

Forensic Linguistic Assessment

Manifestos of Right-Wing Extremists



This infographic presents a tabular comparison of **thematic similarities and differences** across five right-wing manifestos composed by violent extremists. The manifestos reveal that their attacks were **primarily politically motivated and ethnically based**. All findings are derived from the content of the manifestos.

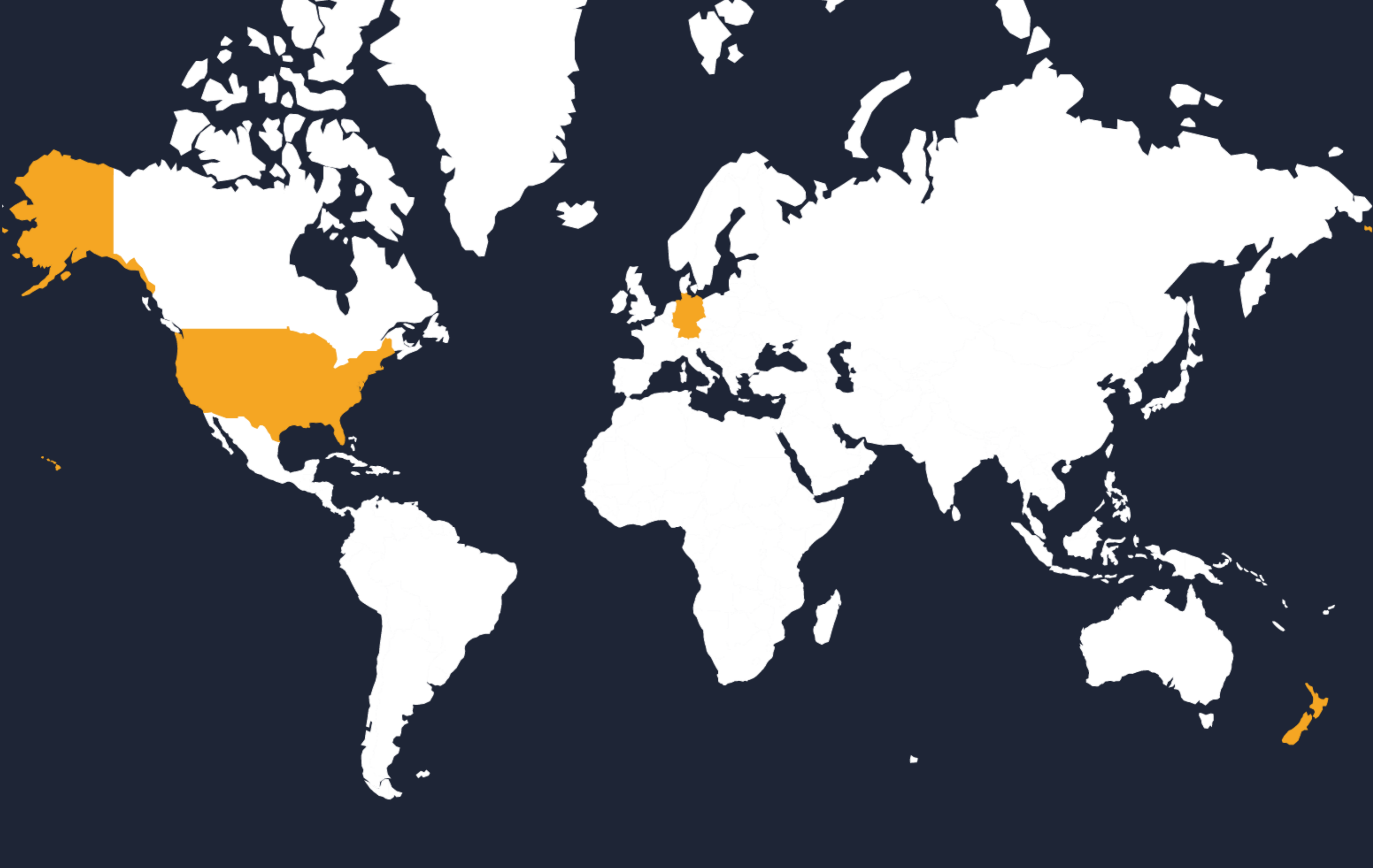


The word **manifesto** can be defined as a **written document** that discloses the **ideologies, motivations and intentions** for committing a certain attack. The author often establishes a connection between **previously published opinions** while promoting **new ideas** for changes.



