

Behind the Skull Mask: An Overview of Militant Accelerationism

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Executive Summary

ilitant accelerationism has recently emerged as one of the dominant terrorist movements in the Western world. Defined as a set of tactics and strategies designed to put pressure on and exacerbate latent social divisions, often through violence, the goal of its proponents is to hasten a societal collapse which they believe is already underway. The continued proliferation of these ideas on various online platforms, as well as their role in inspiring multiple far-right terrorist attacks, make this an increasingly urgent issue for analysts, policy makers, and technology companies alike.

This report will serve as an introductory guide that will explain the key elements of militant accelerationism and its primary manifestations. It will begin with an overview and description of the phenomena of militant accelerationism, defining and discussing its main features, influences, and tactics. The following section will outline how practitioners can identify and categorize accelerationist content and activities adherents conduct to further their agenda. Finally, the report will conclude with an overview of observed accelerationist presence on digital platforms.

The report additionally offers policy recommendations for technology companies to aid in their efforts at disrupting accelerationists activities on their platforms. These include the need to develop internal policies aimed at improving enforcement towards accommodating the multilingual and multicultural nature of transnational militant accelerationism. This is in addition to conducting network-based disruptions of militant accelerationist communities on their platforms, amongst others. The threat of militant accelerationism remains a top security concern, necessitating a comprehensive understanding of its core characteristics to address its associated threats.

Key findings of the report include:

- Militant accelerationism is predominantly neofascist and transnational, with three distinct yet overlapping activity types which include Active Resistance, Passive Resistance and "The Movement."
- Adherents of militant accelerationism intentionally join, infiltrate, or otherwise influence pre-radicalised extremist spaces so as to intensify the mobilisation of such ecosystems towards violence.
- Accelerationist actors largely rely on digital forums as part of their efforts in brand creation, recruitment, and radicalisation, and maintain a consistent presence across a variety of online platforms.
 - Accelerationist actors favor alternative media platforms with permissive environments, such as Telegram, Gab, Odyssey and Bitchute.
 - Accelerationist indicators are also present in video game ecosystems online, including on platforms such as Discord, Steam, Xbox Live, Roblox, and Minecraft.
 - Mainstream media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, and X (formerly Twitter) remain high-value targets for accelerationists.

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1 Introduction

since the turn of the 21st century, militant accelerationism has become the face of politically and ideologically motivated violence on the far right. Militant accelerationism has challenged existing frameworks that guide both governments and technology companies in defining and addressing terrorism.

Militant accelerationism is a growing transnational movement that in recent years has overtaken al Qaeda and Islamic State's global networks as the dominant terrorist threat in the Western world. By embracing predominantly neofascist and white supremacist tactics and strategies, militant accelerationism has contributed to the emergence of novel means of radicalization to violence and new cultures of extremist violence. Militant accelerationism exists beyond the traditional construct of group-based organizing and plotting for terrorist attacks, relying heavily on the internet and social media to facilitate this unique structural dynamic.

Despite its meteoric rise as a transnational terrorist threat, there remains a considerable need to explore and articulate clearly what constitutes militant accelerationism and how we can better detect its presence both online and offline.

2 What is Militant Accelerationism?

ccelerationism is a pre-existing intellectual movement¹ that alleges that certain aspects of modern existence are untenable and destined to collapse under their own weight, particularly if individuals highlight their intrinsic contradictions through actions that further erode or exacerbate those weak points. These views however, are not inherently terroristic; nor are they inherently militant. Instead, in the mid-2000s, a nascent conception of accelerating the demise of modern society took hold across a loosely connected set of violent, extremist milieus. Within these nebulae, key actors began to merge their violent, extremist and hateful ideological views with the philosophical construct of accelerationism. Over time, the philosophical components became more explicitly terroristic and the contemporary conception of militant accelerationism emerged.

For this report, we use the definition of militant accelerationism provided by the Accelerationism Research Consortium:

Militant accelerationism is a set of tactics and strategies designed to put pressure on and exacerbate latent social divisions, often through violence, thus hastening societal collapse.²

The most important aspect of militant accelerationism to understand is that it is not exclusively an ideologically motivated phenomenon. It is a set of tactics and strategies that can be grafted onto pre-existing violent, extremist movements and ideologies. This does not mean that ideology is absent from militant accelerationism. Our research findings indicate that specific ideologies that have long championed or promoted militant accelerationism have played a greater role in shaping the broadest landscape of accelerationist actors and networks. For example, the vast majority of militant accelerationist actors we have observed are classified within a broad neofascist or white supremacist schema.3 Elements within extreme Black nationalist movements, such as the Black Hebrew Israelites and NFAC,4 at times exhibit limited, but nevertheless accelerationist-derived characteristics. However, we have also observed that some ideological spaces, such as anarchism, remain curiously resistant to the militant accelerationism approach, despite concerted efforts by some accelerationist actors to frame their actions as consistent with anarchist philosophy.

Andy Beckett, "Accelerationism: How a Fringe Philosophy Predicted the Future We Live In," The Guardian,
 May 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/11/accelerationism-how-a-fringe-philosophy-predicted-the-future-we-live-in.

² Matthew Kriner, "An Introduction to Militant Accelerationism," Accelerationism Research Consortium, 22 June 2022, https://www.accresearch.org/shortanalysis/an-introduction-to-militant-accelerationism

Kriner, "An Introduction to Militant Accelerationism."
 Nicole Chavez, Ryan Young, and Angela Barajas, "An All-Black Group Is Arming Itself and Demanding Change. They Are the NFAC," CNN, 25 October 2020, https://www.cnn.com/2020/10/25/us/nfac-black-armed-group/index.html.

