



APRIL 2025

# WHERE DID THE **WHITE** PEOPLE GO?

A thematic analysis of terrorist manifestos  
inspired by replacement theory

LUKE BAUMGARTNER

Program on Extremism

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

**The views and conclusions expressed are those of the author and do not reflect the official position of the George Washington University Program on Extremism.**

All rights reserved. ©2025  
Program on Extremism at George Washington University  
2000 Pennsylvania Avenue NW  
Washington, D.C. 20006

APRIL 2025

# Where did the white people go?

A thematic analysis of terrorist  
manifestos inspired by replacement  
theory

LUKE BAUMGARTNER

Program on Extremism

---

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

---

## Introduction

On July 22, 2011, 32-year-old Anders Behring Breivik embarked on a three-hour murder spree across Norway, killing seventy-seven in what would become the single largest loss of life in the country since the Second World War. Beginning that morning in central Oslo, Breivik's terrorist attack claimed its first victims after detonating a van filled with nearly one ton of explosives outside of the Regjeringskvartalet complex, which housed the prime minister's administrative offices. Disguised as a police officer, Breivik then boarded a ferry for the island of Utøya, where he proceeded to kill sixty-nine students attending a youth worker's party summer camp in a mass shooting that lasted nearly ninety minutes.

An hour before the bombing, Breivik emailed his manifesto, *2083: A European Declaration of Independence*, to more than 1,000 contacts, asking for their assistance in disseminating his magnum opus, which, according to him, took more than three years to complete.<sup>1</sup> The 1,500-page compendium contained a litany of grievances and rails against political correctness, feminists, and "multiculturalist/cultural Marxists," ultimately accusing them of complicity in a grand conspiracy orchestrated by political elites of the European Union and Arab states to destroy Western civilization through the gradual replacement of white Christian Europeans by way of increased Muslim immigration—in other words, a Great Replacement. Breivik's actions that day would inspire a cascade of copycat attacks in the United States, New Zealand, and Germany.<sup>2</sup> As part of their attacks, each perpetrator wrote a manifesto to explain the rationale for their actions. In doing so, the manifestos can—and often do—serve multiple purposes: air the personal and societal grievances that led them to kill, provide a blueprint for future attackers, and perhaps, most importantly, gain the public notoriety and infamy they so desperately crave. At its core, terrorism is an act of violence that seeks validation through its very nature as a public spectacle, and thus, manifestos can provide answers to the ever-present question of *why* an event of this magnitude occurs.

---

<sup>1</sup> Anders Behring Breivik, "2083: A European Declaration of Independence," 2011: 8.

<sup>2</sup> Weiji Cai and Simone Landon, "Attacks by White Extremists Are Growing. So Are Their Connections," *New York Times*, April 3, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/04/03/world/white-extremist-terrorism-christchurch.html>.

While these attacks are separated from one another in both time and space, the ideological glue binding them together is the belief in a racially and culturally homogenous dystopian future, one in which white people gradually cease to comprise demographic majorities in traditionally white dominions such as the United States and Europe. Or, in the most dire circumstances, cease to exist at all. These manifestos contain several common themes central to replacement theory—the conspiracy that motivated their attacks.

This paper attempts to build on the current body of academic literature that focuses on the thematic elements of the manifestos and the historical and theoretical foundations upon which the attackers' justifications for their actions lie. Beginning with a detailed history of replacement sentiment in the United States and Europe, this section seeks to provide the necessary background and context for where replacement theory comes from and how it has motivated actors across time and space. Within the context of the United States, replacement theory finds its ideological roots in late-19th and early-20th century race science, or eugenics, beginning with the works of sociologist Edward A. Ross and anthropologist Madison Grant, both of whom popularized the notion of "race suicide." Subsequent generations of post-war white supremacists, such as David Duke and David Lane, transformed race suicide into the explicitly anti-semitic conspiracy theory of "white genocide," laying the groundwork for contemporary militant far-right extremists to coalesce around the idea of replacement theory. Meanwhile, European manifestations of parallel racist conspiracies emerged during an intellectual movement of the 1960s in France known as the *Nouvelle Droite*, championed by the likes of Jean Raspail. Raspail's work would influence leading public figures such as Italian author Oriana Fallaci and British Historian Bat Ye'or, who were instrumental in sparking Renaud Camus' coining of the "Great Replacement."

Subsequent sections provide the analysis of each theme found in the manifestos, featuring a concurrent review of the academic literature surrounding replacement theory and the terrorist manifestos it inspired. Next, this paper undertakes a theoretical review of the four rhetorical themes revealed in the manifestos selected for this study, which are: (1) The existential threat posed by non-white immigration; (2) Misogyny; (3) The "replacement" as a global conspiracy, and (4) Racial holy war (RAHOWA). Finally, it concludes the analysis with a summary of the findings.

## History of replacement theory

First coined in 2011-2012<sup>3</sup> by French author Renaud Camus, the Great Replacement Theory (or “replacement theory”) embodies elements of other conspiracy theories claiming the existence of a nefarious plot by a cabal of global elites—primarily Jews and liberals—to destroy white civilization, combining the myths of “white genocide” and “race suicide” which emerged in the United States, and the “Eurabia” thesis articulated by British author Bat Ye’or (Gisèle Littman).<sup>4</sup> Replacement theory and its adherents postulate a set of conspiratorial claims that encapsulate a resentment of increasing non-white immigration to traditionally white domains as a result of modern decadence, globalization, and an increasingly interconnected human society, all of which is bound together by technological innovation brought forth by capitalism. Those espousing its tenets exhibit symptoms of what Eric Kaufmann describes as “whiteshift,” or “a process by which white majorities absorb a mixture of different peoples through intermarriage...replacing the self-confidence of white majorities with an existential insecurity channeled by the lightning rod of immigration.”<sup>5</sup>

Still, this begs the question: Where did the conspiratorial sentiment central to replacement theory originate? To answer this question, one must examine the theory’s historical origins in both an American and European context.

## The United States

As early as the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, fears surrounding the other in the American labor market—and racial demographics more broadly—permeated legislation; early attempts at prohibiting entire ethnic groups from entering the country catalyzed a trend that would continue into the twentieth century, most notably with the Immigration Act of 1924, also known as the Johnson-Reed Act and the National Origins Act. Legislative action aiming to codify racial, ethnic, and religious exclusion inevitably drew from the academic

---

<sup>3</sup> Sources attempting to pinpoint the date of the term’s first use frequently cite either 2011 or 2012 and have yet to come to a definitive conclusion.

<sup>4</sup> Azani et al., “The Far Right – Ideology, Modus Operandi and Development Trends,” *International Institute for Counter-Terrorism*, September 2020, <https://www.ict.org.il/images/The%20Far%20Right%20%E2%80%93%20Ideology.pdf>.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in Michael Feola, “You Will Not Replace Us’: The Melancholic Nationalism of Whiteness,” *Political Theory* 49, no. 4 (2021): 529.

arena of its day, primarily through the works of individuals like Edward A. Ross, Madison Grant, and Lothrop Stoddard, and served as the starting point for modern conceptions of “race suicide” and “white genocide.”

