolerable. All else is dishonorable.

Perhaps you could tap out, lay down, lick the boots of your occupiers and pray they will let you be comfortable, if only for a little while.

But you won't. You can't. Not if you know what I know and want for what we want.

You will risk, struggle, strive, drive, stumble, fall, crawl, charge and perspire, all in the name of victory. Because you cannot accept anything less.

WITH RISK COMES POSSIBILITIES, WITH POSSIBILITIES COMES CHANCE FOR VICTORY

Destabilization and Accelerationism: tactics for victory

True change and the change we need to enact only arises in the great crucible of crisis. A gradual change is never going to achieve victory.

Stability and comfort are the enemies of revolutionary change.

Therefore we must destabilize and discomfort society where ever possible.

A political candidate that keeps the status quo or only seeks to introduce minimal change, even when the minimal change is in support of our cause, is ultimately useless or even damaging. Revolutionary change is needed and above all necessary.

It is far better to encourage radical, violent change regardless of its origins. As only in times of radical change and social discomfort can great and terrific change occur.

These tumultuous times can be brought about through action. For example, actions such as voting for political candidates that radically change or challenge entrenched systems, radicalizing public discourse by both supporting, attacking, vilifying, radicalizing and exaggerating all societal conflicts and attacking or even assassinating weak or less radical leaders/influencers on either side of social conflicts.

A vote for a radical candidate that opposes your values and incites agitation or anxiety in your own people works far more in your favour than a vote for a milquetoast political candidate that has no ability or wish to enact radical change.

Canvas public areas in support of radical positions, even if they are not your own.

Incite conflict. Place posters near public parks calling for sharia law, then in the next week place posters over such posters calling for the expulsion of all immigrants, repeat in every area of public life until the crisis arises.

Destabilize, then take control. If we want to radically and fundamentally change society, then we need to radicalize society as much as possible.

DO NOT FEAR CHANGE, WE ARE CHANGE

Globalized capitalist markets are the enemy of racial autonomists

If an ethnocentric European future is to be achieved global free markets and the trade of goods is to be discouraged at all costs.

An environmentally conscious and moral society will never be able to economically compete with a society based on ever increasing industrialization, urbanization, industrial output and population increase. The cheaper labour and ignorance of environmental health will always result in cheaper goods produced with less effort and inevitably result in control of the market.

A Europe of nature, culture and sustainable living practicing will not be able to ever compete in the global market.

The global market thus therefore never be allowed to compete in the new European market.

Barring the importation of all goods produced outside the New European zone (the new Western world) is an essential pillar of the future Western economy.

Goods produced without care for the natural world, dignity of workers, lasting culture or white civilizations future should never be allowed into the new morally focused and ethically focused European market.

CHEAP LABOUR AND ALL CONSUMING INDUSTRY ARE NOT IDEALS, BLOCK FOREIGN GOODS FROM WHITE MARKETS

Break the back of cheap labour

Make no mistake, the major impetus for the mass importation of non-Europeans into Europe is the call and want for cheap labour. Nothing drives the invasion more and nothing needs to be defeated more than the greed that demands cheap labour.

Break it's back, anyway you can.

Whether that is by encouraging and pushing increases to the minimum wage; furthering the unionization of workers; increasing the native birthrate and thereby reducing the need for the importation of labour; increasing the rights of workers; pushing for the increase in automation or advancement of industrial labour replacement or any other tactic that is available.

In the end human greed and the need for increasing profit margins of capital owners needs to be fought against and broken.



## CHEAP LABOUR IS SLAVE LABOUR, REFUSE TO IMPORT MODERN SLAVES

A boil over in the melting pot

Civil war in the so called "Melting pot" that is the United States should be a major aim in overthrowing the global power structure and the Wests' egalitarian, individualist, globalist dominant culture.

In the United States, perhaps more than anywhere else in the world, the cult of the individual has been practiced for the longest time and with the deepest devotion.

Luckily for us, the end results of this deracialized, irreligious and deculturized program show themselves.

The United States is in turmoil, more so than at any other time in history. States hate other states, the electoral college is under attack at every turn and the races are at each others throats. On top of this is a two party political system, split by racial, social, cultural, linguistic and class divides.

The end result is a nation in gridlock, unable to respond to any great change, unable to commit to any great projects. A political and social stalemate that makes any advancement impossible.

Meanwhile the 10000 ton boulder of demographic change rolls ever forward, gaining momentum and possibly destroying all in its path. Eventually, when the white population of the USA realizes the truth of the situation, war will erupt. Soon the replacement of the whites within Texas will hit its apogee and with the non-white political and social control of Texas; and with this control, the electoral college will be heavily stacked in favor of a democratic victory so that every electoral cycle will be a certainty.