The manifestos were published in **different online forums** shortly **before** the perpetrators committed their **mass shootings** to:

- Spread beliefs, ideologies and motivations
- Maximize exposure to violent extremist community
- Provide others with tactical advice to commit similar attacks.



Dylann Roof (U.S.-American, 21), **5-page manifesto**

9 killed, 1 injured in an attack on a Baptist church
17 June 2015, Charleston, SC, United States



Brenton Tarrant (Australian, 28), **87-page manifesto**

51 killed, 49 injured in attacks on two mosques
15 March 2019, Christchurch, New Zealand



John Earnest (U.S.-American, 19), **8-page manifesto**

1 killed, 3 injured in an attack on a synagogue
27 April 2019, Poway, CA, United States



Patrick Crusius (U.S.-American, 21), **4-page manifesto**

22 killed, 24 injured in an attack at a supermarket
3 August 2019, El Paso, TX, United States

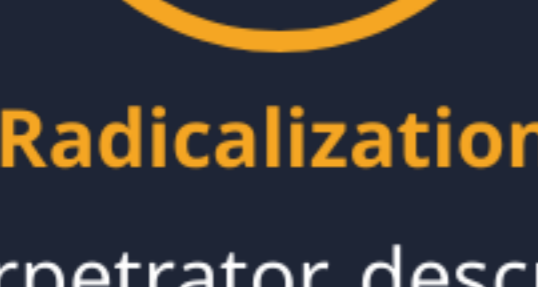


Stephan Balliet (German, 27), **11-page manifesto**

2 killed, 2 injured in attacks outside a synagogue
and inside a kebab shop
9 October 2019, Halle, Germany

Though these five manifestos differ in length, all perpetrators compiled their writings in an **articulate, coherent, structured and well-researched style**.

Common Themes



Radicalization

The perpetrator describes his (online) research process, which often includes previously published right-wing extremists' manifestos. He discusses his self-proclaimed motivations and triggers for the attack, which he becomes obsessed with and sees as the only possible solution (tunnel vision).



Mobilization

The perpetrator describes his realization to take personal action now to implement his proposed changes. He describes the planning, preparation and implementation of the attack, including target, location, training, and surveillance.



Persuasion

The perpetrator writes his manifesto days to months in advance to encourage like-minded and opposing groups to commit similar attacks. He describes tactical advice, such as describing on why/how to use certain weapons, and what types of targets to choose.



Repercussion

The perpetrator describes his predictions for the attack and its aftermath / outcome, including his potential survival and incarceration or death by police (note: not suicide), as well as his expected reactions from the media and public.

Radicalization

| | Dylann Roof | Brenton Tarrant | John Earnest | Patrick Crusius | Stephan Balliet |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| • Hatred towards minority | • Black Community | • Muslim Community | • Jewish Community | • Hispanic Community | • Jewish Community |
| • Triggers and grievances | • Sociological, historical, personal | • Political, environmental, personal | • Political, economic, religious | • Political, economic, personal | • N/A |
| • Influence and inspiration | • Council of Conservative Citizens | • Dylann Roof, Anders Behring Breivik | • Brenton Tarrant, Robert Bowers | • Brenton Tarrant | • N/A |
| • Manifestation of belief system | • Several years | • Several years | • 6 months or less | • Several years | • N/A |
| • Planning timeline | • N/A | • 2 years | • 1 month | • 1 month | • N/A |
| • Preservation of white race | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| • (Inter-) national conspiracies | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| • Tunnel vision | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

Mobilization

| | Dylann Roof | Brenton Tarrant | John Earnest | Patrick Crusius | Stephan Balliet |
|---|-------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| • Realization to take personal action now | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| • Planning and preparation of attack | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| • Change of target | | ✓ | | ✓ | ✓ |
| • Operational intelligence gaps | | | | | ✓ |

Persuasion

| | Dylann Roof | Brenton Tarrant | John Earnest | Patrick Crusius | Stephan Balliet |
|---------------------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| • Encouragement of others | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| • Tactical advice to base | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

Repercussion

| | Dylann Roof | Brenton Tarrant | John Earnest | Patrick Crusius | Stephan Balliet |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| • Expected reaction from media/public | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | |
| • Future (death/capture) | | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

Researched, written and designed by: Julia Kupper
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