### *Race Suicide*

In 1901, sociologist Edward A. Ross coined the term “race suicide” in his most well-known work, *The Causes of Race Superiority*. At the time of his writing, Ross capitalized on the anxiety of the American labor market in the Progressive Era, when “between 1900 and 1915, more than 15 million immigrants arrived in the United States. That was equal to the number of immigrants who had arrived in the previous 40 years combined.”<sup>6</sup> Ross evoked the need for collective action to bring an end to such a phenomenon, warning

The American farm hand, mechanic and operative might wither away before the heavy influx of a prolific race from the Orient...For a cause like this I can find no words so apt as “race suicide.” There is no bloodshed, no violence, no assault of the race that waxes upon the race that wanes. The higher race quietly and unobtrusively eliminates itself rather than endure individually the bitter competition it has failed to ward off from itself by collective action.<sup>7</sup>

Alexander Hinton asserts these notions of race suicide “drew on earlier extinction discourses that had been used to describe Native Americans and legitimate their settler-colonial erasure—except now the concept reversed to war against the extinction of whites.”<sup>8</sup> It is interesting to note Hinton’s mention of “extinction” serves as an appeal to the era’s biological conceptions of race—a similar tactic used by leading figures in the burgeoning field of eugenics, such as Madison Grant.

Though chiefly a staunch conservationist, Grant was instrumental in influencing legislation restricting immigration to the United States and considered his lobbying for the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act to be one of

---

<sup>6</sup> “Immigrants in the Progressive Era,” Library of Congress, n.d., <https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/united-states-history-primary-source-timeline/progressive-era-to-new-era-1900-1929/immigrants-in-progressive-era/>.

<sup>7</sup> Edwin A. Ross, “The Causes of Race Superiority,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 18, no. 1: 88.

<sup>8</sup> Alexander Laban Hinton, *It Can Happen Here: White Power and the Rising Threat of Genocide in the U.S.* (New York, NY: NYU Press, 2021): 108.

his life's greatest achievements.<sup>9</sup> According to Stern, Grant's 1916 *The Passing of the Great Race* "sounded alarm bells about the supposed onslaught of degenerate immigrant masses, ineluctable white race suicide, and the disharmonies of mongrelization."<sup>10</sup> As the title of Grant's book suggests, failure to prevent new immigrants from entering the United States would result in the "passing of the great race," a phenomenon that President Theodor Roosevelt, referencing earlier work by Ross, termed "race suicide."<sup>11</sup> Throughout the book, Grant continuously extols the virtues of the Nordic race and the need to preserve its greatness:

Aboriginal populations from time immemorial have been again and again swamped under floods of newcomers and have disappeared for a time from historic view. In the course of centuries, however, these primitive elements have slowly reasserted their physical type and have gradually bred out their conquerors, so that the racial history of Europe has been in the past, and is to-day, a story of the repression and resurgence of ancient races.<sup>12</sup>

While Grant's ideas eventually fell out of favor with the broader American public during the 1930s and the rise of Nazi Germany, his influence on racial anxiety in the United States would make its mark once again with the emergence of George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party.

A veteran of World War II and the Korean War, George Lincoln Rockwell founded the World Union of Free Enterprise National Socialists (WUFENS) in March 1959, later renaming the organization the American Nazi Party (ANP) in December of that same year.<sup>13</sup> Credited with fashioning the term "White Power" in 1966, Rockwell and the ANP (then renamed to the National Socialist White People's Party, or NSWPP) published a book with the same name in 1967, in which he carried the torch of race suicide lit by Ross and Grant just a generation prior. In *White Power*, Rockwell lamented the status of whites in multicultural societies around the world:

---

<sup>9</sup> Ian Frazer, "When W. E. B. Du Bois Made a Laughingstock of a White Supremacist," *The New Yorker*, August 19, 2019, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2019/08/26/when-w-e-b-du-bois-made-a-laughingstock-of-a-white-supremacist>.

<sup>10</sup> Alexandra Minna Stern, "From 'Race Suicide' to 'White Extinction': White Nationalism, Nativism, and Eugenics over the Past Century," *The Journal of American History* 109, no. 2 (September 2022): 351.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916): xxi-xxii.

<sup>13</sup> Paul Jackson, "Dreaming of a National Socialist World: The World Union of National Socialists (WUNS) and the Recurring Vision of Transnational Neo-Nazism," *Fascism* 8 (2019): 280.



We find the same suicide of our race in Rome, Spain, Portugal, Latin America, Italy, and Mexico – everywhere the White Man has tried to live in the same geographical area with inferior races. The noble qualities of justice, law-and-order, fairness, scientific impartiality, freedom from gross superstition and all the other qualities of the Nordic White Man are the basic building blocks of what we call civilization. Without these qualities in the people who have power in any nation, that nation remains or becomes backward and finally savage.<sup>14</sup>

Explicit references to race suicide litter the pages of *White Power*, characterizing armed conflicts such as the American Civil War and the two world wars as cataclysmic events orchestrated by Jews, Blacks, and Communists to encourage the “mutual slaughter of White Brother by White Brother.”<sup>15</sup>

After Rockwell’s assassination in 1967, the NSWPP’s Deputy Commander and Nazi purist, Matthias Koehl, assumed control of the organization. However, Koehl’s leadership alienated several of the organization’s most faithful, among them William Luther Pierce—future leader of the National Alliance and author of the dystopian white supremacist novel *The Turner Diaries*.<sup>16</sup> In conjunction with Pierce’s work, the intellectual groundwork laid by figures such as Ross and Grant that inspired political reactionaries like Rockwell to manifest the power of the printing press into tangible physical actions crystalized the staying power of the idea of race suicide, allowing it to transform into its more contemporary form of “white genocide.”

### *White Genocide*

Although race suicide and white genocide are two sides of the same white supremacist coin, what differentiates them is the burden of responsibility for the perceived decline of the white race. Race suicide contends it is incumbent upon whites to eschew the decadence of modernity and embrace the traditional norms of reproduction, so long as they outbreed non-whites—a concept deeply intertwined with the eugenics movement of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. While the nativists of the 1920s did not explicitly blame Jews for shifting demographics, they did see them as part of the problem. In white genocide, however, the blame is instead shifted onto the Jews more

---

<sup>14</sup> George Lincoln Rockwell, *White Power* (United States, 1967): 23.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, 287-288.

<sup>16</sup> Center for New Community (CNC), *Beyond a Dead Man’s Deeds: The National Alliance After William Pierce* (Chicago, 2002): 17.

directly, who are the supposed puppet masters behind a grand conspiracy to systematically replace whites with a racially and ethnically homogeneous race of humans. Two of the theory's most prominent advocates, David Lane and David Duke, drew inspiration from race scientists of the previous generation as well as the Civil Rights Era in which they first became "racially aware."