After an election cycle or two with certain Democratic victory, those remaining, non democratic voting, non brainwashed whites will see the future clear before them, and with this knowledge realize the impossibility of a diplomatic or political victory.

Within a short time regular and widespread political, social and racial violence will commence. In this tempest of conflict is where will be strike, a strong, unified, ethnically and culturally focused pro-white, pro-european group will be everything the average white family need and long for. With these boosted numbers, and with our unified forces,

complete control of the United states will be possible. Above all be ready for violence, and when the times comes, strike hard and fast.

## THE MYTH OF THE MELTING POT MUST END, AND WITH IT THE MYTH OF THE EGALITARIAN NATION

No taxes to anti-white States

Until our nations are run by men and women loyal to our cause taxation should be considered theft, and refusal to pay taxes a sign of racial loyalty. Giving your own earned wealth, which you received through your own labour, to a person or group that despises you, places laws into effect that disenfranchises your people and seeks to ethnically replace you is utterly foolish. Do not pay to have your people destroyed, do not line the pockets of the traitors within our ranks, don't lend support to a corrupt and broken state.

Refuse to pay taxes. Refuse. When they demand you pay, refuse. When they ask why, you tell them why. They will threaten you with jail, they may even threaten you with direct force. They may even go through with your imprisonment or physically harm you. But eventually, when enough people fight back and refuse to pay taxes, refuse to fund the traitors in power, the state itself will wilt, then collapse.

So take the prison time, take the beating or even fight back. But do not pay taxes to anti-whites.

## TAXATION IS THEFT IN A TRAITOROUS SYSTEM

Section IV

In conclusion

Out of the night that covers me,  
Black as the pit from pole to pole, I thank whatever gods may be  
For my unconquerable soul.  
In the fell clutch of circumstance  
I have not winced nor cried aloud.  
Under the bludgeonings of chance  
My head is bloody, but unbowed.  
Beyond this place of wrath and tears Looms but the Horror of the shade,  
And yet the menace of the years  
Finds and shall find me unafraid.  
It matters not how strait the gate,  
How charged with punishments the scroll, I am the master of my fate,  
I am the captain of my soul.

-Invictus by William Ernest Henley

There is only one victory, but many defeats.

To lose our lands, our culture and our people is a defeat.

To continue on without our culture, but still own our lands, is a defeat.

To survive with our culture, but to lose our lands, to lose our future, is a defeat.

There is only one victory.

The survival of our people, our culture and our lands isn't enough. We must thrive, we must march ever forward to our place among the stars and we WILL reach the destiny our people deserve.

Anything else is a defeat.

The war will not be easy, the death toll will assuredly be high. The going will be tough and many of us will die.

I cannot guarantee it will be comfortable, I cannot guarantee it will be easy and I cannot guarantee that every act will be a success.

All I can guarantee is that inaction is sure defeat, power structures will be tested and likely will fall and most of all there is only the future ahead and attempting to march back to any earlier time will get you no where at all.

You may stumble. You may fall. But the only way to get to the final destination, total victory, is to get up and keep marching forward. No matter what. March. Mistakes will be made, losses will be had, some failures are certain and some endeavours will go bad. But in the end the struggle is a beauty in itself, and the victory will be all the sweeter because of it. Final victory is yours, if you have the will for it. As for me, my time has come. I cannot guarantee my success. All I know is the certainty of my will and the necessity of my cause. Live or die, know I did it all for you; my friends, my family, my people, my culture, my RACE. Goodbye, god bless you all and I will see you in Valhalla.

EUROPA RISES

## Appendix D: The Inconvenient Truth<sup>4</sup>

### About Me

In general, I support the Christchurch shooter and his manifesto. This attack is a response to the Hispanic invasion of Texas. They are the instigators, not me. I am simply defending my country from cultural and ethnic replacement brought on by an invasion. Some people will think this statement is hypocritical because of the nearly complete ethnic and cultural destruction brought to the Native Americans by our European ancestors, but this just reinforces my point. The natives didn't take the invasion of Europeans seriously, and now what's left is just a shadow of what was. My motives for this attack are not at all personal. Actually the Hispanic community was not my target before I read The Great Replacement. This manifesto will cover the political and economic reasons behind the attack, my gear, my expectations of what response this will generate and my personal motivations and thoughts.