What often ties the disparate ideological views into the same category is an adherence to, and embrace of, the notion that some tactics and strategies can more effectively exacerbate the demise of the current status quo and create a positive feedback loop towards a total collapse of society. Below is a visualisation of the militant accelerationist tactical framework for achieving total collapse provided within an accelerationist Telegram channel:5

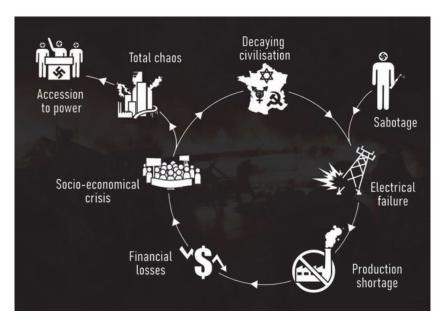


Figure 1: Militant accelerationist tactical framework for the achievement of total collapse

Militant accelerationism as a concept – in both academically provided and actor-provided descriptions – syncretises numerous strains of preexisting radical political beliefs, extremist ideologies, and terroristic tactics and strategies. Across all ideological milieus in which militant accelerationism indicators were contained, there is a recurring set of shared enemies (for example, the Jewish people; liberal democratic governments; law enforcement) as well as narratives (for example, there is no political solution; ⁶ deep state or elite cabals; red pill or awakening conspiracies; the Great Replacement) which provide a common grievance framework within which the tactics of accelerationism can flourish.

What distinguishes militant accelerationism from its analogues in other political and philosophical communities, as well as extreme right-wing movements seeking total systemic change, is the centrality of hastening the collapse of the current political system by any means. Yet, preoccupation with societal collapse and the quest to unravel modern society are not new – especially in millenarian and apocalyptic

⁵ We have withheld the name and organisation which promoted this content for ethical reasons. It is available upon request.

Matthew Kriner, Meghan Conroy, and Yasmine Ashwal, "Understanding Accelerationist Narratives:
 'There Is No Political Solution," Global Network on Extremism & Technology, 27 September 2021, https://gnet-research.org/2021/09/02/understanding-accelerationist-narratives-there-is-no-political-solution/. Kriner. "An Introduction to Militant Accelerationism."

neo-Nazi and neofascist milieus. These communities often serve as proto-accelerationist influences on contemporary actors, providing a historical grounding and co-opting of preexisting violent, extremist activity to bolster the perceived breadth of accelerationist identity and activity. This does not weaken the analytical validity of assessing the current surge in far-right terrorism within the militant accelerationism framework. Rather, it provides researchers and practitioners with a clearer throughline for decades of philosophising, organising and activism from a diverse range of actors who shared similar goals, and places them into a single pantheon of inspiration for the current post-group, idiosyncratic landscape of violent extremist activity today.

The "militant accelerationism" framework benefits scholars, practitioners and lay persons in a number of ways. Firstly, militant accelerationism is a clearly articulated explanation of what it seeks to do – accelerate societal collapse through militancy. Secondly, as noted by Kriner, the term is "not arbitrary, as individuals have begun self-identifying as such in recent years".8 And finally, militant accelerationism provides practitioners with a coherent framework to explain behaviours seen on technology platforms and in criminal investigations that have previously been downplayed or disregarded due to lack of clarity around the interconnections between seemingly disparate indicators.

Before delving into the minutiae of militant accelerationism, it is useful to clarify terminological use related to concepts that inform our ability to contextualise militant accelerationism. Firstly, this report approaches the notion of "accelerationism" as a high-level concept or framework for understanding a wide range of actors, networks and beliefs that share a common goal of hastening societal collapse. When referencing this framework, this report will use the term *militant* accelerationism. As a derivative of that concept, activity, individuals, networks, or belief systems that can be classified as associated with or explicitly self-branded as "accelerationist" will be assigned the adjective accelerationist. Within that descriptor there exists an array of subcategories that exemplify the multifaceted nature of militant accelerationism. Specific subcategories of accelerationism, where possible and reasonable, will be prefixed with an adjective such as neofascist accelerationism. Some concepts will be given the suffix "-wave" (for example, fashwave9) to describe aesthetic trends that have emerged from accelerationist communities, and to reflect the use of those terms by subjects. These breakdowns are not perfect, and actors or content will at times justifiably fall into multiple subcategories. This is not a failure on the part of the framework or analytical approach, but rather stands as evidence of the extraordinary levels of syncretism and diverse influence within militant accelerationism.

⁸ Kriner, "An Introduction to Militant Accelerationism."

⁹ Logan Macnair, "Understanding Fashwave: The Alt-Right's Ever-Evolving Media Strategy," Global Network on Extremism and Terrorism, 27 June 2023, https://gnet-research.org/2023/06/28/understanding-fashwave-thealt-rights-ever-evolving-media-strategy/.

3 Key Features of Militant Accelerationism

here are many noteworthy features of militant accelerationism:

- It is predominantly neofascist in its orientation
- It is distinctly and intentionally transnational
- It presents a highly diverse and individualistic radicalisation pathway, both cognitive and in mobilisations to violence
- It has three distinct, yet overlapping, activity types:
 Active Resistance, Passive Resistance, and what is referred to as "The Movement"
- It generates communities within digital ecosystems (such as Terrorgram) that rely heavily on aesthetics to develop an in-group identity.

Neofascism

J.M. Berger's definition of extremist ideology is "a collection of texts that describe who is part of the in-group, who is part of an out-group, and how the in-group should interact with the out-group". 10 On the basis of this understanding, a key feature of militant accelerationism is the preponderance of neofascist and white supremacist ideologies within the ideological spectrum of its constituent networks and actors. To date, actors adhering to these ideologies present the most salient terrorist threat emanating from the militant accelerationist landscape. Terrorist incidents such as the Christchurch terrorist attack, the El Paso Walmart shooting, and the Tree of Life synagogue shooting in Pittsburgh were all carried out under the banner of a neofascist, white supremacist strand of militant accelerationist thought.

Additional ideological strains that at times exist within or alongside neofascism include esoteric fascism (specifically Esoteric Hitlerism, Norse Paganism, and Militant Traditionalism), white supremacy, and Siege culture. 11 Esoteric fascism, influenced perhaps most significantly by far-right Italian philosopher Julius Evola, is a political philosophy predicated on mystical and occult interpretations of fascist thought. Siege culture is an online, updated appropriation of James Mason's Siege literature, consisting of an accumulation of pro-Nazism and pro-"lone wolf" terrorism writings, with the goal of inciting a race war to elevate the white race. 12

¹⁰ J. M. Berger, Extremism (The MIT Press, 2018).

¹¹ Ben Lee, "What Is Siege Culture?," CREST Research, 4 August 2022, https://crestresearch.ac.uk/comment/ what-is-siege-culture/.

Bethan Johnson, "Siege Culture After Siege: Anatomy of a Neo-Nazi Terrorist Doctrine," International Centre for Counter-Terrorism, 21 July 2021, https://www.icct.nl/publication/siege-culture-after-siege-anatomy-neo-naziterrorist-doctrine.