In 1965, the Hart-Celler Act, which overturned the national origin quotas of the 1920s, became the target of the era's nativists and white supremacists, who saw the legislation as the harbinger of demographic collapse. According to Stern, the Hart-Celler Act's harshest critics "echoed 1920s nativists—who often referred to the 'immigration problem' as the 'Jewish problem'—as they blamed Jewish activism against the quota system for the liberalization of immigration policy and despaired over imagined Jewish replacement of the white 'native' stock."<sup>17</sup> Among its critics was former Grand Dragon of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and self-described "race realist" David Duke. After trading in his white robes for a suit and tie to assist in making his rhetoric more appealing in his budding political career, Duke published *Jewish Supremacism: My Awakening to the Jewish Question* in 2001, where he repeatedly invoked the race science of Ross and Grant and lambasted against the imagined cabal of Jews controlling the narratives surrounding immigration laws of the era. It is worth quoting Duke at length:

I saw that the Immigration Act of 1965, unless repealed, would eventually sound the death knell for my country. Much of the material I read pointed to a long history of organized Jewish efforts to radically change America's immigration laws. I contacted Drew Smith, an elderly New Orleans attorney who had authored *The Legacy of the Melting Pot*, and who had already taught me a lot about the immigration issue. Smith and I met one rainy day after school at the Citizens Council offices. He explained the history of American immigration law. After quoting the Lazarus lines from the base of the Statue of Liberty, he asked me, "Whose interest could have been served in having America flooded with 'wretched refuse?'" He quickly answered his own question. "It was in the perceived interest of a cohesive people who use racial solidarity like a weapon, a weapon they only want for themselves. The efforts to change the American immigration law and ultimately displace the European majority has been led almost exclusively by Jews."<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup> Stern, "From 'Race Suicide' to 'White Genocide,'" 353.

<sup>18</sup> David Duke, *Jewish Supremacism: My Awakening to the Jewish Question* (United States: Free Speech Press, 2001): 316-317.

The implication of Jews in their responsibility for shifting racial demographics in the United States did not stop with Duke, however. In the 1980s, one of his protégées, David Lane, would put his words into action.

After his expulsion from the Denver Knights of the Ku Klux Klan for distributing neo-Nazi propaganda, David Lane made inroads with other like-minded white supremacists during the Aryan Nations Congress in 1983, held at the Aryan Nations compound in Hayden Lake, Idaho.<sup>19</sup> In the grips of a paranoid conspiracy claiming Jews were complicit in the destruction of the white race, Lane and fellow white supremacist Robert Mathews founded Brüder Schweigen (Silent Brotherhood), or The Order—an underground terrorist organization modeled after the secretive organization responsible for defeating “the system” in William Luther Pierce’s *The Turner Diaries*.<sup>20</sup> During The Order’s terror campaign, David Lane and Bruce Pierce shot and killed Jewish radio host Alan Berg in front of his home in Denver, Colorado, in June 1984, resulting in life sentences for both.<sup>21</sup>

While incarcerated for his role in the murder, Lane penned the “White Genocide Manifesto” as part of a collection of essays later compiled and published by his wife in 1999. In racist screeds similar to the manifestos of today’s white supremacist terrorists, Lane railed against multicultural society, non-white immigration, and interracial marriage:

Let it be understood that the term ‘racial integration’ is only a euphemism for genocide. The inevitable result of racial integration is a percentage of inter-racial matings each year, leading to extinction, as has happened to the White race in numerous areas in the past. As the White remnant is submerged in a tidal wave of five billion coloreds, they will become an extinct species in a relatively short time. This genocide is accomplished by deliberate design.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> George Michael, “David Lane and the Fourteen Words,” *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 10, no. 1 (March 2009): 45.

<sup>20</sup> J.M. Berger, *The Turner Legacy: The Storied Origins and Enduring Impact of White Nationalism’s Deadly Bible* (The Hague: International Centre for Counter-Terrorism, 2016): 11.

<sup>21</sup> Howard Pankratz, “Neo-Nazi who shot Denver radio host Alan Berg dies in federal prison in Pa.,” *The Denver Post*, August 17, 2010, <https://www.denverpost.com/2010/08/17/neo-nazi-who-shot-denver-radio-host-alan-berg-dies-in-federal-prison-in-pa/>. Accessed August 29, 2024.

<sup>22</sup> David Lane, “White Genocide Manifesto,” in *Deceived, Damned, and Defiant* (United States: Wotansvolk Press, 1999): 2.

It is in this essay that Lane first popularized the term “white genocide” and laid the motivational framework for future ideologues and white supremacist terrorists that bought into other adaptations of replacement theory.

## Europe

After World War II, decolonization across the Middle East and Africa facilitated a period of fierce civil conflicts, prompting large numbers of displaced persons to seek refuge elsewhere, often within the borders of their former colonizers. Most notably, the Algerian war for independence in the 1950s brought a wave of new immigrants to France, who “had no wish to adopt French ways—indeed, they were eager to preserve their religion, language, and way of life. Thus, tensions developed between them and the local population that were aggravated by the structural unemployment that was characteristic of the economic development in the 1970s and 1980s.”<sup>23</sup>

Several far-right intellectuals responding to this demographic shift formed the Research and Study Group for European Civilization (*Groupement de Recherche et d'Études pour la Civilisation Européenne*) in 1968.<sup>24</sup> Under the direction of its founder, Alain de Benoist, the think tank promoted its school of thought, which the French media subsequently labeled as the New Right (*Nouvelle Droite*).<sup>25</sup> The New Right drew on strategies from the post-war New Left, utilizing methods and public discourse reminiscent of Antonio Gramsci to develop ideological spaces receptive to revolutionary politics, namely those that are accommodating of fascist ideology and that aspire to a “new era for white people.”<sup>26</sup>

According to Laqueur, “The New Right was a reaction against the socialist egalitarianism that had prevailed in the French academic world since World War II,” and railed “against ‘Americanism’ (also known as the ‘Coca-Cola

---

<sup>23</sup> Walter Laqueur, *Fascism: Past, Present, and Future*. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1996): 107.

<sup>24</sup> Thomas Chatterton Williams, “The French Origins of ‘You Will Not Replace Us,’” *The New Yorker*, November 27, 2017, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/12/04/the-french-origins-of-you-will-not-replace-us>.

<sup>25</sup> José Pedro Zúquete, *The Identitarians: The Movement against Globalism and Islam in Europe* (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2018): 8.

<sup>26</sup> Paul Jackson, “‘White Genocide,’” in *The Routledge History of Genocide* (London, UK: Routledge, 2015): 216.

culture' and 'McDonaldism'), liberalism, and Western-style capitalism."<sup>27</sup> Although Benoist saw humanity as "irreducibly plural" with diversity as "part of its very essence," the gradual homogeneity of society through globalization is one of humanity's greatest threats to cultural distinction. He notes:

The West's conversion to universalism has been the main cause of its Subsequent attempt to convert the rest of the world: in the past, to its religion (the Crusades); yesterday, to its political principles (colonialism); and today, to its economic and social model (development) or its moral principles (human rights).<sup>28</sup>

Despite these assertions, the New Right eschewed any comparisons to the fascist legacy of Nazism. Jackson expands on this point, arguing that though movements such as the New Right see the "legacy of genocide as detrimental to the agenda of promoting a revolutionary project for white people," when thoroughly dissected, they remain distinctly fascist.<sup>29</sup>

In 1973, Jean Raspail published *The Camp of the Saints* (*Le Camp des Saints*), a dystopian tale depicting an "invasion" of "dark-skinned refugees" from India.<sup>30</sup> Raspail described estimating the throngs of "invaders" as "trying to count all the trees in the forest, those arms raised high in the air, waving and shaking together, all outstretched toward the nearby shore. Scraggy branches, brown and black, quickened by a breath of hope...making their peaceful assault on the Western World."<sup>31</sup> The novel closes with the fall of Europe and the complete collapse of Western society due to the "creatures" joining forces with left-wing anarchists and other immigrants already in Europe to outbreed the whites, helped by the new French government sympathetic to the cause. Since its publication more than forty years ago, its influence has reached beyond French borders, gaining favor with far-right figures in the United States, such as Jared Taylor, Matthew Heimbach, and John Tanton.<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> Laqueur, *Fascism*, 99.