### Political Reasons

In short, America is rotting from the inside out, and peaceful means to stop this seem to be nearly impossible. The inconvenient truth is that our leaders, both Democrat AND Republican, have been failing us for decades. They are either complacent or involved in one of the biggest betrayals of the American public in our history. The takeover of the United States government by unchecked corporations. I could write a ten page essay on all the damage these corporations have caused, but here is what is important. Due to the death of the baby boomers, the increasingly anti-immigrant rhetoric of the right and the ever increasing Hispanic population, America will soon become a one party-state. The Democrat party will own America and they know it. They have already begun the transition by pandering heavily to the Hispanic voting bloc in the 1st Democratic Debate. They intend to use open borders, free healthcare for illegals, citizenship and more to enact a political coup by importing and then legalizing millions of new voters. With policies like these, the Hispanic support for Democrats will likely become nearly unanimous in the future. The heavy Hispanic population in Texas will make us a Democrat stronghold. Losing Texas and a few other states with heavy Hispanic population to the Democrats is all it would take for them to win nearly every presidential election. Although the Republican Party is also terrible. Many factions within the Republican Party are pro-corporation. Pro corporation = pro-immigration. But some factions within the Republican Party don't prioritize corporations over our future. So the Democrats are nearly unanimous with their support of immigration while the Republicans are divided over it. At least with Republicans, the process of mass immigration and citizenship can be greatly reduced.

### Economic Reasons

In short, immigration can only be detrimental to the future of America. Continued immigration will make one of the biggest issues of our time, automation, so much worse. Some sources say that in under two decades, half of American jobs will be lost to it. Of course some people will be retained, but most will not. So it makes no sense to keep on letting millions of illegal or legal immigrants flood into the United States, and to keep the tens of millions that are already here. Invaders who also have close to the highest birthrate of all ethnicities in America. In the near future, America will have to initiate a basic universal income to prevent widespread poverty and civil unrest as people lose their jobs. Joblessness in itself is a source of civil unrest. The less dependents on a government welfare system, the better. The lower the unemployment rate, the better. Achieving ambitious social projects like universal healthcare and UBI would become far more likely to succeed if tens of millions of dependents are removed.

Even though new migrants do the dirty work, their kids typically don't. They want to live the American Dream which is why they get college degrees and fill higher-paying skilled positions. This is why corporations lobby for even more illegal immigration even after decades of it happening. They need to keep replenishing the low-skilled labor pool. Even as migrant children flood skilled jobs, Corporations make this worse by lobbying for even more work visas to be issued for skilled foreign workers to come here. Recently, the senate under a REPUBLICAN administration has greatly increased the number of foreign workers that will take American jobs. Remember that both Democrats and Republicans support immigration and work visas. Corporations need to keep replenishing the labor pool for both skilled and unskilled jobs to keep wages down. So Automation is a good thing as it will eliminate the need for new migrants to fill unskilled jobs. Jobs that Americans can't survive on anyway. Automation can and would replace millions of low-skilled jobs if immigrants were deported. This source of competition for skilled labor from immigrants and visa holders around the world has made a very difficult situation even worse for natives as they compete in the skilled job market. To compete, people have to get better credentials by spending more time in college. It used to be that a high school degree was worth something. Now a bachelor's degree is what's recommended to be competitive in the job market. The cost of college degrees has exploded as their value has plummeted. This has led to a generation of indebted, overqualified students filling menial, low paying and unfulfilling jobs. Of course these migrants and their children have contributed to the problem, but are not the sole cause of it.

The American lifestyle affords our citizens an incredible quality of life. However, our lifestyle is destroying the environment of our country. The decimation of the environment is creating a massive burden for future generations. Corporations are heading the destruction of our environment by shamelessly overharvesting resources. This has been a problem for decades. For example, this phenomenon is brilliantly portrayed in the decades old classic "The Lorax". Watersheds around the country, especially in agricultural areas, are being depleted. Fresh water is being polluted from farming and oil drilling operations. Consumer culture is creating thousands of tons of unnecessary plastic waste and electronic waste, and recycling to help slow this down is almost non-existent. Urban sprawl creates inefficient cities which unnecessarily destroys millions of acres of land. We even use god knows how many trees worth of paper towels just to wipe water off our hands. Everything I have seen and heard in my short life has led me to believe that the average American isn't willing to change their lifestyle, even if the changes only cause a slight inconvenience. The government is unwilling to tackle these issues beyond empty promises since they are owned by corporations. Corporations that also like immigration because more people means a bigger market for their products. I just want to say that I love the people of this country, but god damn most of y'all are just too stubborn to change your lifestyle. So the next logical step is to decrease the number of people in America using resources. If we can get rid of enough people, then our way of life can become more sustainable.

### Gear

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<sup>4</sup> I changed the font of the original text for reasons of economy.

Main gun: AK47 (WASR 10) – I realized pretty quickly that this isn't a great choice since it's the civilian version of the ak47. It's not designed to shoot rounds quickly, so it overheats massively after about 100 shots fired in quick succession. I'll have to use a heat-resistant glove to get around this. 8mm bullet: This bullet, unlike pretty much any other 7.62x39 bullet, actually fragments like a pistol hollow point when shot out of an ak47 at the cost of penetration. Penetration is still reasonable, but not nearly as high as a normal ak47 bullet. The ak47 is definitely a bad choice without this bullet design, and may still be with it.