Transnational Nature

From the outset, militant accelerationism was designed to be a transnational endeavour. At the centre of that paradigm was the now-defunct Iron March forum, which is best understood as the digital town square for the extreme right and fascists seeking new ideological influence and organisational options. 13 Started by an individual using the alias "Alexander Slavros", the forum operated from 2011 until 2017, when it mysteriously disappeared from the internet.

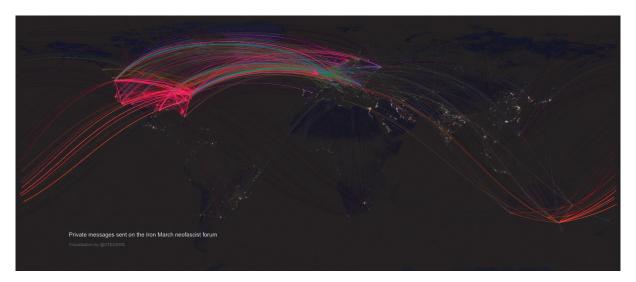


Figure 2: Visual representation of DM's sent on the Iron March forum (CTEC-provided data visualisation)

In 2019, an activist entity uploaded a robust snapshot¹⁴ of the forum, which contained member data, thousands of thread posts, direct messages and more. From this data, it has been revealed that Iron March was designed to be an incubator for what is now known as the transnational neofascist accelerationism movement, characterised by Skullmask networks such as National Action, AWD, Antipodean Resistance and Feuerkrieg Division. As a largely private online social ecosystem, the Iron March network enabled neofascist youth and young adults who felt excluded or otherwise far removed from existing neofascist organisations to join a like-minded, transnational collective which would ultimately shape their identity. By the end of 2015, approximately 15% of all private communications on Iron March discussed recruitment efforts, network coordination and philosophical adherences, with users heavily interacting with others' uploads, communicating among themselves, and inviting each other to platforms like Telegram, Skype and Discord, where radicalising conversations could continue. 15 As Iron March expanded further, individuals began

H.E. Upchurch, "The Iron March Forum and the Evolution of the 'Skull Mask' Neo-Fascist Network," Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, 22 December 2021, https://ctc.westpoint.edu/the-iron-march-forum-and-the-evolution-of-the-skull-mask-neo-fascist-network.

Jacques Singer-Emery and Rex Bray, "The Iron March Data Dump Provides a Window into How White Supremacists Communicate and Recruit," Lawfare, Terrorism & Extremism, 27 February 2020,

https://www.lawfaremedia.org/article/iron-march-data-dump-provides-window-how-white-supremacistscommunicate-and-recruit.

Singer-Emery and Bray, "The Iron March Data Dump Provides a Window into How White Supremacists Communicate and Recruit.'

to form physical organisations with other Iron March users in local proximity, which continued to grow over time. Eventually, influenced in part by the extreme violence associated with the writings and practices of the Order of Nine Angles, Iron March members and organisations began mobilising to violence through networks like AWD, effectively marking a transition from online networking to real-world violence in the name of militant accelerationism. ¹⁶



Figure 3: Iron March graphic depicting the platform's organisational affiliations

Although the Iron March forum is now defunct, its users and the extremist organisations it cultivated continue to find ways to communicate transnationally. One such example is the movement of Iron March groups, organisations, and actors to alternative social media platforms and encrypted messaging platforms like Telegram. On such sites, accelerationist actors congregate online and then mobilise offline. Cases include:

- The frequent collaboration of the Nordic Resistance Movement with the Russian Imperial Movement (RIM), a Specially Designated Global Terrorist (SDGT) entity by the US Department of State, on joint terrorist activity, paramilitary training, and arranged meetings and events.¹⁷
- The persistent physical presence of the Active Club network alongside the White Lives Matter network for inter-organisational physical training, propaganda dissemination and other forms of activism.¹⁸

¹⁶ Upchurch, "The Iron March Forum and the Evolution of the 'Skull Mask' Neo-Fascist Network."

^{17 &}quot;Dangerous Organizations and Bad Actors: Nordic Resistance Movement," Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey, Center on Terrorism, Extremism, and Counterterrorism, 18 November 2022, https://www.middlebury.edu/institute/academics/centers-initiatives/ctec/ctec-publications/dangerousorganizations-and-bad-actors-nordic.

^{18 &}quot;Dangerous Organizations and Bad Actors: The Active Club Network," Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey, Center on Terrorism, Extremism, and Counterterrorism, 15 March 2023, https://www.middlebury.edu/institute/academics/centers-initiatives/ctec/ctec-publications/dangerous-organizations-and-bad-actors-active.

Further representation of the transnational nature of militant accelerationism can be found in radical political actors like Matthew Heimbach, an organiser of the 2017 Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville. Heimbach was formerly part of the National Socialist Movement (NSM) and Traditionalist Worker Party (TWP), 19 and a far-left socialist before that. He has also networked with other accelerationist organisations, such as Greece's Golden Dawn and Russia's RIM. Heimbach has sought to unite radical elements from around the world through a shared worldview of antisemitism, 20 including Palestinian terrorist organisations Hamas and Islamic Jihad, to create "a unity between those who struggle against the Zionist State and International Jewry here in the West and those on the streets of Gaza, Syria and Lebanon. We face the exact same enemy, one who doesn't care if they kill our women, children, and elderly. We are facing a truly Satanic enemy".

The notion of far-right actors intentionally operating transnationally is not unique or novel in the slightest, yet it is nonetheless critical to highlight the intentionality of that transnational feature in the context of militant accelerationism, as it is often overlooked or downplayed due to tendencies within practitioner and researcher biases to pigeonhole key actors and networks by geography. In simpler terms, we have a strong bias against accepting the transnational nature of far-right and militant accelerationist actors despite a ready willingness to ascribe transnational tendencies to Salafi jihadist actors and networks. While most individuals that can be classified as accelerationist do have a geographical "home base", contemporary militant accelerationism activity has been designed to take advantage of geographically agnostic online spaces such as Telegram. And despite the Western cultural bias of many neofascist accelerationist networks, they simultaneously hold an anti-Western outlook in that they seek to fully overhaul what Western identity means.