<sup>28</sup> Alain de Benoist, *Manifesto for a European Renaissance* (Budapest, Hungary: Arktos Media, 2012): 42.

<sup>29</sup> Jackson, "'White Genocide,'" 209.

<sup>30</sup> "Racist Book, *Camp of the Saints*, Gains in Popularity," Southern Poverty Law Center, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2001/racist-book-camp-saints-gains-popularity>.

<sup>31</sup> Jean Raspail, *The Camp of the Saints* (France: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1973): 3.

<sup>32</sup> Sarah Jones, "The Notorious Book that Ties the Right to the Far Right," February 2, 2018, *The New Republic*, <https://newrepublic.com/article/146925/notorious-book-ties-right-far-right>.

As the New Right splintered in the 1980s and 1990s, travel writer Renaud Camus began formulating his modern interpretation of Benoist's and Raspail's previous works. While on assignment to Herault in 1996, Camus took offense to the sight of veiled women, "Speaking our language poorly, utterly ignorant of our culture and, more importantly, overflowing with vindictiveness and animosity, not to say hatred, towards our history and our civilization, will be perfectly able to assert... 'I'm just as French as you are.'"<sup>33</sup> Though Camus' primary focus is on the influx of Muslim immigrants to France, his concerns extend to European society as a whole, fearing that falling "indigenous" birth rates compared to those of the "colonizers" constitutes a "colonization-by-belly."<sup>34</sup> Similarly, other figures within European far-right intellectual spaces echo sentiments reminiscent of those in the United States.

Before Camus, the late Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci and British historian Bat Ye'or were the two largest propagators of the Eurabia thesis—a distinctly anti-Islamic adaptation of American-style replacement theory that, according to Ekman, was present in the "counter-jihad" movement for nearly a decade before Camus' 2012 *magnum opus*.<sup>35</sup> After the September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States, Islamist terrorism touched Europe as well. A series of jihadist attacks in Madrid and London in 2004 and 2005, respectively, prompted heads of state to take on a greater role in the Global War on Terror, thus facilitating an anti-Muslim current within segments of European intellectual circles, with Fallaci and Ye'or emerging as two of the most influential. However, others continue their work to this day.

For Fallaci, her 2001 book, *The Rage and the Pride (La Rabbia e l'orgoglio)*, itself a reaction to 9/11, became the clarion call for others like her, including Ye'or, to heed. Comparing Islam to a "mountain which in one thousand and four hundred years has...never wanted to know about freedom and democracy and progress," Fallaci warned of apocalyptic consequences, alluding to a complete collapse of European civilization.<sup>36</sup> She was also among the first in the post-9/11 era to raise concerns over demographics, stating that "the

---

<sup>33</sup> Renaud Camus, *Le Grand Remplacement* (2012): 18.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*, 51.

<sup>35</sup> Matthias Eckman, "The great replacement: Strategic mainstreaming of far-right conspiracy claims," *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 28, no. 4 (2022): 1131.

<sup>36</sup> George Gurley, "The Rage of Oriana Fallaci," *Observer*, January 27, 2003, <https://observer.com/2003/01/the-rage-of-oriانا-fallaci/>.

followers of Islamic Fundamentalism multiply like protozoa of a cell which splits to become two cells then four then eight then sixteen then thirty-two. To infinity.”<sup>37</sup> Three years later, her 2004 follow-up, *The Force of Reason (La forza della ragione)*, took on a distinctly conspiratorial bend. Fallaci claimed a conspiracy between Arab and European governments hatched in the aftermath of the 1973 oil crisis intended to send increased numbers of Arab immigrants to Europe in exchange for oil<sup>38</sup>—a claim Ye’or would go on to popularize in greater detail.

In contrast to Fallaci, Ye’or draws on the concept of *dhimmitude*, a derivative of the Arabic word *dhimmi*, or “the protected.” This term typically refers to “historically protected, though ultimately subordinate, non-Muslim people,” according to Bangstad.<sup>39</sup> However, Ye’or’s use of a term that is more than a millennium old is unsuitable for a modern context.<sup>40</sup> For Ye’or, *dhimmitude* refers to “the whole web of disabling political, historical, sociological and cultural circumstances that enmesh a Christian or Jewish population that has been brought under Islamic hegemony.”<sup>41</sup> Her assertions paint the historical relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims with broad brushstrokes and largely sidestep examples of peaceful *dhimmi* status.<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, Ye’or’s analysis of the Eurabian conspiracy picks up where Fallaci left off, drawing on an ill-fated attempt by the Euro-Arab Dialogue (EAD) to forge closer links between the Arab and European world in the 1970s, even going so far as to lift the “Eurabia” name from a French cultural journal and failing to produce any evidence proving the EAD or other organizations used the term.<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Bracke and Hernández Aguilar, “They love death as we love life,” 684.

<sup>39</sup> Sindre Bangstad, “Eurabia Comes to Norway,” *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 24, no. 3 (2013): 372.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Sydney H. Griffith, “Review of Bat Ye’or,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30, no. 4 (1998): 620.

<sup>42</sup> For several examples, see Martin Gilbert, “Protection or Persecution?” in *In Ishmael’s House: A History of Jews in Muslim Lands* (New York, NY: Random House, 2010): 27-38.

<sup>43</sup> Matt Carr, “You are now entering Eurabia,” *Race and Class* 48, no. 1 (2006): 6.

## Replacement Theory and Manifestos Today

Though replacement theory and its adaptations appear to be merely a fringe belief on the far-right referenced by some politicians and users of internet forums such as 4chan and 8chan, Kaldor contends its jump from terrorist manifestos to incorporation within mainstream political vocabulary is much more insidious.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, the advent of social media has profoundly accelerated the speed with which conspiracies such as replacement theory enter the public sphere. For instance, one poll from October 2022 found that nearly one-third of Americans believe in at least some of its tenets,<sup>45</sup> due in no small part to prominent conservative news figure Tucker Carlson, who, according to a *New York Times* investigation, revealed that he referred to some form of “replacement” more than 400 times over five years, often to a receptive audience of millions.<sup>46</sup>

In Europe, “discourses on ‘waves’ or ‘floods’ of migrants as well as on high birth and fertility rates among ‘migrant’ populations have gained considerable traction,” instilling a “fear that Muslim populations will ‘replace’ the white/Christian populations that are considered to be ‘native’ to Europe.”<sup>47</sup> Political leaders such as Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán actively endorse it, implementing hardline policies against Muslim immigration and using euphemistic language alluding to “ethnic substitution.”<sup>48</sup> Meanwhile, seeing that democratic measures are no longer a suitable means to justify their genocidal ends, attackers radicalized by this rhetoric are motivated to take matters into their own hands, committing acts of stochastic terrorism.

---

<sup>44</sup> Sophie Kaldor, *Far-Right Violent Extremism as a Failure of Status: Extremist Manifestos through the Lens of Ressentiment* (The Hague: International Centre for Counter-Terrorism, 2021): 3.

<sup>45</sup> Jared Sharpe, “New National UMass Amherst Poll on Issues Finds One-Third of Americans Believe ‘Great Replacement’ Theory,” UMass Amherst, October 25, 2022, <https://www.umass.edu/news/article/new-national-umass-amherst-poll-issues-finds-one-third-americans-believe-great>.