Other gun(if I get one): Ar15 – Pretty much any variation of this gun doesn't heat up nearly as fast as the AK47. The round of this gun isn't designed to fragment, but instead tumbles inside a target causing lethal wounding. This gun is probably better, but I wanted to explore different options. The ar15 is probably the best gun for military applications but this isn't a military application.

This will be a test of which is more lethal, either it's fragmentation or tumbling.

I didn't spend much time at all preparing for this attack. Maybe a month, probably less. I have to do this before I lose my nerve. I figured that an under-prepared attack and a meh manifesto is better than no attack and no manifesto

#### Reaction

Statistically, millions of migrants have returned to their home countries to reunite with the family they lost contact with when they moved to America. They come here as economic immigrants, not for asylum reasons. This is an encouraging sign that the Hispanic population is willing to return to their home countries if given the right incentive. An incentive that myself and many other patriotic Americans will provide. This will remove the threat of the Hispanic voting bloc which will make up for the loss of millions of baby boomers. This will also make the elites that run corporations realize that it's not in their interest to continue piss off Americans. Corporate America doesn't need to be destroyed, but just shown that they are on the wrong side of history. That if they don't bend, they will break.

#### Personal Reasons and Thoughts

My whole life I have been preparing for a future that currently doesn't exist. The job of my dreams will likely be automated. Hispanics will take control of the local and state government of my beloved Texas, changing policy to better suit their needs. They will turn Texas into an instrument of a political coup which will hasten the destruction of our country. The environment is getting worse by the year. If you take nothing else from this document, remember this: INACTION IS A CHOICE. I can no longer bear the shame of inaction knowing that our founding fathers have endowed me with the rights needed to save our country from the brink of destruction. Our European comrades don't have the gun rights needed to repel the millions of invaders that plague their country. They have no choice but to sit by and watch their countries burn.

America can only be destroyed from the inside-out. If our country falls, it will be the fault of traitors. This is why I see my actions as faultless. Because this isn't an act of imperialism but an act of preservation. America is full of hypocrites who will blast my actions as the sole result of racism and hatred of other countries, despite the extensive evidence of all the problems these invaders cause and will cause. People who are hypocrites because they support imperialistic wars that have caused the loss of tens of thousands of American lives and untold numbers of civilian lives. The argument that mass murder is okay when it is state sanctioned is absurd. Our government has killed a whole lot more people for a whole lot less. Even if other non-immigrant targets would have a greater impact, I can't bring myself to kill my fellow Americans. Even the Americans that seem hell-bent on destroying our country. Even if they are shameless race mixers, massive polluters, haters of our collective values, etc. One day they will see error of their ways. Either when American patriots fail to reform our country and it collapses or when we save it. But they will see the error of their ways. I promise y'all that.

I am against race mixing because it destroys genetic diversity and creates identity problems. Also because it's completely unnecessary and selfish. 2nd and 3rd generation Hispanics form interracial unions at much higher rates than average. Yet another reason to send them back. Cultural and racial diversity is largely temporary. Cultural diversity diminishes as stronger and/or more appealing cultures overtake weaker and/or undesirable ones. Racial diversity will disappear as either race mixing or genocide will take place. But the idea of deporting or murdering all non-white Americans is horrific. Many have been here at least as long as the whites, and have done as much to build our country. The best solution to this for now would be to divide America into a confederacy of territories with at least 1 territory for each race. This physical separation would nearly eliminate race mixing and improve social unity by granting each race self-determination within their respective territory(s).

My death is likely inevitable. If I'm not killed by the police, then I'll probably be gunned down by one of the invaders. Capture in this case is far worse than dying during the shooting because I'll get the death penalty anyway. Worse still is that I would live knowing that my family despises me. This is why I'm not going to surrender even if I run out of ammo. If I'm captured, it will be because I was subdued somehow.

Remember: it is not cowardly to pick low hanging fruit. AKA Don't attack heavily guarded areas to fulfill your super soldier COD fantasy. Attack low security targets. Even though you might outgun a security guard or police man, they likely beat you in armor, training and numbers. Do not throw away your life on an unnecessarily dangerous target. If a target seems too hot, live to fight another day.

My ideology has not changed for several years. My opinions on automation, immigration, and the rest predate Trump and his campaign for president. I put this here because some people will blame the President or certain presidential candidates for the attack. This is not the case. I know that the media will probably call me a white supremacist anyway and blame Trump's rhetoric. The media is infamous for fake news. Their reaction to this attack will likely just confirm that.

Many people think that the fight for America is already lost. They couldn't be more wrong. This is just the beginning of the fight for America and Europe. I am honored to head the fight to reclaim my country from destruction.

Patrick Crusius