Diverse Radicalisation

Like all terrorist movements, recruitment and radicalisation efforts are paramount to its success. What sets the accelerationist movement apart from other terrorist actors is that its motivations and goals are not set on achieving political change within a given system, domestically or globally. Militant accelerationists by and large aspire to materially degrade the modern political system to enact metaphysical changes for all of humanity. This is not, of course, a universal notion held by every individual who acts on behalf of, or in concert with, an accelerationist network or brand. However, those who facilitate and lead the dominant networks within the broader network of accelerationist actors have repeatedly articulated their metaphysical ambitions.

[&]quot;Dangerous Organizations and Bad Actors: Traditionalist Worker Party," Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey, Center on Terrorism, Extremism, and Counterterrorism, 13 October 2022, https://www.middlebury.edu/institute/academics/centers-initiatives/ctec/ctec-publications/dangerousorganizations-and-bad-actors-0.

²⁰ Michael S. Broschowitz, "The Violent Impact of Anti-Semitic Conspiracy Theories: Examining the Jewish World Domination Narratives and History," Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey, Center on Terrorism, Extremism, and Counterterrorism, 9 August 2022, https://www.middlebury.edu/institute/academics/centers-initiatives/ctec/ctec-publications/violent-impact-anti-semitic-conspiracy; Michael S. Broschowitz, "Holy Hate: Religious Antisemitism's History and Contemporary Political Influence," Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey, Center on Terrorism, Extremism, and Counterterrorism, 9 March 2023, https://www.middlebury.edu/institute/academics/centers-initiatives/ctec/ctec-publications/holy-hate-religious-antisemitisms-history-and.

Accelerationists do not need to radicalise individuals into an accelerationist belief system to increase their influence. Militant accelerationism emphasises the sowing of chaos through the exacerbation of latent social divisions, rather than through ideological radicalisation or recruitment. The issues that accelerationists often use to reignite social divisions include gun control, abortion and LGBTQ+ rights. Such issues are of particular interest to, and attract extreme positions from extremist organisations. To further catalyse a societal collapse, accelerationists intentionally join, infiltrate or influence pre-radicalised spaces, serving as force amplifiers to intensify the mobilisation of these ecosystems towards violence. Examples of pre-radicalised spaces include preexisting extremist organisations, online communities such as involuntary celibates (incels)²¹ and even school shooter fandoms.

²¹ Erica Barbarossa, "Understanding Accelerationist Narratives: Involuntary Celibacy," Global Network on Extremism and Technology, 27 January 2022, https://gnet-research.org/2022/01/27/understanding-accelerationist-narratives-involuntary-celibacy/.

4 Strategic Pathways of Accelerationism

clarifying lens for understanding the militant accelerationist landscape can be found in the manifesto of Juraj Krajčík, perpetrator of the 2022 Bratislava terrorist attack and Terrorgram's first official Saint.²² In his manifesto, he provided a visual depicting a three-pronged approach to accelerationism: The Movement, Active Resistance and Passive Resistance. While these prongs represent different paths, it is important to note that individual actors can fall under multiple categories at the same time.

The Movement

The Movement refers to the Skull Mask Network, a transnational network consisting of a loose organisation of individuals and groupuscules brought together by shared aesthetics and symbols. Such symbols include the literal skull mask – sometimes referred to as a "Siege mask" in reference to James Masons' Siege – that adherents don, as well as overt Nazi symbols such as the Schutzstaffel (SS) bolts and Sonnenrad.²³ Although Skull Mask adherents differ slightly in ideological motivation, they are brought together by the common goal of instigating societal collapse and hostility towards modernity and liberal democracy, both of which are framed as intrinsically Jewish. Many subscribe to the teachings of Julius Evola and the syncretic-religious school of thought known as Traditionalism, in which Evola infused a self-declared "super" fascist doctrine, allowing adherents to imbue their actions and views with an esoteric and syncretist spiritual meaning. According to these Evolian Traditionalist beliefs, the desire for apocalyptic destruction of modern society is to spark a metaphysical rebirth for humanity.²⁴

As The Movement charges forth against its Jewish enemy, accelerationist actors and their activities are organised into two types of resistance: Active Resistance and Passive Resistance.

Active Resistance

Active Resistance is best characterised by the actions and personas of the Saints Culture. The sanctification of mass killers is an intentional strategy to elicit a swelling effect, and to link individual lone-actor events into a large-scale movement that will eventually crest over into the apocalyptic-level event that will spark the next phase of human existence.

Julia Kupper, Matthew Kriner, and Kacper Rekawek, "Terrorgram's First Saint: Analyzing Accelerationist Terrorism in Bratislava," Accelerationism Research Consortium, 29 March 2023, https://www.accresearch.org/ reports-1/terrorgrams-first-saint.

Upchurch, "The Iron March Forum and the Evolution of the 'Skull Mask' Neo-Fascist Network."

Upchurch, "The Iron March Forum and the Evolution of the 'Skull Mask' Neo-Fascist Network."

Until such an event, propagandists and perpetrators believe this swelling builds strength as it is fuelled by the Saints' attacks and sweeps up others of similar ilk as a wave recedes into the sea. The swelling is reflected in the rise of Saints, and attributed in manifestos and tactical decisions by recent mass attackers. This connectivity between seemingly lone actors illustrates the pervasive copycat effect taking place in the accelerationist community. As Meloy explains, the copycat effect is a phenomenon in which both acts and actors are imitated over a long period of time, be that months or even years. Within this phenomenon, a subcultural script, 26 otherwise known as a tactical outline, 27 develops, and is referred to and emulated by future followers in their own attacks. These subcultural scripts are often pliable in that they allow future copycats to distinguish themselves and their attacks, through changes in aesthetics, tactics or kill counts. 28