<sup>46</sup> *New York Times*, “How ‘Tucker Carlson Tonight’ Fuels Fear and Extremism,” April 30, 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/04/30/us/tucker-carlson-tonight.html>.

<sup>47</sup> Sarah Bracke and Luis Manuel Hernández Aguilar, “‘They love death as we love life’: The ‘Muslim Question’ and the biopolitics of replacement,” *The British Journal of Sociology* 71, no. 4 (2020): 681-682.

<sup>48</sup> Shaun Walker, “Viktor Orbán trumpets Hungary’s ‘procreation, not immigration’ policy,” *The Guardian*, September 6, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/sep/06/viktor-orban-trumpets-far-right-procreation-anti-immigration-policy>.



Consequently, these acts of terror often produce a catalog of easily consumed online content, often in the form of memes after the fact and manifestos written by the attackers. When examining the manifestos, previous research identified several commonalities. For instance, in a comparison of more than 100 extremist manifestos, Grigoryan et al. found that ethnonationalists—such as the individuals selected for this study—value conformity and staying obedient to in-group norms, frequently referencing values of security and universalism.<sup>49</sup> Ware’s analysis finds similar results, where the manifestos selected for his study heavily focus on the preservation of European culture and protecting the white race from dilution as a result of higher birth rates among immigrant communities.<sup>50</sup> In a similar study, Ehsan and Stott point out that attackers inspired by replacement theory and their manifestos have some specific explanation for demographic changes and can be location-dependent.<sup>51</sup> For example, while Patrick Crusius and Brenton Tarrant directly blame the racial and ethnic out-groups (Hispanics and Muslims, respectively) they see as responsible for the decline of the white race, Earnest targets those he deems to be the nefarious cabal behind the white genocide—Jews.<sup>52</sup>

## Themes

The themes revealed within these manifestos and the theoretical foundations underscoring the attackers’ motivations are examined in greater detail in the following section. Manifestos selected for inclusion in this study meet two basic criteria: 1) the attacker had to write a manifesto published for public consumption, and 2) the attacker had to make an explicit reference to the tenets of replacement theory. While replacement theory inspired other terrorist attacks, the perpetrators did not leave behind a manifesto and, thus, did not meet the minimum threshold for inclusion. Notable examples include Robert Bowers, who shot and killed 11 members of a synagogue in Pittsburgh,

---

<sup>49</sup> Lusine Grigoryan, Vladimir Ponizovskiy, and Shalom Schwartz, “Motivations for violent extremism: Evidence from lone offenders’ manifestos,” *Journal of Social Issues* 79, no. 4 (December 2023): 1440-1455.

<sup>50</sup> Jacob Ware, *Testament to Murder: The Violent Far-Right’s Increasing Use of Terrorist Manifestos* (The Hague: International Centre for Counter-Terrorism, 2021).

<sup>51</sup> Rakib Ehsan and Paul Stott, *Far-Right Terrorist Manifestos: A Critical Analysis* (London, England, UK: The Henry Jackson Society, 2020).

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

Pennsylvania, in October 2018. Bowers had a significant social media presence on Gab but did not compile his writings into a manifesto-style document.<sup>53</sup> Similarly, in January 2017, Alexandre George-Henri Bissonnette shot and killed six at a mosque in Quebec City, Canada, and was known to share staunch anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim sentiments with the French far-right.<sup>54</sup> Based on these criteria, included for analysis in this paper are the manifestos of the following attackers: Anders Behring Breivik (Oslo, Norway, 2011); John Earnest (Poway, California, 2019); Brenton Tarrant (Christchurch, New Zealand, 2019); Patrick Crusius (El Paso, Texas, 2019); and Payton Gendron (Buffalo, New York, 2022). A review of the selected works resulted in their grouping into thematic categories. With the analysis of the passages, four primary themes emerged.

### *Theme 1: Non-white immigration poses an existential and demographic threat to American and European culture*

The first theme present within the manifestos selected for this study is the fear of American and European (i.e., white) cultural erasure due to higher immigrant birth rates and the resulting demographic shift. For the attackers, an influx of non-white immigrants and their higher birth rates is an affront to their way of life in predominantly white societies. This attitude is on full display for the Christchurch shooter, Brenton Tarrant, who, after a recitation of Dylan Thomas' "Do not go gentle into that good night," opens his manifesto with: "It's the birth rates. It's the birth rates. It's the birth rates."<sup>55</sup> He elaborates on the next page, opining, "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"<sup>56</sup>—a line Payton Gendron later plagiarized in the manifesto he left behind after killing ten African Americans at a Buffalo supermarket.<sup>57</sup> Similarly, in a direct reference to Tarrant, Patrick

---

<sup>53</sup> Kevin Roose, "On Gab, an Extremist-Friendly Site, Pittsburgh Shooting Suspect Aired His Hatred in Full," *New York Times*, October 18, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/28/us/gab-robert-bowers-pittsburgh-synagogue-shootings.html>.

<sup>54</sup> Adam Kovac, "Alleged anti-immigrant suspect charged in Quebec mosque shooting," *USA Today*, January 30, 2017, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2017/01/30/quebec-canada-mosque-attack-terrorism/97233660/>.

<sup>55</sup> Brenton Tarrant, "The Great Replacement," 2019, 4.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>57</sup> Payton Gendron, 1.

Crusius attempts to justify his actions by painting himself as a hero defending his country from “cultural and ethnic replacement brought on by an [Hispanic] invasion.”<sup>58</sup>

Transformations in a nation’s demographic characteristics due to immigration come at the expense of a long-standing tradition of dominance by one group due to an increasingly globalized society fueled by international trade and the internet, where exchanging goods and services, people, and their cultures are commonplace. In the context of the attackers, it is the loss of white culture and societal dominance they fear most. This fear is the most poignant demonstration of a phenomenon Michael Feola calls the “melancholic character of white nationalism.” Feola asserts that “Such a melancholia is evinced, for instance, in the central trope of much literature of white anxiety: the nation is not just slipping away from its racialized core but is being taken from its rightful heirs and given to undeserving others.”<sup>59</sup>

As such, the failure of governments to preserve this position of supremacy creates feelings of resentment towards the state by the attackers, who, in turn, project their negative emotional disposition onto the group they perceive as hostile to maintaining their hierarchical status within racialized societies. These negative emotions eventually transform into the “politics of rage,” which, according to Maskovsky and Bjork-James, “frame relatively privileged groups, especially those privileged along racial lines—as imperiled.”<sup>60</sup> Subsequently, emotions exacerbate the differences between the in-group deserving of this benefit and the “otherized” out-group—or parties complicit in creating such conditions—threatening the status quo. Furthermore, governmental inaction on behalf of the aggrieved amplifies the prevalence of conspiratorial thinking, causing the subjects to identify banal phenomena as the sources of their frustration and, ultimately, the targets. This type of thought pattern leads to what Zia-Ebrahimi defines as “conspiratorial radicalization,” whereby those adhering to this frame of conspiracism impose supposedly immutable characteristics that are typically associated with

---

<sup>58</sup> Patrick Crusius, “The Inconvenient Truth,” 1.

<sup>59</sup> Feola, “‘You Will Not Replace Us,’” 521.