According to Evola's writings, the engagement of spiritual warfare is necessary for individual transcendence over the mundane and socially degraded norms of modernity, and for furthering the accelerationist cause. Analysis by the Center on Terrorism, Extremism, and Counterterrorism of communications produced by firm adherents of Evolian Traditionalism and accelerationism indicates that adherents believe that Saints are the vanguard of a divine campaign that transcends the banal understanding of our world. This belief causes propagandists and influencers in accelerationist spaces such as Terrorgram to imbue the Saints' actions with mythos and mystique. In turn, this act of myth-making further draws online users into the Saints Culture, and instigates and influences other mass attackers who aim to earn their place among the ranks of Saints.29 However, the allure of this egregious fandom is also strong enough to influence individuals who do not subscribe to accelerationist ideological doctrine, or who have possibly never heard of such concepts. An example of this is Payton Gendron, who killed ten Black Americans in his attack in Buffalo, NY in 2022. Through analysis of Gendron's manifesto and Discord logs (often referred to as his online diary), we can see that while Gendron was a follower of Brenton Tarrant, his knowledge of accelerationism was minimal and was notably lacking throughout his texts. Instead, he merely mimicked Tarrant's accelerationism by copying sections from Tarrant's The Great Replacement manifesto which Gendron used in his own. The absence of key accelerationist indicators suggests that Gendron was not an explicit actor of accelerationism, but rather a consumer.30 In this specific case study, Gendron experienced and internalised just enough of the Saints Culture and accelerationist narratives and motifs to justify and launch an attack, demonstrating the concerningly pervasive nature of the Saints Culture.

²⁵ Julia Kupper et al., "The Contagion and Copycat Effect in Transnational Far-Right Terrorism: An Analysis of Language Evidence," Perspectives on Terrorism 16, no. 4 (1 August 2022): 4–26, https://www.jstor.org/stable/27158149.

²⁶ Kupper et al., "The Contagion and Copycat Effect in Transnational Far-Right Terrorism," 4–26.

²⁵ Aupper et al., The Contagion and Copycat Effect in Transmationian Par-Fight Terrorism, 4–26.
27 Tactics include targeting a symbolic soft-target location, providing a targeted violence manifesto, conducting a live-stream of the attack, and the donning of tactical gear.

²⁸ Kupper et al., "The Contagion and Copycat Effect in Transnational Far-Right Terrorism," 4–26.
29 Jonathan Lewis, Joshua Molloy, and Graham Macklin, "The Lineage of Violence: Saints Culture and Militant Accelerationist Terrorism," Global Network on Extremism and Technology, 27 April 2023, https://gnet-research.org/2023/04/27/the-lineage-of-violence-saints-culture-and-militant-accelerationist-terrorism/.

³⁰ Erica Barbarossa, Isabela Bernardo, and Matthew Kriner, "The Buffalo Terrorist Attack: Situating Lone Actor Violence into the Militant Accelerationism Landscape," Middlebury Institute of International Studies, 23 June 2023, https://www.middlebury.edu/institute/academics/centers-initiatives/ctec/ctec-publications/ buffalo-terrorist-attack-situating-lone-actor.

Passive Resistance

Passive Resistance represents those individuals or groupuscules who are rather more covert about their ties to violence. Those partial to the Passive Resistance model follow the same thinking of The Movement but place greater emphasis on the apocalyptic event itself and what comes after, contrasting with Active Resistance followers whose focus is on accelerating the collapse. An example of this is the Wolves of Vinland (WoV), a transnational, accelerationist and esoteric Norse pagan fascist movement founded in Lynchburg, VA in the early 2000s. To become a member of WoV, individuals must prove themselves by demonstrating elite physical prowess, combat preparedness, and knowledge of what WoV deem as necessary survival skills, such as farming.31 The emphasis on fitness and combat signifies a passive preparation for the cataclysmic war that will contribute to or follow large-scale societal collapse. The prioritisation of survival skills is to prepare for what comes after collapse, as actors such as the Wolves presume to be leaders in the next phase of society, in the belief that most of humanity will be reeling from the great shift in civilisation and will be wholly unprepared for post-modern humanity.

The WoV further follow the Passive Resistance path as they surreptitiously influence violent attacks as the active resistors do, as exhibited in Lyndon McLeod's 2021 attack. McLeod's murder of five people was easily connected back to WoV through his social media posts and novels, in which McLeod specifically referenced and glorified one of WoV's founders, Paul Waggener.32 Throughout his novels, McLeod demonstrated a reverence for the passive accelerationist preparation for collapse and discussed this at length with men's rights influencer and former WoV member Jack Donovan on his podcast Start the World.33

Despite limited offline violence and criminal acts associated with their brand in comparison to skullmask groups, WoV members claim credit for others. Evidence of this was given in a post by Luke Kenna, a WoV member who was recently indicted in a bank robbery conspiracy.34 In a Telegram post, Kenna claimed that he was personally responsible "directly or indirectly, for at least a half a dozen of our newest saints from the past couple years". Kenna's intermediary approach to all three strategic pathways demonstrates the porous nature of the boundaries between the three "prongs".

Matthew Kriner, H.E. Upchurch, and W. Aaron, "Examining the Denver Shooter's Ideological Views, Global Network on Extremism & Technology, 23 March 2022, https://gnet-research.org/2022/01/03/examiningthe-denver-shooters-ideological-views/.

Kriner, Upchurch, and Aaron, "Examining the Denver Shooter's Ideological Views." Kriner, Upchurch, and Aaron, "Examining the Denver Shooter's Ideological Views."

Three Men Indicted in Bank Robbery Conspiracy," United States Attorney's Office, Northern District of New York, 15 February 2023, https://www.justice.gov/usao-ndny/pr/three-men-indicted-bank-robbery-conspiracy.

5 Accelerationist Identity

s Gendron represented in his placement under Active Resistance, individuals are not always aware of their involvement or role in the accelerationism ecosystem. Individual and organisational adherence to militant accelerationism manifests in numerous ways. There are three prominent categories by which we can organise this identification: explicit in-group identification, implicit or obscured identification, and inspired identification.

The first category, explicit in-group identity, is defined by entities that self-describe or brand as accelerationist. The best examples of this category are the Skull Mask entities, such as AWD³⁵ and The Base. Such entities deeply and publicly engage with militant accelerationist doctrine and influential figures. In addition to those specific entities, there are also broader ideological outlooks that fit neatly into the explicit in-group identity category, such as Siege Culture. Another defined ideological outlook is militant Traditionalism, a form of esoteric fascism.

The second category is implicit, or obscured, identification. This category is identifiable by overt or covert infiltrations into other organisations, with the goal of co-opting or shifting their identity, actions or end-goals. Overt infiltration can involve the known insertion of a leader of one organisation into another organisation, often under the guise of "training" its members. This is the tactic adopted by the Active Club network,³⁶ which has provided Patriot Front³⁷ with Active Club leaders, with the goal of physically training and otherwise influencing Patriot Front members. The ultimate goal is to co-opt Patriot Front's members, beliefs and ideological leanings into the Active Club network's own goals.