<sup>60</sup> As quoted in “Fear of White Replacement” in Leo R. Chavez, *A Field Guide to White Supremacy*, eds. Kathleen Belew and Ramón Gutiérrez (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2021): 189.

traditional, socially constructed notions of race onto those they perceive as “others.”<sup>61</sup>

Conversely, though, the attackers examined in this study differ in their out-group targets. Breivik and Earnest displaced their desire for violence onto those they saw as the masterminds behind the erasure of their beloved race. For Breivik, it was the “cultural Marxists” in the Workers’ Youth League; for Earnest, it was the Jews at the Poway synagogue. In contrast, Tarrant, Crusius, and Gendron targeted the threatening out-group directly.

## *Theme 2: Misogyny*

Central to replacement theory and its insatiable focus on the preservation of white societies in the United States and Europe is stopping their perceived replacement through the bodies of white and non-white women. Implicit to these concerns is a woman’s role in maintaining whites’ perceived cultural superiority and the misogyny that each of the manifestos exhibits throughout their pages. The overarching misogynist message brings forth two sub-themes: (1) rejecting modernity and embracing tradition and (2) the protection of white women.

### **Sub-theme 1: reject modernity, embrace tradition**

The most pressing grievance among the attackers that falls under this sub-theme is the societal embrace of progressive ideals and movement away from traditional gender roles and norms. More specifically, feminism’s influence on the increasing number of women pursuing success outside of the home is especially odious, causing the institution of the traditional heterosexual family unit to disintegrate. Within the first section of Breivik’s compendium, he opines for the bygone era of the 1950s when “most ladies devoted their time and effort to making good homes, rearing children well, and helping their communities through volunteer work.”<sup>62</sup> In a similar vein, Tarrant—and, by default, Gendron through his plagiarism of Tarrant—makes mention of “tradition” (in reference to white Christian tradition) 12 times throughout his manifesto, juxtaposing this lost utopia of the “good old days” against a Western culture that is “trivialized, pulped and blended into a

---

<sup>61</sup> Reza Zia-Ebrahimi, “When the Elders of Zion relocated to Eurabia: conspiratorial radicalization in antisemitism and Islamophobia,” *Patterns of Prejudice* 52, no. 4 (August 2018): 336.

<sup>62</sup> Breivik, “2083,” 12.

smear of meaningless nothing,” while holding true only “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).”<sup>63</sup>

Simultaneously, for the attackers, the rejection of tradition and embracing of modernity—the exact inverse of their ideal societal paradigmatic shift—is emblematic of a broader and more concerning phenomenon: the “death of the West.” The perceived civilizational death through the pivot to a consumer society that, according to Bialasiewicz, “has forsaken ideals (and, indeed, the very biological reproduction of the nation) for material comforts, are strikingly similar to the accusations leveled at the ‘merchant mentality’ of inter-war Germany”<sup>64</sup> and echoes the sentiments of Ross’ notion of racial suicide. Still, central to this civilizational decline is the imagined corruption of women’s minds and bodies by feminism through their forced indoctrination into a “cultural Marxist” ideological framework by a cabal of liberals, globalists, and Jews.

The failure of women to use their wombs as a mechanism to turn the tides of “ethnic replacement” at the hands of foreign invaders represents a contradictory desire for white women to play an irreplaceable role in the quest for racial survival yet remain subservient to the men taking up arms in said battle. Ironically, however, the targeted minorities (save for Breivik and Earnest) earn praise for doing what “they”—the attackers—and their fellow white men and women *fail* to do: remaining steadfast in their adherence to cultural traditions and rejecting the new societal norms thrust upon them. Though cynical in his tone, Tarrant is the most transparent in his admiration for the “invaders”’ refusal to assimilate, describing them as a “culture with higher fertility rates, higher social trust and strong, robust traditions.”<sup>65</sup> Conversely, Crusius firmly states he is “against race mixing because it destroys genetic diversity and creates identity problems.”<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup> Tarrant, “The Great Replacement,” 33.

<sup>64</sup> Luiza Bialasiewicz, “‘The Death of the West’: Samuel Huntington, Oriana Fallaci and a New ‘Moral’ Geopolitics of Births and Bodies,” *Geopolitics* 11, no. 4 (2006): 717.

<sup>65</sup> Tarrant, “The Great Replacement,” 14.

<sup>66</sup> Crusius, “The Inconvenient Truth,” 4.

### **Sub-theme 2: the protection of white women**

The second misogynist sub-theme centers around narratives that posit white men as the protectors of white women. The motivation to protect white women is both rhetorical and physical. Rhetorically speaking, white women represent the “body” of a nation—the vessel through which belonging to the nation derives its meaning. As such, this rhetoric reinforces the common nationalist trope that the nation itself is female, placing the responsibility of both cultural and biological reproduction of the nation squarely on the shoulders of women.<sup>67</sup> Meanwhile, it reinforces traditional gender norms, insisting it is incumbent upon the men of the white nation to physically protect white women from the “flood of immigrants,” lest they be raped and murdered or engage in miscegenation. Bjork-James reinforces this assertion, viewing “whiteness in this venue as a gendered geography, where women produce children and cultivate moral values in the home, and men use strength and valor to defend that home from others seen as threats.”<sup>68</sup> This view is consistent with what Ferber characterizes as a re-articulation of white male identity and privilege, arguing, “white supremacist discourse depicts white women as passive victims at the hands of Jews and blacks, and in dire need of white men’s protection.”<sup>69</sup>

In his attempt to justify his actions, Breivik positions himself as a protector of Norway’s white Christian women against the dangerous hordes of Muslim men, citing the Rotherham sexual abuse scandal from the United Kingdom.<sup>70</sup> A 2014 report by Professor Alexis Jay revealed the South Yorkshire Police’s failure to address more than 1,400 cases of child sexual exploitation (including rape, harassment, and sex trafficking) from 1997 to 2013, where “the majority of known perpetrators were of Pakistani heritage.”<sup>71</sup> Tarrant references highly publicized instances of “rape and molestation perpetrated by these non-white scum” in Australia, Finland, and Germany to evoke a

---

<sup>67</sup> Bracke and Hernández Aguilar, “‘They love death as we love life,’” 687.

<sup>68</sup> Sophie Bjork-James, “Racializing misogyny: Sexuality and gender in the new online white nationalism,” *Feminist Anthropology* 1, no. 2 (2020): 178.

<sup>69</sup> Abby L. Ferber, “Constructing Whiteness: The Intersections of Race and Gender in US White Supremacist Discourse,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21, no. 1 (1998): 51-52.

<sup>70</sup> “Rotherham abuse scandal: How we got here,” BBC, June 22, 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-south-yorkshire-61868863>, accessed October 18, 2024.