In the case of covert infiltration, the presence of an infiltrator in another organisation is not known. The infiltrator(s) pretends to align with the target organisation's values, ideology and goals, seeking to covertly influence a shift in these characteristics over time. This is a known tactic of the Order of Nine Angles (O9A) – a movement and radicalisation pathway within militant accelerationism, shaped around occult practices that imbue their violent ethos with esoteric spiritual meaning – adherents covertly expose members of other organisations or institutions to their ideology, symbols and goals. This act of engagement is sometimes referred to as "insight roles" in the O9A community, and is often presented as a prerequisite for members to move further along their radicalisation pathway. O9As – and especially the prominent

^{35 &}quot;Dangerous Organizations and Bad Actors: Atomwaffen Division," Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey, Center on Terrorism, Extremism, and Counterterrorism, 12 April 2023, https://www.middlebury.edu/institute/academics/centers-initiatives/ctec/ctec-publications/dangerous-organizations-and-bad-actors-4.

^{36 &}quot;Dangerous Organizations and Bad Actors: The Active Club Network.

^{37 &}quot;Dangerous Organizations and Bad Actors: The Patriot Front," Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey, Center on Terrorism, Extremism, and Counterterrorism, 6 October 2022, https://www.middlebury.edu/institute/academics/centers-initiatives/ctec/ctec-publications/dangerousorganizations-and-bad-actors-patriot.

cell known as the Tempel ov Blood – undertook many infiltration efforts against skullmask groups, successfully imbuing their esoteric belief system into groups such as AWD, National Action and Feuerkrieg Division.³⁸

The third category – inspired identification with militant accelerationism – is defined by adherence to the so-called Saints Culture. As mentioned, Saints Culture effectively sanctifies previous perpetrators of (predominantly militant accelerationist) mass violence, such as Christchurch shooter Brenton Tarrant, Bratislava perpetrator Juraj Krajčík and Oslo perpetrator Anders Breivik, for their perceived heroism. Importantly, such perpetrators are mobilised to accelerationist violence through ideas that inspire them to anger, fear or shame. Commonly, adherence to concepts like the Great Replacement Theory or narratives of white genocide can provide the necessary conditioning for an accelerationist mobilisation to violence. Further, individuals sanctifying "Saints", and becoming inspired to commit attacks of their own, emulate or adopt their preferred Saint's adherence to or identification with militant accelerationism.

^{38 &}quot;Dangerous Organizations and Bad Actors: Order of Nine Angles," Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey, Center on Terrorism, Extremism, and Counterterrorism, 29 September 2023, https://www.middlebury.edu/institute/academics/centers-initiatives/ctec/news/dangerous-organizations-and-bad-actors-order-nine-angles.

6 Digital Ecosystems

ccelerationists are heavily reliant on digital forums for brand creation, recruitment and radicalisation efforts. Brand creation is vital to their success, since defined groups are vulnerable to disruption by both law enforcement and online moderation efforts. The cultivation of a strict structure only creates a system that can easily be broken with a few strategic moves made by lawful agents, as witnessed by crackdowns on overt accelerationist groups between 2015 and 2019. Instead, loose decentralised networks and brands are similarly effective as radicalisation pathways and vectors for terroristic violence, yet their amorphous nature allows for resilience to online and offline crackdowns.

Online accelerationist activity can be found on an abundance of platforms where it routinely presents the most avant-garde and challenging ecosystems for content moderation and policy enforcement. In our research of these digital ecosystems and communities, we have observed that specific digital ecosystems (such as image boards like 4chan and forums like Iron March)³⁹ played a crucial role in the early spread of militant accelerationism, in the development of both in-group identity and transnational networks. We also found that online accelerationist ecosystems of militant accelerationism are heavily skewed towards platforms and user experiences that inherently amplify aesthetic propaganda (for example, audio-visual platforms), as well as platforms that have permissive environments like Telegram, Gab, Odyssey and Bitchute.

Forums and Image Boards

Some of the earliest digital ecosystems to facilitate the consolidation of militant accelerationism were the "chans" (especially 4chan). The inherent irreverence of these image boards towards social norms and embrace of highly taboo or grotesque and hateful views proved fertile ground for seeding accelerationist notions. As well as acting as a content farm of memes and general content for militant accelerationist networks to draw from, these forums have more directly influenced perpetrators of accelerationist violence. such as Payton Gendron. In his so-called "diary" on a private Discord server, Gendron openly disclosed that 4chan was where he first came into contact with the Great Replacement conspiracy theory,⁴⁰ which fuelled his morbid interest and research into Tarrant's manifesto and Christchurch terror attack. This journey of discovery and radicalisation would ultimately end with Gendron conducting a terror attack of his own in Buffalo, NY, using Tarrant's ideological justifications, manifesto, and tactical and aesthetic choices for the Christchurch attack as a blueprint for his own attack. Lastly, 4chan's

³⁹ Upchurch, "The Iron March Forum and the Evolution of the 'Skull Mask' Neo-Fascist Network."

⁴⁰ Matthew Kriner et al., "Understanding Accelerationist Narratives: The Great Replacement Theory," Global Network on Extremism & Technology, 1 July 2022, https://gnet-research.org/2022/05/30/understanding-accelerationist-narratives-the-great-replacement-theory/.

/k/ and /pol/ boards were crucial for the embryonic development of the Boogaloo movement, which became a significant vector for accelerationist plots and attacks throughout 2020 and beyond.41

Gaming Platforms

We also identified accelerationist activity in video games ecosystems online, environments which increasingly provide community-oriented spaces in which adherents can interact.⁴² We have identified accelerationist networks on a number of platforms, including Discord, Steam and Xbox Live. Extremists have also dabbled in creating immersive game experiences on platforms such as Roblox and Minecraft, where gamers can reenact infamous mass shootings, impersonate fascist figures or even oversee Nazi concentration camps.⁴³ As Kowert notes, the intrinsic nature of gaming communities makes trust easy to attain through team-building guests and in-group building through virtual alliance creation.⁴⁴ These attributes make gaming platforms perfectly suited for the recruitment and radicalisation of susceptible individuals.45 Apocalyptic narratives of certain games, as well as the gamification of terror, have strongly influenced the tactics and aesthetics which militant accelerationist perpetrators employ in their attacks. Examples include the use of GoPro cameras for live-streaming, the donning of combat gear, and discourse around the "kill count leaderboard" of terrorist attackers.46 The adoption of gaming rhetoric and visuals in mass attacks creates an intentional link between the online exhilaration of games and the seemingly excitable act of killing in the name of mobilising ideologies that motivated perpetrators like Brenton Tarrant and Payton Gendron. To date we have found no evidence to suggest that video games make people susceptible to accelerationism, terrorism or political violence. Instead, our research findings point to a synergy between these social ecosystems that specific propagandists and perpetrators seek to exploit.