<sup>71</sup> Alexis Jay, *Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Exploitation in Rotherham* (Rotherham, South Yorkshire, England, UK: Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council, 2014): 91-92. <https://www.rotherham.gov.uk/downloads/file/279/independent-inquiry-into-child-sexual-exploitation-in-rotherham>.

similar sense of existential danger.<sup>72</sup> Breivik's and Tarrant's explicit references to the rape of white women by Muslim men allude to common stereotypes of how the hyper-masculine "savage" exposed to Western society "acts to fuel their 'base instincts,' building again on colonial/Orientalised imaginaries of the Other as uncivilized and animal-like."<sup>73</sup>

Similarly, in the "Statistics and data" section of his manifesto, Gendron links to several articles referencing black crime rates and implicating black men in a disproportionate number of rapes committed against white women, even going so far as to claim that "Black men are over a hundred times more likely to rape a White woman than vice versa."<sup>74</sup> Gendron's fixation on black-on-white crimes and the sexual violence perpetrated against white women by black men in particular draws on the rhetoric of Reconstruction-era lynch mobs in the post-Civil War American South, where "white supremacist groups billed themselves as forces of law and order, punishing theft and supposedly defending white women."<sup>75</sup>

### *Theme 3: Replacement is a global conspiracy*

The third theme prevalent within each manifesto is a pervasive conspiratorial worldview. For each of the attackers, a malevolent actor is responsible for increased non-white immigration to traditionally white dominions and declining white birth rates that will lead to the eventual erasure of a distinct white nation bound together by a common white culture. The most common targets for such accusations are 1) a cabal of liberal elites in positions of power and influence indoctrinated by "cultural Marxism" and 2) the Jews. These two groups often overlap with one another and draw on age-old antisemitic tropes that assert a grand Jewish conspiracy. This line of thinking is deeply intertwined with the racially-motivated fear exhibited in the analysis of the first theme. However, in the context of the manifestos selected for this analysis, explicit attribution to Jewish collaboration and control in the so-called "great replacement" is limited to only Earnest and Gendron.

---

<sup>72</sup> Tarrant, "The Great Replacement," 41.

<sup>73</sup> Bialasiewicz, "'The Death of the West,'" 707.

<sup>74</sup> Gendron, 19.

<sup>75</sup> Daniel Byman, "White Supremacy, Terrorism, and the Failure of Reconstruction in the United States," *International Security* 46, no. 1 (Summer 2021): 89.

In “An Open Letter,” Earnest is the most forward-facing in his Jew-hatred, claiming that “Every Jew is responsible for the meticulously planned genocide of the European race.”<sup>76</sup> Drawing on nearly every antisemitic trope, he goes on to lament their disproportionate representation in media and finance, alignment with progressivism, promotion of race-mixing, and “their role in voting for and funding politicians and organizations who use mass immigration to displace the European race.”<sup>77</sup>

In a similar manner, Gendron’s writings exhibit a deep-seated hatred for Jews, dedicating one-sixth—or 30 pages—of his manifesto to antisemitism in a section titled “About Jews.” He says

Many are born to exploit the goyim and exploit the Earth for capital gain. They control the mainstream media, many government positions, and international and global banking. They advocate for leftist ideology, and spread propaganda among the right. They spread their lies through all forms of media.<sup>78</sup>

Gendron also litters this section with various antisemitic memes and screenshots that implicate Jews in advocating for increased immigration of non-whites to the United States and Europe. Interestingly, though, Tarrant’s antisemitism is less brazen than Earnest and Gendron’s. When responding to the hypothetical question: “Were/are you an anti-semite?” he responds, “No. A Jew living in Israel is no enemy of mine, so long as they do not seek to subvert or harm my people.”<sup>79</sup> His response indicates some level of conspiratorial belief in Jews’ supposed role in seeking to advance the replacement of whites, whether overt or otherwise.

Though Breivik, Tarrant, and Crusius differ in their chosen targets of violence, their screeds are rife with conspiracism that broadly blames liberal government elites influenced by “cultural Marxism” for both their individual failures and what they perceive as the decline of primarily white Christian, European societies. This line of thinking is consistent with scholarly research for two reasons. First, like others, replacement theory can fall into one of several classes of conspiracy theories, according to Barlett and Miller: conspiracies

---

<sup>76</sup> John T. Earnest, “An Open Letter,” 2019: 1.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Gendron, 24.

<sup>79</sup> Tarrant, “The Great Replacement,” 20.



of control and plots against the group.<sup>80</sup> Conspiracies of control “argue the world, the nation, the state, the media, or the establishment sits under the control of a unitary body of collaborators. The identity of this controlling cabal is often a product of the group’s own signature prejudices.”<sup>81</sup> This type of conspiracy simultaneously reinforces the belief of all the attackers that first, a group of nefarious actors beyond the traditional confines of national and supra-national governing bodies exists, and second, according to the authors, this group is either the Jews or influential figures in politics, media, academia, or business. However, these two beliefs often share significant overlap. Typically emerging from conspiracies of control, plots against the group “construct more specific theories of attempts by this elite group to destroy the group itself.”<sup>82</sup> For every attacker, the plot orchestrated by this shadowy cabal is intent on destroying the white race and replacing it with a society of ethnically homogenous citizens.

Second, their belief in replacement theory satisfies and reinforces multiple motives for their attacks. Augmenting Barlett and Miller, Douglas et al. suggest that belief in conspiracies such as the “great replacement” fulfills existential motives, making adherents feel safer by recognizing dangerous and untrustworthy individuals or groups, and the corresponding threat they pose is neutralized or reduced.<sup>83</sup> Lastly, belief in conspiracies typifies the in-group as valorous “by allowing blame for negative outcomes to be attributed to others. Thus, they may help to uphold the image of the self and the in-group as competent and moral but as sabotaged by powerful and unscrupulous others.”<sup>84</sup>

#### *Theme 4: Creating a white ethnostate through Racial Holy War (RaHoWa)*

The final theme in the manifestos is the desire to establish a white ethnostate in the attackers’ respective countries. The means by which their desires would ultimately be satisfied encompasses a multi-step process interwoven

---

<sup>80</sup> Jamie Barlett and Carl Miller, *The Power of Unreason: Conspiracy Theories, Extremism, and Counter-Terrorism* (London, UK: Demos, 2010)

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid*, 17.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid*, 18.

<sup>83</sup> Karen M. Douglas, Robbie M. Sutton, and Aleksandra Cichocka, “The Psychology of Conspiracy Theories,” *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 26, no. 6 (2016): 539.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid*, 540.

throughout their writings and directly draws inspiration from the idea of a Racial Holy War (“RaHoWa”), or civil war. The concept of RaHoWa is not a recent development within the far-right extremist milieu; the earliest manifestations of the idea can be found in the writings of Ben Klassen, an American white supremacist who founded the atheistic religion, Church of the Creator in 1973.<sup>85</sup> According to Sara Kamali, Klassen’s concept of “RAHOWA is both a racial and religious war stemming from Creativity’s main tenet, ‘My race is my religion.’”<sup>86</sup> As George Michael points out, Klassen’s conceptualization of RaHoWa was inherently violent and anti-democratic; he believed that the destiny of whites to inhabit all of Earth’s desirable areas was a matter of racial predetermination, further stating this goal should be pursued “through a program of settlement into territories and expulsion of non-whites that reside therein.”<sup>87</sup>

Beyond Klassen, RaHoWa gained momentum among other white supremacists, notably William Luther Pierce and his 1978 novel *The Turner Diaries*, which depicts a future race war in the United States whereby all non-whites and those considered “race traitors” are hanged en masse during the “Day of the Rope”—an event Earnest directly references in his “Open Letter.”<sup>88</sup> Following the Day of the Rope, a systematic ethnic cleansing via nuclear war consumes the rest of the planet, which results in the murder of all non-white races. American neo-Nazi George Mason advocated for similar acts of violence to sow chaos and destabilize governments through the publication of his *Siege* newsletter, which accelerationist terrorist groups such as Atomwaffen Division and The Base cite as mandatory reading.<sup>89</sup> None of the attackers explicitly mention RaHoWa as Klassen defines it. Still, they openly embrace its precepts and share their convictions about the importance of establishing a territorial haven for whites through the use of force. Their justification for such violence is one of both personal and racial piety, alluding to the imperative nature of eliminating all perceived threats to the white race as embodied in David

---

<sup>85</sup> “Creativity Movement (Formerly World Church of the Creator),” *Anti-Defamation League*, January 2, 2005, <https://www.adl.org/resources/profile/creativity-movement-formerly-world-church-creator>.