Social Media Platforms

Accelerationism has never been exclusively interested in smaller platforms or those with permissible enforcement environments. Mainstream media platforms like Facebook, Instagram, YouTube and Twitter are high-value targets for accelerationists aiming to develop ecosystems that can increase their reach and impact by identifying and curating sympathetic audiences. As neofascist skullmask groups have been designated as terrorist organisations, companies have become more capable of systematically mitigating the accelerationist presence on their platforms, limiting their ability to develop networks and spread

Matthew Kriner and Jon Lewis, "The Evolution of the Boogaloo Movement," Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, 18 February 2021, https://ctc.westpoint.edu/the-evolution-of-the-boogaloo-movement/; Robert Evans and Jason Wilson, "The Boogaloo Movement Is Not What You Think," Bellingcat, 12 July 2022, https://www.bellingcat.com/news/2020/05/27/the-boogaloo-movement-is-not-what-you-think/.

⁴² Ashton Kingdon, "Video-Gaming & Violent Extremism: An Exploration of the Current Landscape, Trends, and Threats," Terrorism and Social Media: International Conference, Swansea University, Swansea United Kingdom, 28–29 June 2022.

[&]quot;Extremists Exploit Gaming Networks and Social Media to Recruit and Radicalize." KVPR, 19 May 2022, www.kvpr.org/2022-05-19/extremists-exploit-gaming-networks-and-social-media-to-recruit-and-radicalize. Rachel Kowert, "Extremist Action in Digital Gaming Spaces: The Role of Identity Fusion," Global Network on

Extremism & Technology, 25 November 2022, https://gnet-research.org/2022/11/21/extremist-action-in-digitalgaming-spaces-the-role-of-identity-fusion/.

Kowert, "Extremist Action in Digital Gaming Spaces."

Galen Lamphere-Englund and Jessica White, "The Buffalo Attack and the Gamification of Violence," Royal United Services Institute, 16 May 2022, https://rusi.org/explore-our-research/publications/commentary/ buffalo-attack-and-gamification-violence.

propaganda in meaningful ways. This is especially true in the wake of the Christchurch terrorist attack, with the advent of the Christchurch Call and an industry-wide realisation that accelerationist activity presents an advanced threat.

Numerous accelerationist attackers have used online platforms to discuss or otherwise announce their intention to commit mass violence. This may take the form of posts calling for mass mobilisation to violence against an out-group, posts indicating a future attack, uploaded manifestos and live streams of their attacks. Below is a sample of attackers who have used these tactics and exploited a social media platform to express intent to commit an act of violence, live-stream their actions or promote their manifesto:

Perpetrator	Platform	Engagement Type
Payton Gendron	Discord	Legacy/manifesto spread
Robert Bowers	Gab	Intent to act
Juraj Krajčík	Twitter	Glorification
Brenton Tarrant	Facebook Live	Livestream
Stephan Balliet	YouTube	Legacy

Encrypted Messaging Platforms

Accelerationists also use encrypted communications platforms, including Wire, Signal and Telegram. Within the digital communities of these platforms, accelerationists have developed sophisticated social communities that exploit the relative safety that encrypted communications provide from external prying eyes (for example, law enforcement, intelligence agencies and activists seeking to disrupt). In the next section we will provide in-depth analysis of the most pernicious of these communities, the so-called Terrorgram community.

7 Terrorgram

errorgram is a militant accelerationist ecosystem within Telegram's far-right network, which has played an outsized role in the broader digital community-building project that is associated with militant accelerationism. As Kriner and Ihler note:

[t]he Terrorgram community on Telegram is a loosely connected network of Telegram channels and accounts that adhere to and promote militant accelerationism. Terrorgram channels are typically neofascist in ideological orientation, and regularly share instructions and manuals on how to carry out acts of racially-motivated violence and anti-government, anti-authority terrorism.47

Terrogram has undergone two distinct evolutions since its origin, effectively creating three "phases" of the digital ecosystem. 48 The first phase ranges from its origin (exact date unknown) to approximately 2015, the second from roughly 2015 to 2019 (2019 being its peak period), and the third and current phase from 2020 to present day. Terrorgram's first phase reflects a sort of "Wild West" for the platform, when nefarious actors and movements were just beginning to forge this online subculture. This epoch was dominated by influencers like Moon Man and groupuscules such as Bowl Patrol, the latter being instrumental in the genesis of Saints Culture. 49 Bowl Patrol was among the first to sanctify and "fandomise" a mass killer when they declared their namesake Dylann Roof a "Bowl Saint". The group venerated Roof by creating propaganda and memorabilia (such as packets of Telegram stickers) with his likeness, thereby oversaturating early Terrorgram with its creations.50 In these early days, accelerationist actors grew their follower bases by launching campaigns to push users off other platforms and onto Telegram, where content moderation is minimal. Once on Telegram, those recruited were exposed to a deluge of Saints Culture and veneration of militant accelerationist lone-actor terrorists. This era also featured other in-group identity-building mechanisms and dynamics that are too granular to include in this report.

The second phase of Terrogram is characterised by the takeover of Iron March-era skullmask groups (such as National Action, AWD, Sonnenkrieg Division and Feuerkrieg Division) by O9A and ToB adherents, as well as the emergence of propagandist Dark Foreigner.51 Around 2015, Terrorgram developed beyond a loose assemblage of individuals and instead formed distinct neofascist accelerationist groups, as the forum was intended to do. Despite gaining strength

Matthew Kriner and Bjørn Ihler, "Analysing Terrorgram Publications: A New Digital Zine," Global Network on Extremism & Technology, 12 September 2022. https://gnet-research.org/2022/09/12/analysing-terrorgram-publications-a-new-digital-zine/.

Kriner and Ihler, "Analysing Terrorgram Publications."
Chris Schiano, "'Bowl Patrol': Dylann Roof Fans Hope to Inspire More Mass Shootings," Unicorn Riot, 8 January 2019, https://unicornriot.ninja/2019/bowl-patrol-dylann-roof-fans-hope-to-inspire-moremass-shootings/.

Schiano, "'Bowl Patrol".

[&]quot;Dangerous Organizations and Bad Actors: Order of Nine Angles."

in membership and group identity, these skullmask organisations were subsequently infiltrated by O9A adherents through direct alliances as well as obscured insight roles conducted by O9A affiliates.

One of the greatest wins for O9A's influence campaign was its effective takeover of AWD, when Joshua Caleb Sutter and other ToB members were invited to join the extremist group in 2017. From there, ToB's publishing house Martinet Press gained significant purchase with which to disseminate its hyper-violent content across the burgeoning Telegram accelerationist ecosystem. In part, this was due to Sutter's close relationship with James Cameron Denton, an AWD member from its inception and the eventual *Siege*-inspired leader of the organisation, 52 and the institution of Martinet Press books as required readings for recruits.

During this timeframe, from Denton's takeover in 2017 until 2020, AWD propaganda and literature was heavily influenced by O9A aesthetics. An essential part of this was the emergence of another Iron March denizen, Dark Foreigner. Dark Foreigner was a prolific graphic designer who successfully blended AWD and ToB aesthetic styles, introducing a new visual aesthetic to Siege Culture. With the infusion of Dark Foreigner's aesthetic, O9A and ToB iconography and branding became ubiquitous across Terrorgram and the militant accelerationism movement. Individuals were introduced to this aesthetics-based content, and were then provided with Martinet Press files and the large number of texts associated with O9A.

The third, and current, phase of Terrorgram is defined by the relative power vacuum left by the aggressive slate of arrests in Terrorgram's prime. Arrests carried out during the fall of 2019 in the US contributed to an exodus of O9A's core leadership and ideological influencers from Terrorgram's ecosystem. Thus, Terrorgram in this phase is largely defined by the residual influence of previous key actors and networks, and is populated by newer factions looking to carry on doing the only things they've ever known – generating mass shooters and homesteading, with the goal of creating militant communities of soldiers and propagandists. The third phase of Terrorgram has been dominated by the so-called Terrorgram Collective, 53 which displays indicators that would suggest a familiarity with O9A. It is from the Terrorgram Collective's activities that the first Terrorgram Saint, Juraj Krajčík, emerged.

⁵² Alex Newhouse, "The Threat Is the Network: The Multi-Node Structure of Neo-Fascist Accelerationism," CTC Sentinel 4, no. 5 (June 2021), https://ctc.westpoint.edu/the-threat-is-the-network-the-multi-node-structure-of-neo-fascist-accelerationism/.

⁵³ The Terrorgram Collective has produced propaganda content including digital zines Make It Count, Hard Reset and Militant Accelerationism, and video productions including White Terror.

8 Policy Recommendations

ased on the issues raised in this report, the following are policy recommendations for technology companies aiming to disrupt accelerationist activity on their platforms:

- Develop internal policies around enforcement to accommodate the multilingual and multicultural nature of transnational militant accelerationism.
- Consider conducting network-based disruptions of militant accelerationist communities on their platforms by terminating influential accounts on their platforms. ARC and CTEC researchers have found that eliminating key nodes within accelerationist online ecosystems is effective in mitigating accelerationist influence and centrality on online platforms.
- Seek out subject matter experts on militant accelerationism to train content moderators and trust and safety teams to identify and understand acclerationism's in-group terminology, ideological motivators, and touchpoints with other violent extremism, in order to formulate policy and strengthen action to address where accelerationist content is falling through the cracks.
- Consider expanding their current level of engagement with the Global Internet Forum to Counter Terrorism's (GIFCT) hash-sharing database to include activity related to the proactive inclusion of militant accelerationist content and to better identify cross-platform transnational militant accelerationist content.

9 Conclusion

ilitant accelerationism is a well-developed subculture with its own cultural aesthetic, communal infrastructure, eschatological doctrines, and philosophical canon built upon the foundation of a set of tactics and strategies designed to put pressure on and exacerbate latent social divisions in order to hasten societal collapse. While diverse in ideological factions that dictate the specific terms of engagement with these cultural touchstones, it is a transnational movement with a common goal of exacerbating social tensions to hasten the decline of a global society it condemns as irremediably broken and degenerate. Simply put, the downfall of modern society is the goal, not change within existing political establishments.

The multi-pronged nature of its tactical repertoire and the diversity of its ideological strains reflect an acute threat of radicalisation and violence. Outreach and recruitment efforts are carried out through slick media production constructed around a particular aesthetic, along with violent, prejudicial ideals that find particularly fertile soil among disaffected men of claimed European cultural heritage, within which the seeds of such thought are deeply rooted. Antisemitism, misogyny and racism comprise the axiomatic bedrock upon which their worldview is built, and through which violence in their name bestows spiritual sanctification and transcendental glory. Whether recruiting through a fight gym or an online gaming platform, there exists a multiplicity of roles within the movement, ranging from active violence to a passive ideological influence on the broader far right. The various ideological strains also ensure the widest possible appeal, through either the occult or an outdoorsy, militia culture. Nevertheless, they all represent different fingers of the same hand, working towards the same goal within the selfsame movement.

As such, the threat of militant accelerationism is a threat that is growing into a reactionary countermovement to the drive towards greater inclusivity, egalitarianism, and universally applied civil rights that characterise modernity and its politics. Having become accustomed to privilege, White Christian men perceive modern political movements - which seek to equally empower women and minorities - as an inherent threat to their socioeconomic status. The intoxicating promise made by militant accelerationism of a return to supremacv and a consecrated role as a protagonist in a metaphysical war for eternity represents an offer that cannot be refused for impressionable, bigoted, and disaffected individuals looking to become subsumed and immortalised within the grand, world-historical narratives of a chauvinistic mass movement. Given the central role of social media and technology in contemporary life, including the community-building of militant accelerationism, vigilance around the digital presence and content of these extremist milieus is of paramount importance, not only to trust and safety, but to national security as well.





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