<sup>86</sup> Sara Kamali, *Homegrown Hate: Why White Nationalists and Militant Islamists Are Waging War against the United States* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2021): 164.

<sup>87</sup> George Michael, “The Church of the Creator Part I: Ben Klassen and the Critique of Christianity,” *Religion Compass* 4, no. 8 (August 2010): 523.

<sup>88</sup> Earnest, “An Open Letter,” 6.

<sup>89</sup> “James Mason,” Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed October 22, 2024, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/james-mason>.

Lane's Fourteen Words: "We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children."

Moreover, one of the central tenets of RaHoWa, as expressed in the manifestos, is its militaristic approach, eschewing democratic means to provide a solution to the problem of white genocide. As the patron saint of this accelerationist crop of white supremacist terrorists, Breivik first articulated this anti-democratic sentiment: "It is meaningless to participate in the democratical process...The continuation of the ongoing peaceful dialogue with the cultural Marxists/multiculturalists only serves to diminish our demographical advantages. They are growing stronger while we are being weakened every year."<sup>90</sup> Crusius also expresses his support for violence, stating that "America is rotting from the inside out, and peaceful means to stop this seem to be nearly impossible."<sup>91</sup> The "rotting" he refers to is, of course, the increasing numbers of non-whites in the United States courtesy of a complicit two-party system controlled by unchecked corporate influence.

Tarrant and Gendron also desire a second American Civil War between racial allegiances. For instance, Tarrant directly expresses his desire to incite a civil war in the United States despite being an Australian. He proclaims that "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 nature."<sup>92</sup> By carrying out his attack, Tarrant believes he will incite his political enemies to a disproportionate reaction, resulting in the eventual "Balkanization" of the United States along racial lines and "ensuring the future of the White race on the North American continent."<sup>93</sup> In plagiarizing much of Tarrant's manifesto, Gendron exhibits identical motivations and takes an explicitly fascist "blood and soil" approach that harkens back to racial pseudoscience of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. After describing and justifying his hatred and reasons for removing or separating all non-whites in detail, Gendron summarizes his thoughts by saying that "all

---

<sup>90</sup> Breivik, "2083," 792.

<sup>91</sup> Crusius, "The Inconvenient Truth," 1.

<sup>92</sup> Tarrant, "The Great Replacement," 81.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid*, 9.

races and people do belong on the Earth, but only where they are biologically made to be”<sup>94</sup> and that “all belong in their designated homelands.”<sup>95</sup>

The last and perhaps the most critical aspect of the RaHoWa theme is the inspiration it provides for future terrorists, both rhetorically and tactically. As the architect of contemporary lone-actor accelerationist violence, Breivik’s manifesto provided a blueprint for others to follow. Tarrant directly mentions Breivik, saying that while he “read the writings of Dylan Roof and many others,” he “only really took true inspiration from Knight Justiciar Breivik.”<sup>96</sup> However, Tarrant’s tactical decisions, namely livestreaming his attack on the internet and making his manifesto widely available, would initiate an alarming trend that resulted in a sustained legacy of violence embraced and recreated by Crusius, Earnest, and Gendron.

For instance, Crusius opens his manifesto with an explicit endorsement of Tarrant: “In general, I support the Christchurch shooter and his manifesto.”<sup>97</sup> Earnest follows suit, citing that “Brenton Tarrant inspired me. I hope to inspire many more. To those who are brave—know that your sacrifice is the greatest act of love for your race. Your sacrifice will be remembered. Always.”<sup>98</sup> Earnest even spray painted “For Brenton Tarrant -t. /pol/”—a direct reference to the /pol/ board on 8chan where both he and Tarrant posted their manifestos—in the parking lot of the Dar-ul-Arqam mosque in Escondido, California, a month before the shooting at the Chabad of Poway.<sup>99</sup> Lastly, Payton Gendron most closely followed Tarrant’s example. In the question and answer section of his manifesto, Gendron wrote

Brenton’s livestream started everything you see here. Brenton started my real research into the problems with immigration and foreigners in our White lands, without his livestream I would likely have no idea about the real problems the West is facing.<sup>100</sup>

---

<sup>94</sup> Gendron, 55.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>96</sup> Tarrant, “The Great Replacement,” 24.

<sup>97</sup> Crusius, “An Inconvenient Truth,” 1.

<sup>98</sup> Earnest, “An Open Letter,” 4.

<sup>99</sup> Justin Miller, “Poway Synagogue Shooting Suspect John T. Earnes Told 911: ‘I’m Just Trying to Defend My Nation,’” *The Daily Beast*, May 9, 2019, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/poway-synagogue-shooting-suspect-john-t-earnest-told-911-im-just-trying-to-defend-my-nation/>.

<sup>100</sup> Gendron, 8.

Gendron also plagiarized much of his manifesto, live-streamed his attack, and adorned his body armor and rifle with *sonnenrads* and other white supremacist symbology found on that of Tarrant's.

## Conclusion

When considering the history of replacement theory in fringe intellectual discourse and its eventual creep into the political mainstream, it is not unreasonable to assume a small cohort of true believers would turn to violence—and turn to violence they did. Beginning with Anders Breivik in 2011, a series of terrorist attacks in the United States, Europe, and New Zealand shone a light on the pervasiveness of racist and antisemitic conspiracy theories.

In examining the attackers' manifestos, common rhetorical themes emerged that sought to justify their acts of violence by appealing to young, disaffected white men who shared similar concerns over demographic changes brought about by a society increasingly connected through globalization. Moreover, the terrorist manifestos selected for this analysis clearly exhibit a palpable fear of this phenomenon and seek to halt or reverse its course. They all display a yearning for past times in which white global dominance was the standard, allowing them to benefit directly and indirectly from such history. As such, this analysis revealed that the attackers sought to justify their acts of violence by positing that a cabal of liberal elites, cultural Marxists, and Jews sought to usurp whites (specifically white men) by promoting increased non-white immigration into traditionally white countries. More importantly, however, it is incumbent upon a select few to take up arms and instigate a race war in which non-whites are either killed or forcibly displaced. Overall, these themes harken back to Benito Mussolini's earliest conceptions of fascism when, in response to the rise of socialism, he suggested: "It was necessary to imagine a wholly new political conception...overcoming at the same time the ideological worship of liberalism, the limited horizons of various spent and exhausted democracies, and finally the violent Utopian spirit of Bolshevism."<sup>101</sup>

While Breivik—whether wittingly or not—was the first to draw on Mussolini's spirited musings, the subsequent copycat attacks he inspired attacked democracy's perceived failures to bring about a world in which whites

---

<sup>101</sup> Benito Mussolini, *My Autobiography* (New York, NY: C. Scribner's Sons, 1928). Reprinted in Benito Mussolini, *My Rise and Fall: Volumes 1-2* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo Press, 1998): 68-69.

(specifically white men) continue to occupy the apex of social and economic hierarchies. As such, the perceived threat of losing these benefits serves as an impetus and mobilizing factor to use violence to restore the mythical “purity” of the white race—a clarion call that the attackers and others in the future are likely to answer.



of Replacement Theor

Program on Extremism

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY