# Anders Breivik's War



"Surely you can't judge an entire religion by the actions of a few extremist fanatics."

Cartoon by Bart Roozendaal.

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**Abstract**

Situated within the theoretical framework of examining the implications for meaning-making and legitimation that powerful identity signifiers, such as a religion and nationalism, can offer in times of globalization-related ontological uncertainty, and exploring their contested relationship with violence in its "cultural" and "symbolic" expressions according to J. Galtung's and M. Juergensmeyer's conceptualizations—with regard to Islamophobic discourse in particular—, this thesis examines whether Juergensmeyer's "cosmic war" concept can be applied to Anders Breivik's perpetrated and endorsed acts of terrorism. Qualitative textual analysis of Breivik's manifesto is employed to discuss the conceptualizations of the religiously defined Enemy, In-group and Problem that Breivik discursively engages in the legitimation of his "war", in order to determine whether his position regarding religion and violence can be explained in accordance with Juergensmeyer's cosmic war theory. The analysis calls attention to major deviations from a narrative adhering not only to Juergensmeyer's "performance violence" and "cosmic war" conceptualizations, but, ultimately, one fitting his characterization of Breivik's terrorism as "religious".

# Introduction

When Norwegian right-wing extremist Anders Breivik killed seventy-seven people and injured over three hundred in a bombing attack and a mass-shooting he committed on the same day, he perpetrated the deadliest attack on Norwegian ground since WWII, thus turning July 22nd, 2011, into his native country's darkest anniversary in recent memory. Even after the air cleared and initial media reports implying a connection between the mayhem and Islamic terrorists subsided, ideological confusion over Breivik's exact brand of terrorism prevailed, in part due to his convoluted 1518-page manifesto, and in part due to the fact that both his critics and his supporters had a hard time reconciling his Islamophobic rhetoric with the fact that he didn't attack religiously othered immigrant targets, but white, "native" Norwegians instead[1].

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[1] Breivik targeted the executive government quarter in Oslo and members of the Worker's Youth League (AUF) on Utøya island.

Despite—and perhaps because of—this "inconvenience", Breivik's attacks have self-admittedly caught the attention both of other far-right domestic terrorists—most notably Australian Christchurch shooter Brenton Tarrant's[2]—and professionals from a wide range of fields, including religious studies scholars such as Mark Juergensmeyer, who considers Breivik a *Christian* terrorist. Consequently, Breivik's rhetoric—and whatever that may be *perceived* to endorse—makes for an influential reference point, whose interpretation itself may have an impact on foreign and domestic policy development or revision.

In this thesis, I will be examining Breivik's rhetorical and linguistic representations of the Enemy, the In-group and the Problem[3], by analyzing his manifesto, in order to determine whether the way he conceptualizes and legitimizes his War[4] can be explained by Juergensmeyer's "cosmic war" theory. To this purpose, I will be using qualitative textual analysis with an eye to discussing Breivik's position regarding religion and violence, particularly when it comes to whether his dialectical engagement with Religion and religious references—e.g. "religious" identifications and re-imaginings—indeed attests to Juergensmeyer's "performance violence" and "cosmic war" concepts, that are instrumental in the scholar's categorization of Breivik as a "Christian terrorist" fighting a cosmic war-type "battle for Christendom"[5].

The research question is, therefore, "Can Juergensmeyer's 'cosmic war' concept be used to contextualize Breivik's terrorism, according to Breivik's own manifesto?". Furthermore, Breivik's (or "Berwick's", since he has signed the manifesto using the anglicized version of his name, "Andrew Berwick") objectives are categorized following Keeney and Von Winterfeldt's (2010) method—namely as strategic, fundamental or means objectives—, helping the reader gain an initial understanding of Breivik's tendency to reconstruct and instrumentalize concepts.

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[2] Tarrant committed two consecutive mass shootings in two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, killing 51 people and injuring 40, on March 15th, 2019. In his manifesto he states that he "only really took true inspiration from Knight Justiciar Breivik" (Tarrant, 2019, p.18).
[3] These capitalizations allude to Breivik's particular discursive constructs for the enemy, in-group and problem. Accordingly, "Threat" refers to Breivik's specific conceptualization of what threatens society as a whole.
[4] Same as above.
[5] Juergensmeyer, 2022, pp.85-86.

# Theoretical Framework

**Glocalization & The Emergence of Translocal Identities**

*"A homogenous society is rather like such a beach. Like nudity, it is a great leveller."*

- *Gellner, 1981, p. 762.*

While commenting on the dangers of internationalizing the curriculum of sociology, Robertson (1995) addressed the issue of conceptualizing globalization as a consequent-to-modernity process (Giddens, 1999), which ultimately overrides localities. According to the sociologist (Robertson, 1995), the tendency to overemphasize homogeneity while ignoring the interconnectedness of the global–local / universal–particular spaces, is an oversimplification; Robertson (ibid.) instead suggested that the global vs local problematic shouldn't be understood in terms of polarities, and proposed the term "glocalization" (Robertson, 1995, p.28), meaning the adaptation of the global to the local in a manner that actually allows for the production of difference. Therefore, religions wouldn't be de-ethnicized, as glocalization would be the actual result of globalization, instead of homogenization (ibid.).

Castells, who introduced the "network society" concept as the current, facilitated-by-the-Internet global social structure whose core affects but doesn't necessarily include everyone (Castells, 2022, p.2)., argues that religious positions that resist the globality of dominant networks also use networks in order to produce meaning as sources of identity resistance (ibid.). Before further discussing the debate concerning the relationship between religious fundamentalism and globalization / the emergence of translocal identities, it is important to bring attention to the general notion of identity, and the construction of "religion" and "nationalism" as identity signifiers that are particularly suited to offer comfort at times of globalization-related ontological insecurity (Kinnvall, 2004).

**Religion & Nationalism as Identity Signifiers**

In his study of personal and national identity, Bloom (1990) argues that individuals tend to internalize the attitudes of important figures in their social environment in order to feel secure, and that this need for identity seeking is further accompanied by the need to protect one's identifications. Building upon Erikson's work (1950), in which identity is perceived as an anxiety-controlling tool used when disruptive change leads to a loss of control (Kinnvall, 2004), Giddens also touches upon the psychological need for security; Specifically, he conceptualizes ontological security as a "person's fundamental sense of safety in the world", which "includes a basic trust of other people" and states that "obtaining such trust becomes necessary in order for a person to maintain a sense of psychological well-being and avoid existential anxiety" (Giddens, 1991, pp.38-39). Interestingly enough, identities may involve the individual's relations to a multitude of aspects (religion, gender, nation, language, etc.) and are neither fixed nor mutually exclusive (Toguslu et al., 2019), meaning that the psychological need for a stable identity, *doesn't actually imply its existence*; On the contrary, identity is to be understood as a "process of becoming" (Kinnvall, 2004, p. 748).

Since globalization leads to ontological insecurity and disrupts the individual's self-identity, people naturally tend to rally around powerful "identity signifiers", such as nationalism and religion (Kinnvall, 2004, p.742), since both state and religion are "imaginations of an ordering power" (Friedland, 2001, p.127). Indeed, religion specifically, is considered to be a source of identity (Hoppenbrouwers, 2002; Krunovich, 2006; Mitchell, 2006) which can be used to delineate the border between the in-group and the Other (Hoppenbrouwers, 2002; Rieffer, 2003; Krunovich, 2006; Mitchell, 2006). Nevertheless, followers can increasingly choose between options that incorporate cultural elements from afar, thus transforming their immediate religious localities (Van Dijk, 1997). Moreover, framing or defining the transnational religious identity is difficult due to the deeply personal nature of many elements of religious life (Levitt, 2001).

**"Religion"**

*"Ἀπόδοτε οὖν τὰ Καίσαρος Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ Θεῷ".*

*[Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's]*

- *Matthew 22:21*

Etymologically speaking, religion traces back to the Roman habit of meticulously observing traditional rituals involving the divine (Jensen, 2019). Nevertheless, when it comes to an actual definition of the word, the field of religious studies is rife with definitional obscurity and objections. On the one hand, the act of defining religion can be—and to a certain extent is—, both indicative of the power relations (race, gender, etc.) at play, as well as de facto reinforcing those same narratives (Henking, 2021). On the other hand, the urge to categorize and understand the boundaries around which we build relationships, may be yet another tool for humans to use, regardless of whether that inclination is cultural or biological (ibid.). Building upon the work of feminist theologian Mary Daly (1973), who emphasized the prevalence of the meaning-making process by using verbs as a tool to understand concepts (e.g. God as a verb = Be-ing), and Bell's (2009) preference for a dynamic understanding of ritualization rather than the *static* conceptualization of rituals, Henking (2021) therefore argues in favor of "religioning" (Henking, 2021, p.73), by which both the religion-creating processes and the "religions" themselves can be described, enabling the *critical* reiterations of the various definitions of religion.

The tendency to problematize the very existence of an all-purpose definition of "religion" is further expressed by Von Stuckrad (2021), who argues that normativity issues actually stem from a Euro/North American vision of the Christian religion, which then serves as the be-all end-all prototype for a transnational, supposedly inclusive and representative concept of "religion". This vision traces back to Europe's colonial past and subsequent normalization of Christianity both internally, through "pathologizing" polytheistic alternatives, and externally, through othering major religious competitors of Christianity (Von Stuckrad, 2021, p.114). In fact, since "religion", as a concept, is so definitively situated within European cultural discourse and legitimized by—inherently problematic—colonial practices, Von Stuckrad argues that it is best to either abandon

all universalization ambitions when using the word "religion" or find other, contextually appropriate terms to discuss "religious" phenomena (ibid.). Similarly, Koch (2021) stresses that "religion" is a context-based term dependent on historical circumstances, and Magid (2021) comments on the mystical, hard-to-define aspect of the concept.

In practical terms, religion is often associated with metaphysical or divine elements[6] and discussed with the help of well-known—albeit usually misused—quotes[7], by implicitly rather than explicitly referring to what it supposedly is. For the purposes of this thesis, religion is discussed with regard to how Breivik engages with the term, namely by indicating particular systems of belief, such as Islam or Christianity, and reconstructing them in order to fit his nationalist agenda (e.g. his conceptualization of "religious" vs "cultural" Christianity). Specifically, Breivik uses the word religion to:

a) Indicate a specific system of belief, as an in-/out-group signifier (e.g. Christianity as a European religion, Islam as a Threat)
b) Re-imagine the aforementioned system of belief, which is consequently secularized (e.g. "cultural" Christianity)
c) Make a coded reference to race

, whereas I use the terms "religion" and "religious" precisely when referring to Breivik's discursive particularities or discussing them in **relation/contrast** to the **metaphysical/secular**.

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[6] E.g. Note Encylopædia Britannica 's definition: "Human beings' relation to that which they regard as holy, sacred, absolute, spiritual, divine, or worthy of especial reverence." (The Editors Encyclopædia Britannica, 2022, 'religion').
[7] "Religion is […] the opium of the people." (Marx, 1975, p.175), for instance.

**"Nation"**

*"Natio" – "a term of contempt applied to communities of foreigners, not Roman citizens, in Rome".*

- *Greenfeld, 2019, p. 15*

*"Thus I am driven to the conclusion that no 'scientific definition' of the nation can be devised;*

*yet the phenomenon has existed and exists."*

- *Seton-Watson, 1977, p. 5*

As far as nationalism is concerned, theorists are divided between "perennialists", if they argue in favor of the nation as a continuation of ancient and medieval formations due to the durability of their narratives and symbols, or "modernists", if they argue in favor of the nation as a deliberately constructed entity[8] [9] (Csepeli & Örkény, 2021, p.28). Moreover, since the term "nation" has been used to describe a variety of distinct constructs, numerous typologies have been developed in order to address the different forms of nationalism (Mock, 2012). For example, whereas ethnic nationalism is based on a perceived sense of common ancestry, religious nationalism—which is otherwise similarly exclusive and dependent upon emotionality—, actually transcends the limitations of common ancestry, in an effort to unite believers across borders (e.g. the case of Islamism) (Gregg, 2018). According to Gellner (1981), nationalism is really a manifestation of the "objective need for homogeneity" (Gellner, 1981, p.767).

In regard to the connection with religion, notable modernists argue the following: Anderson (2006), who famously conceptualized the nation as an "imagined political community" whose members "will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion." (Anderson, 2006, p.6), argues that Enlightenment or "rationalist secularism" (ibid., p. 11) provided the historical context in which

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[8] The two groups are also referred to as "essentialists" and "constructivists" (Thorkildsen, 2014, p.263), or "primordialists" and "constructivists" (Gregg, 2018, p.20), accordingly.
[9] For an overview of notable definitions of "nation" and their classification, *see* Table 1. in the Appendix.

nationalism emerged as another belief which utilized the fatality and cosmic continuity of religion exactly as the latter was going out of fashion. For Hobsbawm (2012), the fact that "religion is an ancient and well-tried method of establishing communion through common practice and a sort of brotherhood between people who otherwise have nothing much in common" (Hobsbawm, 2012, p.68) accounts both for its powerful identification with nationalism, and the threat that it potentially poses to it, since, in terms of loyalty, religion can antagonize the supposed monopoly of nationalism. Greenfeld (2019) conceptualizes national conscience as inherently competitive and argues that the Reformation greatly reinforced its emergence, due to the principles of popular sovereignty and equality it promoted. According to her, nationalism is a "secular national consciousness focused on this world and the distribution of dignity within it" (Greenfeld, 2019, p.115), and, with the exception of Japan, it developed and spread exclusively within monotheistic civilization.

For reasons that will become obvious, Breivik rather subscribes to the perennialist point of view regarding the conceptualization of "nation" and, despite consciously avoiding race-related vocabulary, dialectically engages with religion/culture in a manner that suggests he endorses ethnic nationalism. For the purposes of this thesis, the inclusionary and exclusionary rhetoric he employs in order to appeal to—and as such construct— Anderson's (2006) imagined community, will be of interest.

**Religion & Violence**

In general, the relationship between religion and nationalism is quite complicated and, therefore, contested, as historic events such as the ethnic conflicts in former Yugoslavia go to show (Mazower, 2000). On the one hand, this relationship is understood to be reciprocal (Mitchell, 2006), traditionally leading to the conceptualization of religion as a fundamental to the formation of national identity factor, and vice versa (Voicu, 2012). Indeed, "religions can be quasi-nationalized and nations can be furnished with religious sign" (Baycroft & Hewitson, 2006, p.21), however, the strong emotionality that the concept of the nation is able to evoke, cannot be definitively attributed to the legacy of religion (ibid.). On the other hand, it is also argued that the

Bible, through its interpretation, has provided the original model of the nation, without which, the outlook on nationalism in the Christian world would have been entirely different (Hastings, 1997). At the same time, religion—especially in its more political expressions—, has also been negatively associated with oppressive fundamentalism and juxtaposed to the supposedly secular nationalism (Veer and Lehmann, 1999), even though such antithetical positioning is arguably an ideological construct related to the Western discourse of modernity (Veer, 1994).

In fact, Juergenmeyer (2019), who also subscribes to the idea that questions over identity emerge especially within the context of globalization due to the feelings of powerlessness that the latter causes, sees "tragic attempts to regain social control through acts of violence" in 21st century religious and ethnic terrorism (Juergensmeyer, 2019, p.7). Juergensmeyer (2019) is not the only scholar to identify ethno-religious nationalism as both a rejection of modernity and a response to globalization (see Toft et al. 2011; Shah et al. 2012; Hurd, 2017; Greenfeld, 2017; Judis, 2018), and, more importantly, he also belongs to a group of academics who support the notion that religion causes violence because it is absolutist (monopoly on truth is bound to lead to justified violence against inferior religions), divisive (emphasis on an us vs them mentality) or irrational (religious fanaticism is prone to violence), but nevertheless fail to adequately explain how religious and secular violence differ, according to Cavanaugh (2009). In fact, Omar (2015) argues that the overemphasis placed on discussing acts of religious violence committed by non-state actors at the expense of properly analyzing *state-sponsored* religious violence and terrorism, strengthens the already-existing biased assumption that religious violence is mostly preferred by non-state actors. Furthermore, neatly aligning religion with violence while juxtaposing it to tolerance, fails to account both for the *non-religiously* motivated genocides of the past century, and the *religious* agents of pacifism who succeeded in having a global impact as such, namely historical figures like Mahātmā Gandhi or the Baptist minister Martin Luther King (Gorski & Turkmen-Dervisoglu, 2013).

Besides, practically speaking, approaches to violence differ even within the same religion; In Christianity for example, followers of the faith may adopt a pacifist stance towards war or perhaps acknowledge certain wars as just (Dombrowski, 1991; Bainton, 1961). Bainton (1961) in fact argues that the three main Christian attitudes towards warfare, namely pacifism, just war

theory, and the sanctioning of crusades, which historically appeared in this order, can all be grounded to the New Testament. Generally speaking, the four main religious approaches to waging war have been identified as: fighting in the name of the State/nation—when one's religion specifically allows for this—, fighting in the name of religion—such would be the case of holy wars—, accepting some version of the just war theory, or adopting some pacifist view (Kellenberger, 2018, pp.12-13).

Nevertheless, Islam in particular has been targeted as an especially problematic religion with a "propensity to violence", due to the (presumed) role that warfare played in the early stages of its formation, as well as the (key) concept of jihad (Huntington, 1996, p.258). However, Demichelis (2021), argues that the supposed connection between violence and Islam / the Prophet's life is scientifically unfounded, because it lacks contextualization; Specifically, this applies both to "violent" Qur'anic verses and the factual distance between narrative and praxis, as shown by the peaceful conquering of Mecca, according to the researcher. Still, Harris (2015) argues that especially within the context of Islam, fundamentalism—meaning, in this case, the most literal reading of holy texts possible—, is bound to lead to horrible atrocities, atrocities that are, in fact, following the authentic spirit of Islam more than watered down, moderate interpretations are. Interestingly enough, Harris (2015)—who has a significant media presence advocating his views on Islam—, goes on to bemoan being "branded a bigot" should one criticize Islam, and expresses his personal concerns over the fact that Muslims consider Islamophobia more troublesome than Islamic fundamentalism (Harris, 2015, p.71). Before further delving into the discourse surrounding "Islamophobia", I will first discuss the theoretical origins of religious nationalism, the distinction between structural and cultural violence, and the overall framework of culturalist approaches to violence, with a particular emphasis on Juergensmeyer's theory.


**Religious Nationalism**

As aforementioned, the relationship between religion and nationalism is quite complicated. In broad terms, theories are grouped together according to three categories: According to the first category—which includes Durkheim's view on the matter—, nationalism is essentially a form of

religion (Eastwood & Prevalakis, 2010, p.97). According to the second category—which includes Juergensmeyer's view on the matter—, religious nationalism is treated as a subtype of nationalism (Eastwood & Prevalakis, 2010, p.98). Finally, the third category includes "modernization" and "vacuum" theories, according to which the process of modernization has lead to a decline of religiosity and the subsequent *replacement* of religion by nationalism (ibid.). Moreover, the emergence of religious nationalism—which is defined by Gorski and Dervisoglu as "a social movement that claims to speak in the name of the nation and that defines the nation in terms of religion" (2013, p.194)—, has been conceptualized as a reaction to various phenomena and institutions [e.g. colonialism according to Dallal (2018) or the failure of secularism according to Juergensmeyer (1993)].

According to Armstrong (1997), the political legitimization of national identity has typically made it either a strong competitor or an ally of religion, but it is misguided to assume that nationalism and religion appeal predominantly to fringe members of the population who feel suppressed by the dominant national, religious, or ethnoreligious order. In fact, large-scale use of violence (e.g. genocides) has historically been linked to identity movements who were able to become the dominant forces of geopolitically powerful states, not to mention that, in any case, intra-Christian or intra-Muslim conflicts go on to demonstrate that nationalism alone can account for outbreaks of violence (ibid.). Friedland (2001) on the other hand, argues that religious nationalism, which, historically speaking, developed in independent-by-the-State institutions, implies a "symbolic disordering" (Friedland, 2001, p.144) of the status quo, and simply put, does not originate from the dominant societal forces at all. Moreover, not all religions are to be treated equally, since religions such as Islam, Judaism and Hinduism—but *not* Christianity—have fully developed political visions concerning the regulation of social life (e.g. the Muslim Ummah is a "politically organized community of believers" according to him) (Friedland, 2001, p.128). Such analysis however, does not take into consideration the internal diversity of the Ummah, which can not be reduced to a uniform, homogenous, global community (Pratt, 2019).

**Structural Violence**

*"When the structure is threatened, those who benefit from structural violence, above all those who are at the top, will try to preserve the status quo so well geared to protect their interests."*

*– Galtung, 1969, p. 179*

Norwegian sociologist Johan Galtung (1969) famously introduced the concept of structural violence in the landmark essay "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research". Galtung (ibid.), who insists on the importance of identifying violence by emphasizing the element of a missed potential and expanding his definition in order to include mental—rather than strictly corporal—areas of potential affectability, describes violence as "present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations" (Galtung, 1969, p.168). According to this definition therefore, whether something could have been *avoided* plays a key role in deciding if violence has actually taken place.

Moreover, when discussing the various types of violence, Galtung (1969) makes a distinction between "personal or direct" and "structural or indirect" violence (Galtung, 1969, p.170). Whereas both types can produce the same results, in the case of structural violence there is no identifiable actor directly committing violence (ibid.). On the contrary, such violence escapes a subject-verb-object manifestation, because it is embedded in structures and expresses itself as exploitation due to an unequal, unjust distribution of power (ibid.). In fact, Galtung (1969) argues that those most interested in preserving the (beneficial to them) status quo, may defend it by using institutions and actors to do the dirty work, while they, themselves, remain safely unnoticed.

**Cultural Violence**

*"I obeyed my orders without thinking, I just did as I was told. That's where I found my -how shall I say?- my fulfillment. It made no difference what the orders were."*

- *Adolf Eichmann, SS-Obersturmbannführer*[10]

Twenty years after introducing the concept of structural violence, Galtung (1990) revisited the term and built upon it, by presenting the notion of cultural violence. The latter is defined as any aspect of culture which can be used in order to legitimize structural violence, such as "stars, crosses and crescents; flags, anthems and military parades" (Galtung, 1990, p. 291). Tellingly, the two first examples to come to Galtung's mind touch on religion and nationalism, making his analysis particularly pertinent to the purposes of this thesis.

When comparing direct violence to his two brainchildren, Galtung (1990) specifies that "direct violence is an *event*; structural violence is a *process* with ups and downs; cultural violence is an *invariant*, a permanence" (Galtung, 1990, p.294). In other words, **cultural violence** continuously provides the material from which **structural violence** draws upon, in order to wax and wane in patterns of exploitation that occasionally erupt in observable, **direct violence**. In the case of religious identity, structural violence could therefore involve suffering humiliation-related experiences, such as stigmatization and marginalization (Springs, 2015).

**Culturalist Approaches to Violence—Juergensmeyer's Cosmic War**

Having thus discussed cultural violence as a specific term introduced by Galtung, I will now examine the discourse surrounding culturalist approaches to violence, in order to eventually present how the phenomenon known as "Islamophobia" is theorized, and how Christianity in particular is situated within that framework.

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[10] From The Oxford Handbook of Process Philosophy and Organization Studies, 2014, p.389.

Culturalist approaches to violence imply, as the name suggests, that there is a culturally constructed reasoning behind violence, making the latter "meaningful" and explainable; accordingly, importance is placed on symbols, narratives and rituals (Gorski & Dervisoglu, 2013; Brubaker & Laitin, 1998). Specifically, culturalist analyses focus on how representations and discourse are constructed in order to permit, encourage or call for violence, since the social construction of fear for example, allows for the dehumanization of a chosen *other* (Brubaker & Laitin, 1998). In regard to religious nationalism, early research mostly followed the tenets of the culturalist approach, which usually identified apocalyptic narratives as the cause of religious violence (Gorski & Dervisoglu, 2013). Most notable among them, is the work of American sociologist Mark Juergensmeyer on the conceptualization of an ongoing cosmic war.

In *Terror in the Mind of God* (2017), Juergensmeyer discusses two notions that are both instrumental for his analysis of Anders Breivik's[11] double terrorist attack on July 22, 2011; the concept of "performance violence" (Juergensmeyer, 2017, p.155), and that of "cosmic war" (Juergensmeyer, 2017, p.184). Specifically, Juergensmeyer (2017) argues that religious terrorism is analogous to theater, in the sense that the public violence of terrorist acts is meant to be a performance; the latter might have limited strategic value, but succeed in making a symbolic statement. Accordingly, victims are targeted because of their special symbolic meaning, and religion comes in as a means to control and produce desirable interpretations, by providing paradigmatic rituals (ibid.). However, Juergensmeyer (2017) also acknowledges that terrorism may simply be performative, in the sense that the desired result is actual change.

With regard to Breivik, Juergensmeyer (2022) notes that "Like many modern terrorists, his violent act was a form of performance violence, a symbolic attempt at empowerment to show the world that for the moment he was in charge." (Juergensmeyer, 2022, p.85). "The terrorist act was a wake-up call, and a signal that the war had begun. Behind the earthly conflict was a cosmic

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[11] Anders Behring Breivik changed his name to "Fjotolf Hansen" in 2017. However, since he still had his original name during the 2011 attacks, I will be referring to him as "Breivik" for the remainder of the thesis, with the exception of the part where I will be analyzing his manifesto. Since Breivik signed his manifesto as "Andrew Berwick", I will be referring to him by that name during the manifesto analysis. This has less to do with respecting his self-representation, than it has to do with taking the opportunity to analyze his (various) self-representation(s), and the practical issue of author citation (at the end of the day, Berwick "is" the author of the manifesto).

war, a battle of Christendom." (ibid.), continues the scholar, referencing his own conceptualization of an ongoing cosmic war. The latter is meant to describe an absolute war which draws upon religious eschatological elements and imagery of divine struggle, and is fought between uncompromising enemies for their survival (Juergensmeyer, 2017). Interestingly enough, Juergensmeyer mentions that cosmic wars are likely to take place when "the struggle is perceived as a defense of basic identity and dignity", specifically acknowledging that "a sense of personal humiliation [...] can lead to desperate attempts to recover both personal dignity and cultural pride" (Juergensmeyer, 2017, p.201). This observation draws attention to the fact that religion doesn't necessarily play a central part in "explaining" the real causes of (the "religious" or at least religiously framed) cosmic war—despite Juergensmeyer's own intentions.

In fact, Juergensmeyer, who groups together actors as dissimilar as Al-Qaeda, ISIS and Breivik, when claiming that their actions are a response to what they perceive as an ongoing cosmic war (Juergensmeyer, 2017, p.183), is seemingly pushing for a religious framing more so because he arbitrarily emphasizes religious elements and completely disregards non-religious ones, and less because of a well-balanced, sober account of what actors who commit violence *themselves* have to say. For example, Juergensmeyer doesn't mention elements such as politics or personal humiliation, when discussing Bin-Ladin's 1998 fatwa in relation to a cosmic war framing, but is quick to refer to religion (Juergensmeyer, 2017, p.183); he fails to address the fact that Bin-Ladin himself uses non-religious, not purely religious ("crusaders") or aberrant *even within the Christian framework* ("Satan's U.S. troops") imagery to conceptualize the enemy; and he completely glosses over the fact that instead of using religious/cosmic/metaphysical etc. imagery, Bin-Ladin alludes to **poverty**, **hunger**, and **humiliation**, in other words distinctly *earthly* problems, when framing the situation[12] (*see* Table 2).

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[12] On a side note, it is interesting (or at least it should be interesting for NATO allies) that other than completely ignoring all non religiously phrased grievances, an American expert on conflict resolution also manages to see a grand, cosmic war of polar opposites even when Muslims are repeatedly juxtaposed to "Americans" *only*—neither "Christians" nor "the West" in general.

Table 2. The 1998 fatwa by Usamah Bin-Muhammad Bin-Ladin.

| Text | Comments |
|---|---|
| **Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders**<br><br>**World Islamic Front Statement**<br><br>23 February 1998<br>Shaykh Usamah Bin-Muhammad Bin-Ladin<br>Ayman al-Zawahiri, amir of the Jihad Group in Egypt<br>Abu-Yasir Rifa'i Ahmad Taha, Egyptian Islamic Group<br>Shaykh Mir Hamzah, secretary of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Pakistan<br>Fazlur Rahman, amir of the Jihad Movement in Bangladesh<br><br>Praise be to Allah, who revealed the Book, controls the clouds, defeats factionalism, and says in His Book: "But when the forbidden months are past, then fight and slay the pagans wherever ye find them, seize them, beleaguer them, and lie in wait for them in every stratagem (of war)"; and peace be upon our Prophet, Muhammad Bin-'Abdallah, who said: I have been sent with the sword between my hands to ensure that no one but Allah is worshipped, Allah who put my livelihood under the shadow of my spear and who inflicts humiliation and scorn on those who disobey my orders.<br><br>The Arabian Peninsula has never—since Allah made it flat, created its desert, and encircled it with seas—been stormed by any forces like the crusader armies spreading in it like locusts, eating its riches and wiping out its plantations. All this is happening at a time in which nations are attacking Muslims like people fighting over a plate of food. In the light of the grave situation and the lack of support, we and you are obliged to discuss current events, and we should all agree on how to settle the matter.<br><br>No one argues today about three facts that are known to everyone; we will list them, in order to remind everyone:<br>First, for over seven years the United States has been occupying the lands of Islam in the holiest of places, the Arabian Peninsula, plundering its riches, dictating to its rulers, humiliating its people, terrorizing its neighbors, and turning its bases in the Peninsula into a spearhead through which to fight the neighboring Muslim peoples.<br><br>If some people have in the past argued about the fact of the occupation, all the people of the Peninsula have now acknowledged it. The best proof of this is the Americans' continuing aggression against the Iraqi people using the Peninsula as a staging post, even though all its rulers are against their territories being used to that end, but they are helpless. | ▓▓ = conceptualization of the "enemy".<br><br>Bin-Ladin repeatedly states that the primary enemy is "Americans" followed by their Zionist and other, nameless allies. When it comes to "killing", Americans are the sole target specifically identified ("The ruling to kill the **Americans** and their allies", "Allah's order to kill the **Americans** and plunder their money wherever and whenever they find it").<br><br>Note that the primary enemy (Americans) is never presented as "Christian". They are presented as "oppressors", Satan's allies ("Satan's U.S. troops") and crusaders, meaning that the grievances against them are either non religious, or, in the case that religious |

Second, despite the great devastation inflicted on the Iraqi people by the crusader-Zionist alliance, and despite the huge number of those killed, which has exceeded 1 million... despite all this, the Americans are once against trying to repeat the horrific massacres, as though they are not content with the protracted blockade imposed after the ferocious war or the fragmentation and devastation.

So here they come to annihilate what is left of this people and to humiliate their Muslim neighbors.

Third, if the Americans' aims behind these wars are religious and economic, the aim is also to serve the Jews' petty state and divert attention from its occupation of Jerusalem and murder of Muslims there. The best proof of this is their eagerness to destroy Iraq, the strongest neighboring Arab state, and their endeavor to fragment all the states of the region such as Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Sudan into paper statelets and through their disunion and weakness to guarantee Israel's survival and the continuation of the brutal crusade occupation of the Peninsula.

All these crimes and sins committed by the Americans are a clear declaration of war on Allah, his messenger, and Muslims. And ulema have throughout Islamic history unanimously agreed that the jihad is an individual duty if the enemy destroys the Muslim countries. This was revealed by Imam Bin-Qadamah in "Al-Mughni," Imam al-Kisa'i in "Al-Bada'i," al-Qurtubi in his interpretation, and the shaykh of al-Islam in his books, where he said: "As for the fighting to repulse [an enemy], it is aimed at defending sanctity and religion, and it is a duty as agreed [by the ulema]. Nothing is more sacred than belief except repulsing an enemy who is attacking religion and life."

On that basis, and in compliance with Allah's order, we issue the following fatwa to all Muslims:

The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies—civilians and military—is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it, in order to liberate the al-Aqsa Mosque and the holy mosque [Mecca] from their grip, and in order for their armies to move out of all the lands of Islam, defeated and unable to threaten any Muslim. This is in accordance with the words of Almighty Allah, "and fight the pagans all together as they fight you all together," and "fight them until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in Allah."

This is in addition to the words of Almighty Allah: "And why should ye not fight in the cause of Allah and of those who, being weak, are ill-treated (and oppressed)?—women and children, whose cry is: 'Our Lord, rescue us from this town, whose people are oppressors; and raise for us from thee one who will help!'"

We—with Allah's help—call on every Muslim who believes in Allah and wishes to be rewarded to comply with Allah's order to kill the Americans and plunder

imagery is evoked, either not purely religious ("crusaders") or aberrant *even within the Christian framework* ("the devil's supporters").

███ = tactics of the enemy.

As far as the enemy's tactics are concerned, the enemy is portrayed as using economic and political asphyxiation in combination with military force, in order to "annihilate" and "humiliate" Muslims. Note that instead of using religious/cosmic/metaphysical etc. imagery, Bin-Ladin alludes to poverty, hunger, and humiliation, in other words distinctly **earthly** problems.

Bin-Ladin is not encouraging Muslims to wage war against Christians using Christianity as a legitimating reason for violence. On the contrary, it is the enemy
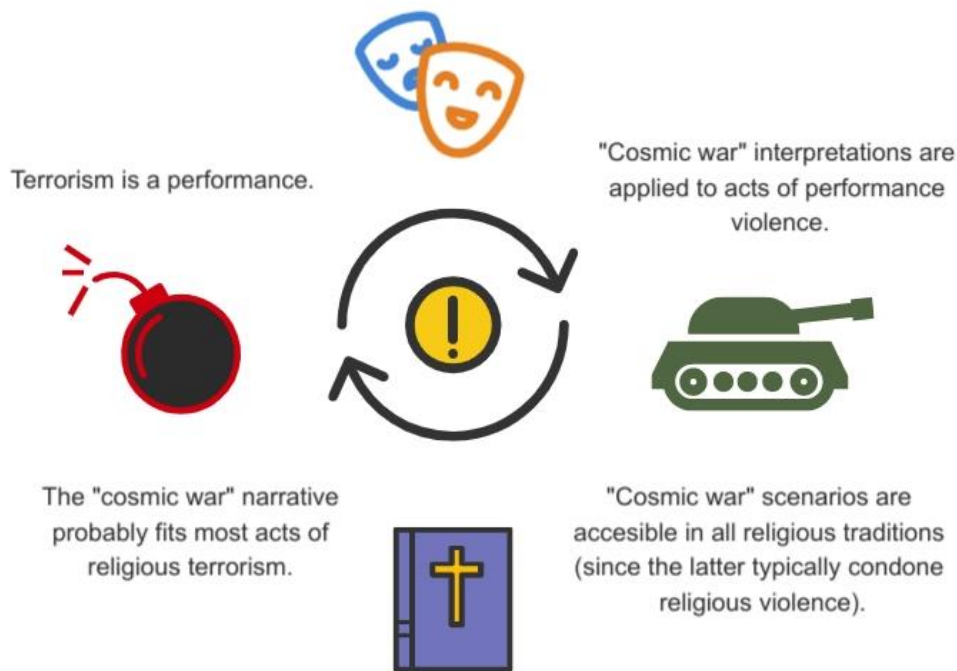
| | |
|---|---|
| their money wherever and whenever they find it. We also call on Muslim ulema, leaders, youths, and soldiers to launch the raid on ==Satan's U.S. troops== and ==the devil's supporters allying with them==, and to displace those who are behind them so that they may learn a lesson.<br><br>Almighty Allah said: "O ye who believe, give your response to Allah and His Apostle, when He calleth you to that which will give you life. And know that Allah cometh between a man and his heart, and that it is He to whom ye shall all be gathered."<br><br>Almighty Allah also says: "O ye who believe, what is the matter with you, that when ye are asked to go forth in the cause of Allah, ye cling so heavily to the earth! Do ye prefer the life of this world to the hereafter? But little is the comfort of this life, as compared with the hereafter. Unless ye go forth, He will punish you with a grievous penalty, and put others in your place; but Him ye would not harm in the least. For Allah hath power over all things."<br><br>Almighty Allah also says: "So lose no heart, nor fall into despair. For ye must gain mastery if ye are true in faith." | (Americans), who is shown to wage wars for "religious" aims, and whose religion is portrayed as historically and politically aggressive ("crusader armies") against Muslims. |

Furthermore, Juergensmeyer's cosmic war supposedly refers to a larger-than-life spiritual confrontation, in which the enemy is conceptualized as an existential threat (Juergensmeyer, 2017; 2022). Consequently, defeat is unthinkable for both sides (ibid.). At the same time, however, decisive victory is seen as unattainable on the *ephemeral* plane (Juergensmeyer, 2017). This latter point is very important because it is in the suitability of religion to provide a sacred plane where decisive victory—with the help of god, for example—is possible, that Juergensmeyer bases his eagerness to identify religion as the prime legitimating moral material of violence; just because religious narratives are usefully fitting and applicable however, doesn't mean that actors who commit and incite violence necessarily think that religion is as important or relevant as Juergensmeyer implies.

Moreover, theorizing about notions pertinent to religious violence starts (and is informed by) a definition of religion. For Juergensmeyer (2020), who expressly draws parallels between religion and *war*, religion is an "alternative reality", since it provides an "imaginary view of the world" (Juergensmeyer, 2020, p.49). In this manner, religion is similar to war, because they both offer a way to explain difficulties and disturbances / identify sources of discord in times of chaos

and unrest, therefore restoring meaning (Juergensmeyer, 2020). In fact, the two are somewhat inseparable and interconnected, as the literature of "virtually all" religions is "filled with warfare" and "religious war is seen from within the perspective of religious traditions often in a positive light" (Juergensmeyer & Kitts, 2011, p.217-218). According to Juergensmeyer (2020), religious traditions incorporate images of violence due to their preoccupation with death/mortality; images of *sacrifice*—of which martyrdom is also a type—for example, are available in all religions.

To his credit, Juergensmeyer (2022) acknowledges that religion may simply provide the storytelling/meaning-making resources through which sociopolitical and economic frustrations are being expressed, but he considers the added religiosity to already existing issues problematic; in other words, religion may not be *the* problem, but it certainly is problematic, because it "offers" established organizational networks and moral justification to (dangerous) causes. Nevertheless, Juergensmeyer's complementary conceptualizations of performance violence and cosmic war, alongside his insistence on the interconnection of religion and violence, may result in the needless or otherwise overemphasized—to the detriment of other elements— prioritization of religion, as a significant meaning-maker of conflicts.



Terrorism is a performance.

"Cosmic war" interpretations are applied to acts of performance violence.

The "cosmic war" narrative probably fits most acts of religious terrorism.

"Cosmic war" scenarios are accesible in all religious traditions (since the latter typically condone religious violence).

Infographic 1. Juergensmeyer's fallacy.

*It practically results in the automatic presence of the cosmic war narrative in most cases of religious terrorism. Juergensmeyer admits that other narratives can theoretically be used for the moral legitimation of religious terrorism, but he doesn't offer concrete examples (Juergensmeyer, 2013).*

Not surprisingly then, Juergensmeyer (2022) considers Breivik a "Christian terrorist" (Juergensmeyer, 2022, p.86), who believes he is fighting "a battle for Christendom"—meaning, of course, a cosmic war—, which is to be waged "between the evil multiculturalists and the righteous few", until the ultimate restoration of "European Christendom" is achieved (Juergensmeyer, 2022, p.85). In Chapter 4 (Manifesto Analysis) I will be examining whether Juergensmeyer's cosmic war framework is actually employed by Breivik, by analyzing how Breivik conceptualizes his "war". Therefore, and in order to show exactly how religion is featured in his narrative, of specific interest will be whether Breivik conceptualizes violence as a performance, whether the war he is waging has "cosmic" dimensions, and whether victory is possible on the worldly plane.

**Islamophobia**

*"They cannot represent themselves; they must be represented"*

- *Karl Marx[13], epigraph in Said's Orientalism (1979, p.xii).*

*"There is in France a freedom to blaspheme which is attached to the freedom of conscience. I am here to protect all these freedoms. In France, one can criticize a president, governors, blaspheme."*

- *President Emmanuel Macron[14]*

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[13] Marx K. & De Leon D. (1898).
[14] On Charlie Hebdo's decision to republish the problematic 2015 cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad, in 2020. Silk, J. (2020). 'Macron refuses to condemn Charlie Hebdo cartoons of Muhammad'. DW. https://www.dw.com/en/frances-macron-refuses-to-condemn-charlie-hebdo-cartoons-of-prophet-muhammad/a-54788078.

As both a term and a phenomenon, Islamophobia has existed in the pre-9/11 world; the terrorist attacks of that fateful day may have accentuated the issue (Iqbal, 2020; Allen, 2019; Esposito & Kalin, 2011), but in the aftermath, it became apparent that reactions were drawing on *pre-existent* xenophobic—particularly anti-Muslim—prejudice (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights et al., 2004). In fact, even though the term "Islamophobia" itself is considered misleading on the grounds that it implies a fear of the Islamic faith rather than a prejudice against it or that it de facto limits any and all possible criticism of Islam (Halliday, 1999), the element of prejudice appears to be a key component in working definitions of Islamophobia. For example, Kallis (2015) defines Islamophobia as "a socially constructed and reproduced prejudice against Islam as a religion, culture, and way of life" (Kallis, 2015, p. 28).

Also focusing on the element of prejudice, Duffner (2021), for whom Islamophobia is a form of structural racism, defines the term as "the prejudice and discrimination that targets people based on their perceived association with Islam and Muslims", in an effort to address both how people think/feel about Muslims, and how the latter are actually treated (Duffner, 2021, p.24). However, Iqbal (2020), who acknowledges that historically speaking, Islamophobia was originally understood to be a general hostility towards Muslims and Islam, argues that it is simplistic to view the phenomenon as a form of religious or cultural racism, since racism itself is a complex construct that requires contextualization and reconceptualization particularly with regard to Islamophobia. Nevertheless, understanding the "racialization of Islam" (Duffner, 2021, p.25), meaning the Western imagination of Muslims as people who share certain stereotypical characteristics, brings attention to the fact that Islamophobia may not only affect Muslims, but Muslim- "looking" people too[15].

Moreover, the culturalization of politics, particularly by the extreme right which has thus found a way to transfer its problematic, race-related rhetoric to the more acceptable notion of cultural differences[16], means that exclusionary discourses on Islamophobia may be construed as

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[15] Also note the definition provided by the Muslim Council of Britain: "Islamophobia is rooted in racism and is a type of racism that targets expressions of Muslimness or perceived Muslimness." (The Muslim Council of Britain, 2021, p.12).

[16] Interestingly enough, this leads the extreme-right to odd conceptualizations, such as the supposed association of Islam to nazism, since the former is juxtaposed to a supposedly Judeo-Christian Western culture; in this manner, the extreme right absolves itself of the anti-Semitic skeletons in its closet, since Israel is now considered an ally against Islam (Hafez, 2014).

a sort of tolerated racism (Hafez, 2014). In fact, culturalization as a means of meaning-making and ordering is increasingly important in the imagining of social identities, and permeates subject-matters for which culture traditionally had limited importance; accordingly, immigration has been culturalized, turning immigrant "workers" into "Muslim" immigrants and bringing Islam in the forefront of political agendas in Europe and abroad (Yilmaz, 2012, p.370). As a result, conventional left vs right demarcation in the European political world is increasingly replaced by a cultural division along the lines of national citizens on the one side, and cosmopolitan elites/Muslim immigrants on the other (Yilmaz, 2012, p.373).

In fact, even though right-wing populism typically others indigenous minorities and marginalized groups due to ethnic, sexual, religious etc. reasons, the supposed threat that Muslim migrants have come to represent may very well suggest the emergence of a new paradigm in far-right othering, in the sense that it is expressed in cultural rather than exclusively economic terms[17], since the migrant is conceptually upgraded from an economic to an existential threat due to the supposed irreconcilability of Islam with the "authentic", dominant culture[18] (Kamenova & Pingaud, 2017). Moreover, Islamophobia discourse locates the tension between an in-group of natives and an out-group of othered Muslims who are considered unequal to—if not lesser than—the native people, signifying that the issue is no longer internal (in the sense that it no longer has to do with the elite/hegemonic order being challenged by *a part of* the people) (Patel, 2022).

Nevertheless, it is important to note that the conceptualization of Islam as an oppressive religion enables *left-wing*, "liberal" Islamophobia as well, on the pretext that progressive values such as freedom of speech and gender rights must be upheld; Islam is thus represented as a problematic religion in need of reformation (always according to a Western cosmotheory), whereas the intentionally hurtful rhetoric directed at it doesn't take into consideration that Muslims are, for the most part, systematically marginalized to begin with (Lean et al., 2017).

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[17] The …pro-Zionist trend of the extreme right is a further indication of the culturalization of politics, since contemporary anti-Semitism implies an anti-capitalist attitude, which is not expressed in Islamophobic narratives, as the latter are based on cultural rather than economic grievances (Önnerfors, 2017).

[18] Huntington's clash of civilizations theory typically provides the framework for a narrative according to which Europe needs to be defended against the existential threat of Islam (Harry, 2019; Önnerfors, 2017).

Finally, conceptualizing Islam as the antagonistically fixed polar opposite of a purported, equally monolithic Western culture that needs to be protected and saved, may lead to "reactive co-radicalization"—such is the case of Breivik's attacks according to Pratt (Pratt, 2019, p.50)—, since the threat represented by Islam is so great that it warrants an extreme rejection. Interestingly enough, Pratt (2019) argues that Breivik wasn't driven to his extreme rejection of the religious–cultural other that is Islam due to his religious fundamentalism; on the contrary, it was his Islamophobia that led to terrorist actions that can be regarded as religious extremism, suggesting that Breivik is essentially a "cultural Christian" (Pratt, 2019, p.46), whose religious identity is ancillary to a (greater) cultural cause.

In fact, anti-Islam populists tend to instrumentalize Christian symbols, all the more so when mainstream political actors do not fervently endorse them—supposedly because they are catering to Islam (Kamenova & Pingaud, 2017). As it happens, in Breivik's native Norway, the Progress Party (FrP)—of which Breivik himself had been a member in his youth[19]—acknowledged Christianity as a core cultural value of Norwegian society, even though the party was once highly critical of Christianity and its supporters are not known to be religious (Harry, 2019, p.166). According to Harry (2019), both for the FrP and Breivik, "there is no trace of theological or metaphysical" in this appropriation of Christian references; it simply has to do with the conceptualization of Christianity as "the matrix in which the idea of Europe has its roots", which is meant to signify a close association with democratic and liberal principles, in stark contrast to the "allogeneic" Islam (Harry, 2019, p.167).

In my analysis, I will be discussing Breivik's "Christianity" as a reconfiguration comparable to his "Islam", in terms of instrumentalization, and examining not only how internal tensions ("indigenous" Europeans vs traitorous elites and multiculturalists) are being expressed, but also, whether they are actually prioritized over the disruption that the external, *Muslim* other represents, in an effort to determine Breivik's exact brand of right-wing, Islamophobic rhetoric.

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[19] "When I was around 16-17 years old I joined the Progress Party Youth organisation (FpU) as they were anti-immigration and pro-free-market. […] They (FrP) were called racists and Nazis and were generally labelled as 'fascist pigs'. FrP appealed to me because I had experienced the hypocrisy in society first hand and I knew already then that they were the only party who opposed multiculturalism." (Berwick, 2011, pp. 1377-1378).

# Methodology

**Research Question**

Juergensmeyer conceptualizes a strategic–symbolic spectrum, according to which acts of terrorism can be mostly directed towards either an immediate (strategic) or a dramatic (symbolic) outcome[20] (Juergensmeyer, 2017).
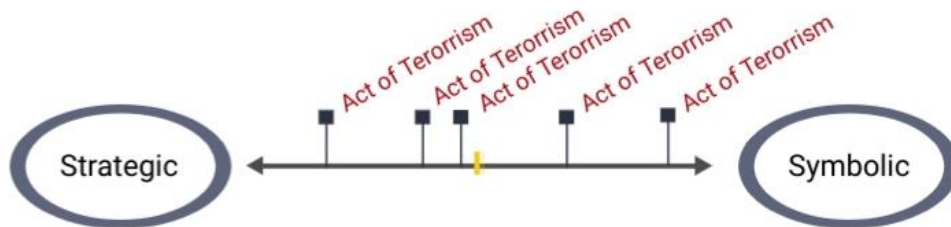


Infographic 2. Juergensmeyer's Strategic–Symbolic spectrum.

Unlike strategic terrorism then, symbolic terrorism is less about practical victories and more about making a power statement (ibid.). However, Juergensmeyer is quick to associate the symbolic with the religious, and even quicker to equate symbolic violence to religious violence, thus favoring the interpretation of symbolic violence as an expression of religious violence ("public ritual has traditionally been the province of religion, and this is one of the reasons that performance violence comes so naturally to activists from a religious background", Juergensmeyer, 2017, p.157). At heart, Juergensmeyer's tendency to easily group together religion and terrorism, comes from his belief that religion and violence are strongly connected (Juergensmeyer, 2020; Juergensmeyer, 2017; Juergensmeyer & Kitts, 2011). In the author's opinion, this bias casts a shadow of doubt on Juergensmeyer's interpretation of Breivik's positioning as one related to a cosmic war narrative (Juergensmeyer, 2022) and his overall categorization of Breivik's terrorism as "religious" (Juergensmeyer, 2017, p.154).

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[20] "I can imagine a line with 'strategic' on the one side and 'symbolic' on the other, with various acts of terrorism located in between." (Juergensmeyer, 2017, p.155).
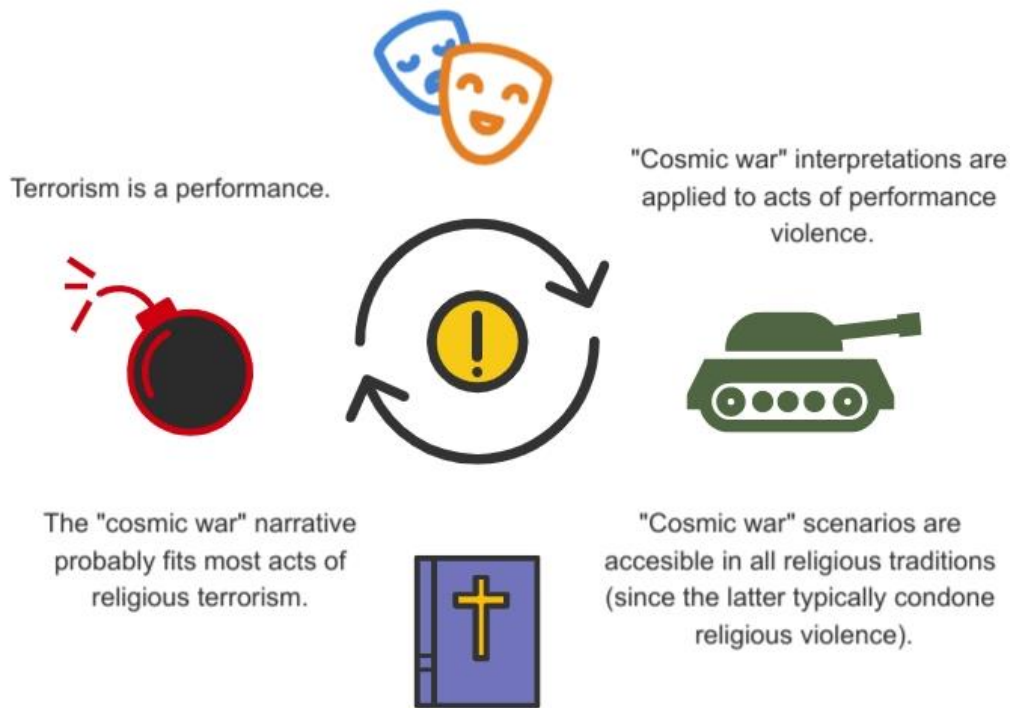
Infographic 1. Juergensmeyer's fallacy.

Moreover, Juergensmeyer (2017) considers Breivik's terrorism as a symbolic act, because it "did not result in uprisings against the government that Breivik […] thought (was) too permissive of liberal multiculturalism" (Juergensmeyer, 2017, p.154). According to Juergensmeyer then, in order to be strategic, Breivik's terrorism should have resulted in an uprising against the government, however this framing is very limiting since it doesn't take into consideration that Breivik might have achieved other "strategic" (by which Juergensmeyer means immediate/practical) objectives; in any case, even if Breivik's attacks were meant to be performance/symbolic violence, the connection to religion is neither automatic, nor necessarily fundamental in Breivik's overall narrative.

Taking into consideration that the aforementioned constitute the context of Juergensmeyer's analysis according to which Breivik is a "Christian terrorist" who is fighting "a battle for Christendom" until the ultimate restoration of "European Christendom" is achieved—meaning a cosmic war— (Juergensmeyer, 2022, p.85-86), and that a 'cosmic war' refers to:

- An absolute, **unwinnable on the worldly plane** war that draws upon **religious eschatological references** (this "makes sense" because religion conveniently furnishes violent actors both with a legitimizing framework and a network), thereby becoming a larger-than-life spiritual confrontation (a confrontation framed in metaphysical terms thanks to religion), that is fought between uncompromising **enemies** who simply **cannot afford to lose**,

my intention is to examine Breivik's manifesto in order to answer the research question:

*"Can Juergensmeyer's "cosmic war" concept be used to contextualize Breivik's terrorism, according to Breivik's own manifesto?".*

The working hypothesis is that if applicable, the cosmic war theory is only partially applicable, because of Juergensmeyer's bias towards a symbolic = religious and religious ⇨ violent reading, as far as terrorism is concerned (*see* Infographics 1 and 2).

The sub-questions are:

a. How does Breivik view violence? (Does he subscribe to Juergensmeyer's belief that it is a "performance" and that it is meant to have a symbolic function? If so, is this symbolic function primarily religious?).

b. Is the war Breivik is fighting winnable on the worldly plane? (What metaphysical elements are used to describe it, if any? What non-religious narratives are used to describe it?).

c. Who is the Enemy? (Is the Enemy secular or is the Enemy defined using a religious framework? How is Islam conceptualized?).

d. How does Breivik conceptualize and employ the notion of Christianity? (What is "Christianity" according to him? What exactly is his identification as a "Christian"?).

e. What is Breivik's position in regard to religion? (How important is religion to him? Is religion a matter of belief or does he instrumentalize it? Is his position consistent?).

**Research Design**

Breivik's manifesto—for which he wrote or compiled a total of 1518 pages of information—, is clearly a very long declaration. Moreover, in order to determine the meaning-making and identity constructs that Breivik uses to conceptualize and legitimize his war, I will be examining the manifesto by using discourse analysis. As a qualitative textual analysis on the basis of Breivik's rhetorical and linguistic choices, this method can go into great detail by definition. Therefore, and in order not to lose focus during the research and analysis process, I intend to first categorize Breivik's **objectives** following Keeney and Von Winterfeldt's (2010) method, namely according to whether they are strategic, fundamental, or means objectives.

Specifically, *means* objectives are short term actions that enable the achievement of both fundamental and strategic (but mostly fundamental) objectives (ibid.). What is more, consistently achieving the more long-term *fundamental* objectives, leads to the eventual achievement of *strategic* objectives, which provide the ultimate purpose for which all decisions are made (ibid.).
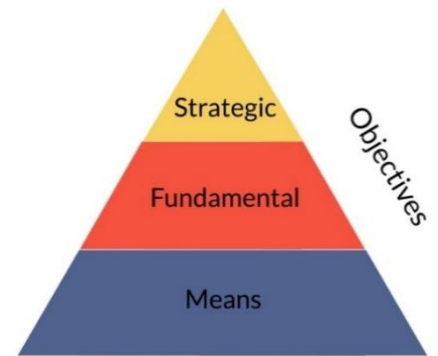


Infographic 3.

In this manner it will be possible to establish a hierarchical overview of Breivik's goals as stated by him in the manifesto, and determine how frequently and on which level of influence *religious* references appear. Furthermore, I will be analyzing how **actors** are portrayed by Breivik, particularly with regard to the inclusionary and exclusionary rhetoric aimed towards the in-/ally group and the out-/enemy group, as well as Breivik's own religious identification. At the same time, I will be examining Breivik's conceptualization of violent **actions**, on a micro (terrorist attacks) and macro (war) level.

To these purposes, I will be discussing the language (grammar, vocabulary) and rhetoric (persuasion techniques) that Breivik uses when describing **Objectives**, **Actors,** and **Actions**. Since Breivik's manifesto only exists in a PDF format—which arbitrarily disappears and resurfaces online—, I will be analyzing significant excerpts using color-coding (*see* Table 2), and appending all relative quotes.

Table 3. Research Design.

| Category | Description | Comments |
|---|---|---|
| **Objectives** | They can be strategic, fundamental or means objectives. Starting from means objectives and moving upwards, each level facilitates the achievement of the next one. Moreover, objective types get progressively more long-term and all-encompassing in terms of providing a reason for why actions must be taken (e.g. strategic objectives take the longest to achieve, and provide the ultimate purpose for which all decisions are made). | A structural overview of Breivik's objectives will exhibit how important religious references are—in terms of influence and prioritization—, depending on which "level" they appear on. |
| **Actors** | • How are Enemies conceptualized in terms of their secular/religious identity?<br><br>• What is Breivik's religious identification? | Both religious and non-religious identity constructs will be discussed, with an eye to showing the importance that Breivik places on each one. |
| **Actions** | • How does Breivik explain the need for and justify violence?<br><br>• What is the war he is fighting about?<br><br>• How does he involve religion in his war narrative? | |
| **Language & Rhetoric** | Notable grammatical and lexical elements (language), and persuasion techniques (rhetoric) concerning the above categories will be discussed.<br><br>• Which Enemy is portrayed the worst?<br><br>• Is there a racial undertone in Breivik's rhetoric?<br>. | |

## Manifesto Analysis

### Part I. Objectives

**Introduction**

In this part of the Manifesto Analysis, I will be identifying Berwick's objectives in accordance with the arguments he introduces and repeatedly draws attention to throughout the entirety of his manifesto. As aforementioned, the objectives will be categorized as means objectives—meant to provide guidance for short-term actions—, fundamental objectives—meant to provide guidance for certain major decisions over a medium- to long- term period—, and strategic objectives meant to provide the ultimate purpose for Berwick's decisions. Moreover, both *stated,* as well as *intended* objectives will be discussed, since the latter will become evident through the analysis of Berwick's rhetoric, conceptualizations and discursive strategies.

Finally, it should be noted that particularly in the first two books of the three-book compendium that constitutes the manifesto, Berwick self-admittedly reproduces the full texts of counter-jihad [21] writers and bloggers such as Fjordman—who is Berwick's "favourite contemporary author" (Berwick, 2011, p.1405)—, Bat Ye'or, Robert Spencer, and others. These right-wing writers have a similar—politically speaking—axe to grind, but come from different backgrounds (e.g. note the somewhat disorienting phrase "most *came[22]* to the United States" - Berwick, 2011, p.16), while also demonstrating differentiations in tone—accordingly, the writing becomes more or less polemical/politically correct. Nevertheless, even if Berwick himself isn't always the author of the writings that make up the manifesto, he personally selected and added the texts to his compendium, meaning that he espouses their underlying themes and discourses. Therefore, the manifesto is considered a uniform text attributed to Berwick, in the sense that subscribing to its overall representational framework, rather than technically writing it, is of importance for the purposes of this thesis.

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[21] The Counter-Jihad is a self-titled, radical right-wing movement/current, which propagates Islamophobic conspiracy theories that other Muslims as an existential threat to the Western civilization.
[22] Emphasis added.

**Means Objectives**

Means objectives can be divided into four groups (A, B, C, and D), collectively forming an overall narrative about who the threat, the enemy, the optimal way of dealing with them, and "we" are, according to Berwick. Group A means objectives pertain to **establishing** Islam as a Threat and identifying the internal/traitor Enemy (these are the intended objectives) or, alternatively, learning about what Islam and Multiculturalism really are, and spreading that knowledge to others (these are the stated objectives); Group B relates to portraying the enemy in the worst possible light either by drawing parallels between Nazis and the (either internal or Muslim) Enemy, or by emphasizing the historical savagery and animalistic nature of Muslims; Group C has to do with removing negative associations from the nationalistic cause and emphasizing the defensive nature of "our" side, in an effort to rebrand nationalism; Finally, Group D means objectives have to do with resorting to violence, as the only possible response to the aforementioned conceptualizations of the Enemy and the Threat.

Table 4. Means Objectives.

| Group A | Group B | Group C | Group D |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Knowledge of the Threat & the Enemy (instill fear)<br><br>• What Islam, Jihad, Al-Taquiyya, Dhimmitude really are ⇨ Demographic threat<br><br>• What Multiculturalism / Cultural Marxism, Political Correctness is. Who the internal traitors are. (Multiculturalists, feminists, Eurabians, etc.) ⇨ They (*and not Muslims*) must be killed. Alliance with jihadists is possible. | Make the Enemy look Bad<br><br>• Draw parallels between Nazism and the (internal or Muslim) Enemy.<br>‑ Jews are allies.<br><br>• Emphasize the historical savagery & animalistic nature of Muslims. (Slavery, Genocides, Pogroms, Rapes, Crime)<br>‑ Christians disappearing: The case study of Lebanon. | Make "us" look Good<br><br>• Fix negative public image of cultural conservatives.<br><br>• Convince the people that cultural conservatism is a defensive movement. | Join the Resistance<br><br>• Organize the resistance against the government [homegrown terrorism].<br><br>• Mentally and physically prepare yourself for attack operations.<br><br>• Resort to violence. |

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| • Spread this knowledge ⇨ Distribute manifesto, create paper presence, make spectacular deadly attacks.<br><br>Objectives:<br><br>1) Educate people about the doctrine of Islam.<br><br>2) Educate people about what Multiculturalism, cultural Marxism and Political Correctness truly are.<br><br>3) Educate people about the Eurabia Project.<br><br>4) Distribute the Manifesto.<br><br>5) Create a paper presence.<br><br>6) Make spectacular, deadly shock attacks to break through media censorship. | Objectives<br><br>1) Support Israel's fight against Jihad.<br><br>2) Show that the fear of Islamisation is all but irrational. | Objectives<br><br>1) Empower cultural self-confidence.<br><br>2) Educate people about the Crusades.<br><br>3) Explain that "we" are a defensive movement.<br><br>4) Win the hearts and minds of people (with regard to cultural conservatism).<br><br>5) Avoid problematic language.<br><br>6) Avoid problematic behavior/associations. | Objectives<br><br>1) Prepare the groundwork for a second European Renaissance.<br><br>2) Create a Youth movement.<br><br>3) Create a Resistance movement.<br><br>4) Train elite tacticians.<br><br>5) Invest smartly.<br><br>6) Become familiar with urban terrain.<br><br>7) Finance operation – gather intel - acquire weapons.<br><br>8) Avoid electronic communications – use software to hide your electronic traces.<br><br>9) Prepare an alibi.<br><br>10) Meditate and keep yourself motivated.<br><br>11) Prepare yourself physically (exercise and take steroids).<br><br>12) Acquire armor and explosives.<br><br>13) Go on sabotage missions to inflict economic damage to the cultural Marxist regime.<br><br>Etc. until 27).<br>*See* Appendix, p.92, for the full list. |

Interestingly enough, the Threat, the Enemy and even "Our" side all need to be explained, rather than simply evoked, which sets the conspiratorial tone of the narrative (Berwick supposedly reveals the truth, in other words what multiculturalists, elitists and generally speaking traitors don't want you to know), prepares the ground for the ideological legitimation of violence as a last resort (which is easy to sell as a supposedly defensive action, once the Threat and the Enemy have been portrayed in grave enough terms), and, also, explains the extensive length of the 1518 page manifesto, since Berwick's versions of the Threat, the Enemy, and the only possible Response to them (violence), are being hammered into the reader over and over again.

Specifically, when it comes to group A intended means objectives (establishing Islam as a Threat and identifying the Traitor-Enemy), Islam is conceptualized as an inherently threatening and historically hostile to non-Muslims political–military ideology, whereas the auxiliary concepts of Jihad, Dhimmitude, and Al-Taqiyya further "prove" that peaceful co-existence with Muslims is impossible and—if it is taking place—deceptive, because all non-Muslims are to be subjugated or killed once Muslims cease to be a minority, according to orthodox Islamic doctrine. On the one hand then, Berwick conceptualizes Islam as a primarily political ideology, and on the other, instead of simply using religious references in order to legitimize a violent response to the expansionary and belligerent threat that is Islam (per cosmic war theory), he goes deep into Islamic theology, politicizing it in order to convince the reader that the enemy is indeed… an enemy.


Table 5a. Islam, Jihad, Dhimmitude, Al-Taqiyya.

| Manifesto | Comments |
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| On orthodox Islam being violent, expansionary and threatening:<br><br> "Islamic scholarship divides the world into dar al-Islam (the House of Islam, i.e., those nations who have submitted to Allah) and dar al-harb (the House of War, i.e., those who have not). It is this dispensation that the world lived under in Muhammad's time and that it lives under | Rhetoric<br><br> Berwick "explains" the enemy's religion and its dangerous nature. The cosmic war scenario however, is related to having a readily available framework from which a fitting |

today. Then as now, Islam's message to the unbelieving world is the same: submit or be conquered." -p.67.

"The only times since Muhammad when dar-al Islam was not actively at war with dar al-harb were when the Muslim world was too weak or divided to make war effectively." -p.71.

"The Quran's commandments to Muslims to wage war in the name of Allah against non-Muslims are unmistakable. They are, furthermore, absolutely authoritative as they were revealed late in the Prophet's career and so cancel and replace earlier instructions to act peaceably. Without knowledge of the principle of abrogation (naskh), Westerners will continue to misread the Quran and misdiagnose Islam as a 'religion of peace'." -p.81.

"Thus do we find the clear precedent that explains the peculiar penchant of Islamic terrorists to behead their victims: it is merely another precedent bestowed by their Prophet." -p.66.

"What it called fundamentalism or Wahhabism is in fact the original Islam" -p.46.

"It is important to realise that we have been talking about Islam – not Islamic 'fundamentalism', 'extremism', 'fanaticism', 'Islamo-fascism', or Islamism, but Islam proper, Islam in its orthodox for as it has been understood and practiced by right-believing Muslims from the time of Muhammad to the present."-p.97.


On the inability to secularize/reform Islam:

"An Islam that wants to be secular cannot be and is therefore dishonest and untrue to itself. Unfortunately, a tolerant Islam is a contradiction, and the 'creation' of a tolerant past for Islam to appease the position of liberal Muslims, is a lie." -p.50.

"to pacify Islam would require its transformation into something that it is not. […] Indeed, one may say that Islam is today going through its 'Reformation' with the increasing jihadist activity around the globe. […] The unhappy fact is that Islam today is what it has been fourteen centuries: violent, intolerant, and expansionary." -p.100.

interpretation can be picked, without needing to specify and clarify which version of the enemy religion is the most theologically accurate—and therefore the one "we" are facing.

The fact that Berwick insists on making a specific conceptualization of Islam—as inherently threatening and hostile to the West—known, leads to the somewhat paradoxical position (for a cosmic war) of studying the enemy's religion before being convinced to fight them to the death. This need to be convinced suggests that "we" are not being primarily addressed as Christians (ready to embark on a holy war against whichever religious enemy or version of Islam), and that religion is being politicized, instead of the other way around (politics being interpreted with the help of a religious framework).

Showing an interest in reforming/secularizing Islam, emphasizes an effort to address the threat that Islam represents in political/secular terms, rather than with an all-out apocalyptic war framed in metaphysical terms.

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| "Islam is an 'all or nothing' religion which cannot be secularized" -p.331.<br><br>On Islam being an ideology / political-military articulation:<br><br>"The year of the Hijra, 622 AD, is considered more significant than the year of Muhammad's birth or death or that of the first Quranic revelation because Islam is first and foremost a political-military enterprise. It was only when Muhammad left Mecca with his paramilitary band that Islam achieved its proper political-military articulation." -p.64.<br>"Islam is less a personal faith than a political ideology that exists in a fundamental and permanent state of war with non-Islamic civilisations, cultures, and individuals."-p.97<br>"The content of the sharia is mainly political; just a small part regards religion as such (as a religion is defined in the West). -p.513.<br>"Islam, an ideology that is flawed to the core and should be totally irrelevant in the 21st century." p.524.<br>"the Islamic system of government is akin to Fascism: • It is marked by centralisation of authority under a supreme leader vested with divine clout. • It has stringent socioeconomic control over all aspects of all its subjects irrespective of their faith. • It suppresses its opposition through terror and censorship. • It has a policy of belligerence towards non-believers. • It practices religious apartheid. • It disdains reason. • It is imperialistic. • It is oppressive. • It is dictatorial and • It is controlling. According to Sina, 'Islam is political and political Islam is Fascism'." -p.535 | According to Berwick, Islam's potency as a threat doesn't even stem from its (weak) religious side, but from the fact that it is first and foremost a political–military ideology.<br><br><u>Language</u><br><br>It is questionable whether a spiritual leader of the opposing side in a cosmic war would be called "Prophet".<br><br>Furthermore, Islam is being equated to fascism exactly because it is perceived as a political ideology. The absence of religious and metaphysical references is notable. |
| <u>Jihad</u><br><br>"the Islamic doctrine of jihad: the idea that it is part of the responsibility of the Muslim community to wage war against unbelievers until they either convert to Islam, submit to Muslim rule (which involves accepting a number of humiliating regulations), or are killed."-p.435.<br><br>"Jihad is a responsibility for all Muslims. It is the command of both Allah and Mohammed. Mulsims who do Jihad are 'good' Muslims because they follow the commands of Allah | <u>Rhetoric</u><br><br>The concept of Jihad is introduced as the obligatory for "good"/true Muslims duty to subjugate or kill non-Muslims.<br><br>Muslims who practice their faith peacefully are portrayed as aberrant. |

and Mohammed; those who do not do jihad are 'extremists' because they reject the commands of the doctrine of Islam"-p.402.

"Since the Islamic Jihad usually enters a much more aggressive and physical phase once the Muslim population reaches 10 – 20% of the total in any given area, this does not bode well for the future of the urban regions in Scandinavia."-p.410.

Demographic annihilation, meaning *the actual problem behind the threat of Islam*, is being implied here. The quote also showcases Berwick's tendency to use poorly sourced statistics as "proof".

"Current and recent Jihads in Asia and Africa Islam has systematically murdered more than 300 million individuals (Yes three-hundred-million), 3/4 Hindu/Buddhist, Animist/Pagan 1/4 Christian/Jewish/Zoroastrian and enslaved more than 300 million the last 1400 years. This isnt 'history', its continuing while we speak on multiple fronts around the world! The Jihads and genocides are continuing as we speak all over the world"-p.417.

Berwick paints a picture of historical and ongoing wars and enslavements that constitute Jihad.

### Dhimmitude

"Islam's persecution of non-Muslims is in no way limited to jihad, even though that is the basic relationship between the Muslim and non-Muslim world. After the jihad concludes in a given area with the conquest of infidel territory, the dhimma, or treaty of protection, may be granted to the conquered 'People of the Book' –historically, Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians. The dhimma provides that the life and property of the infidel are exempted from jihad for as long as the Muslim rulers permit, which was generally meant as for as long as the subject non-Muslims – the dhimmi – prove economically useful to the Islamic state." -p.86.

Non-Muslims that aren't killed in the jihad, are to be financially exploited.

"The new European civilisation in the making can correctly be termed a 'civilisation of dhimmitude'. The word dhimmitude comes from the Koranic word 'dhimmi'. It refers to the subjugated, non- Muslim individuals who accept restrictive and humiliating subordination to Islamic power in order to avoid enslavement or death. The entire Muslim world as we know it today is a product of this 1,300 year-old jihad dynamic" -p.284.

The current state of affairs for Europeans is supposedly taking a turn towards dhimmitude, or the humiliating subordination to the Islamic dynamic that Jihad is putting in place. This victimization rhetoric is very important in order to later establish that acts of violence on "our" part are consequent (reasonable) and defensive.

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| "Islamic demands lead to dhimmitude for the non-Muslims. Dhimmitude ALWAYS lead to a point where non-Muslims surrender and move out of the area or are systematically killed like we see with the Christian/Jewish/Hindu/Buddhist minorities in Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Egypt, Bangladesh, Indonesia and in more than 30 other countries/territories. The moral of the story is; you cannot reason with Islam, you can only isolate it."-p.491 | <u>Language</u><br><br>The neologism "dhimmitude" is popular among counter-jihad writers. |
| <u>Al-Taqiyya</u><br><br>"In times when the greater strength of dar al-harb necessitates that the jihad take an indirect approach, the natural attitude of a Muslim to the infidel world must be one of deception and omission. Revealing frankly the ultimate goal of dar al-Islam to conquer and plunder dar al-harb when the latter holds the military trump cards would be strategic idiocy. Fortunately for the jihadists, most infidels do not understand how to read the Quran, nor do they trouble themselves to find out what Muhammad actually did and taught, which makes it easy to give the impression through selective quotations and omissions that 'Islam is a religion of peace'. […] al-Taqiyya is a central part of the Islamisation of Europe […] the concept of 'al-Taqiyya'is an integral part of Islam, and it is NOT a Shi'ite concoction. […] The word 'al-Taqiyya' literally means: 'Concealing or disguising one's beliefs, convictions, ideas, feelings, opinions, and/or strategies at a time of eminent danger, whether now or later in time, to save oneself from physical and/or mental injury.' A one-word translation would be 'Dissimulation'. Rejecting al-Taqiyya is rejecting the Quran" - pp.72-73.<br>"This strategy of using religious deception, smiling to the infidels while plotting to kill them, has become a common feature of many would-be Jihadists in the West."-p.517. | <u>Rhetoric</u><br><br>This conceptualization of Al-Taqiyya encourages the distrust towards Muslims on theological grounds. It is auxiliary to the concept of Islam in the sense that peaceful Muslims are depicted as either not true (misguided or unfaithful) Muslims or, simply, deceitful liars who are hiding their violent intentions. Once again, Berwick expects the reader to study the enemy in order to become convinced that they are indeed the enemy; this negates the advantages of relying on a religious framework— unless, of course his narrative isn't actually about religion, but is only thinly veiled as such. |

Furthermore, Berwick cynically admits that he uses religion and culture as coded references to race. The strategic objective and, as such, the implied Problem, may be about stopping/reversing the demographic annihilation of white Europeans (*see* Strategic Objective),

however Berwick uses group A means objectives in order to ultimately phrase the Problem in a non-racial, but religious (meaning "safe") manner (=Islam is waging demographic warfare because it is expansionary etc., and we therefore need to deport Muslims).

Table 5b. The Instrumentalization of Islam.

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| "it can be smart to limit the use of words like: ethnic groups, but rather focus on Islam, non-Islamic, Muslims, non-Muslims. Also, use the term: anti-Islamisation instead of anti-immigrant. As for trying to describe a threat, focus on Global Islamic Ummah and dhimmitude (yes, some educating into the meaning of some words will have to be included)." -p.664. | Berwick is consciously making an effort to stir clear of racist rhetoric and use religion- (rather than ethnicity-) related distinctions[23]. The instrumentalization that the light-hearted substitution of one vocabulary with another—religious—one, suggests the coded endorsement of ethnic nationalism. |
| "Consider Islam as a decease you can take advantage of. The Islamisation of Europe and the ongoing demographic warfare being waged against Europe by the Global Islamic Ummah is basically THAT SOMETHING that will bring the cultural conservatives together and eventually to power (within 40-70 years)."-p.665. | Even though Berwick's ultimate strategic objective is to halt and reverse the demographic annihilation of Europeans alongside racial and ethnic lines, it could be argued that a |

[23] Even so, 1500+ pages are too many to avoid the occasional… slip of the tongue: "within approximately 100-150 years or within 4-5 generations (if the current development is allowed to continue) the Germanic/Nordic race in several countries will be diluted or annihilated to such a degree that there will be no one left with Nordic physical characteristics; blond hair, blue eyes, high forehead, sturdy cheekbones. As such, the Nordic tribes will become extinct if we do not resist and seize political and military control of our countries. To illustrate the ongoing demographic annihilation of the Nordic peoples; in 1900 there were 50% Nordics in the US (blonde hair, blue eyes). But now, as a result of primarily non-European immigration, there was in 2008 ONLY 16%. […] The only way to prevent the ongoing genocide of the Nordic tribes is if either; […] Conservatives must seize political and military power through a combination of armed and democratic struggle within 70 years and implement the above policies. The alternative is the continued bastardisation model, very similar to the Brazilian model; where it has been (due to the Brazilian Marxist revolution) established a melting pot of European/Asian/African mix. These policies have proven to be a catastrophe for Brazil and other countries that have institutionalised and facilitated widespread race-mixing of Asians/Europeans/Africans. Brazil has firmly established itself as a second world country with an extremely poor degree of social cohesion. The results are evident and are manifested through a large degree of corruption, lacking productivity and eternal conflict between the various competing "cultures" as the myriad of newly established "sub-tribes" (black, mulatto, mestizo, white) paralyzes any hope of ever reaching the same level of productivity and harmony as f example Scandinavia, Germany, South Korea or Japan. Seeing the lack of social cohesion in Brazil, and the average productivity of the average Brazilian, it is evident that a similar approach in Europe would be devastating and nationally retarding, not to mention that it would be a grave crime (genocide) to contribute in any way to the annihilation, deconstruction and genocide of the indigenous peoples which are Nordic by definition."-pp. 1153-1154.

"At first, I hesitated to include anything including the word race, white or ethnicity, mainly because I instinctively dislike writing about anything related to these words. I was brought up that way (indoctrinated in a multiculturalist system for 30 years to be more precise). Partly, I also convinced myself originally that I was first and foremost against Islam, and that writing about skin colour (or multiculturalism for that matter) would only complicate this fight. In this regard I attempted to replace the term with more compromising expressions: the words culture, native European or ethnic group. However, after thinking about it for some time, I find that very few of the arguments against certain terms hold true. I am tired of ideological censorship. We can't really ignore some terms entirely if we are to make a completely honest evaluation and understand the anti-European or "anti-white" aspects of multiculturalism. In many cases, it is simply impossible to replace the term with less 'offensive' words." -p.390

"Sadly, you will be indirectly or directly labeled as a racist or even as a Nazi monster by the Marxist establishment (government institutions and the MSM - multiculturalist media) if you attempt to openly argue for the immediate halt to the ongoing demographical genocide of the Nordic peoples. However, you can use other words than "race" to more effectively dodge such characteristics. By using words as tribe or ethnic group you may be able to more effectively communicate your message."-p.1156.

cultural conservative coup d'etat is a strategic objective in itself. In any case, the Problem that the Islamic threat represents is that the supposed demographic warfare waged against non-Muslims threatens the extinction of Europeans along racial lines. This is not an inherently or obviously religious issue and is seemingly only phrased as such in order to avoid noticeably racist rhetoric.

▭ the term "originally" suggests a change of heart as far as the Problem being religious rather than racial.

▮ Berwick acknowledges here that words such as "culture", "native European", "ethnic group" or "tribe" are indeed coded references to race.

As far as the conceptualization of internal enemies (Traitors) is concerned, multiculturalists, elitists and EU-federalists are supposedly enforcing a Eurabian pro-Islamisation agenda, which allows for the Islamic invasion and colonization of Europe, through censorship in educational institutions and the media. Internal enemies are therefore guilty of treason for the (cultural) genocide of indigenous Europeans, and are evidently considered worse than the Muslim Enemy since: i) unlike the latter, Traitors must be punished by death, and ii) co-operation with jihadists in order to orchestrate and execute "nuclear, radiological, biological or chemical" attacks against

multiculturalist targets on European (Christian) ground is a possibility, according to Berwick. This treatment of the Muslim Other, however, is hard to situate within a cosmic war narrative.

Table 6. Internal Enemies.

| Manifesto | Comments |
|---|---|
| Multiculturalism / Cultural Marxism / Political Correctness<br><br>  "Multiculturalism (cultural Marxism/political correctness), as you might know, is the root cause of the ongoing Islamisation of Europe which has resulted in the ongoing Islamic colonisation of Europe through demographic warfare (facilitated by our own leaders)." -p.9.<br><br>  "Multiculturalism is the tool by which Islam gains access to our countries for the purpose of the destruction of the host culture."-p.402<br><br>  "multiculturalism involves the systematic restructuring of the curriculum so as to hinder students from learning about Western tradition." -p.24.<br>  "Perhaps no aspect of Political Correctness is more prominent in Western European life today than feminist ideology."-p.28.<br><br>  "Multiculturalism, works by creating 'victim groups' who are then used to destroy Western society by inverting morality and demanding more and more from society to compensate for their unjust oppression."-p.398.<br>  "multiculturalism- it is a failed philosophy of self destruction."-p.401<br>  "Multiculturalism has never been about tolerance. It is an evil ideology bent on an entire culture's eradication."-p.1368.<br>  "(Multiculturalism) is a widespread madness that is, without doubt, leading the entire white race into the abyss."-p.397.<br>  "Political Correctness seeks to impose a uniformity of thought and behaviour on all Europeans and is therefore totalitarian in nature." -p.15. | Rhetoric & Language<br><br>  Multiculturalism, cultural Marxism and political correctness are all synonymous according to Berwick. They are to blame for the ongoing subjugation of Europe by Islam, which is described in humiliating terms ("colonisation"). Treason is already implied ("our own leaders") and Trojan horse imagery is evoked to emphasize the deceptive "innocence" of multiculturalism. The latter is also associated to censorship in education and feminism.<br><br><br><br>  Multiculturalism is described as perverse, self-destructive, evil, (self-) genocidal, and totalitarian. |

Traitors

   "The only thing that separates Hitler, Stalin, Pol Pot with today's cultural Marxists, suicidal humanists, career cynicists and capitalist globalists (multiculturalists) is that the tyrants of today are all directly responsible for the extermination of THEIR OWN people and intend to sell the rest into Islamic slavery. Never in the history of man has an ideology revolved around the concept of exterminating its own people."-p.805.

   "The creation of Eurabia ranks as one of the greatest betrayals in the history of Western civilisation." -p.304.
   "the Eurabians have suicidally disarmed their own people, literally and metaphorically, and put them up for slaughter." -p.305.
   "Perhaps the most shameful and embarrassing aspect of the history of Eurabia is how the supposedly critical and independent European media has allowed itself to be corrupted or deceived by the Eurabians. Most of the documents about the Euro-Arab Dialogue place particular emphasis on working with the media, and the Eurabians have played the European media like a Stradivarius. Aided by a pre-existing anti-Americanism and anti-Semitism, European media have been willing to demonise the United States and Israel while remaining largely silent on the topic Eurabia." -pp.295-296.
   "Eurabia can only be derailed by destroying the organisation that created it in the first place: The European Union."-p.328.

"Category A traitor
- Political leaders (NGO leaders included)
- Media leaders (chief editors)
- Cultural leaders
- Industry leaders
Category A traitors are usually any current Heads of State, ministers/senators, directors and leaders of certain organisations/boards etc. who are guilty of charges 1-8. Category A traitors consist of the most influential and highest profile traitors. 10 per 1 million citizens. Punishment: death penalty and expropriation of property/funds

   Multiculturalists are represented in exceptionally harsh terms, as traitors.

   The Eurabia narrative brings attention to the anti-elitist, conspiracy theory aspect of Berwick's rhetoric. The pro-Israeli stance is not surprising despite Berwick's covert racism, since Israel will be naturally conceptualized as an ally against Islam (*see* footnote 16, p.23), in view of being "our cultural cousin" (pp.330-331).

   Note that Category A and B traitors are to be **killed**, even though they aren't racial or religious others. On the contrary, Muslims are not to be killed, but **deported**\*, suggesting that internal enemies are worse than Muslims. This choice is hard to reconcile with the cosmic war narrative, because the internal, more-despicable-than-Muslims

Category B traitor

Category B traitors are cultural Marxist/multiculturalist politicians, primarily from the alliance of European political parties known as "the MA 100" (parties who support multiculturalism) and EU parliamentarians. They can be elected and non-elected parliamentarians, their advisors and any public and/or corporate servant who has been and still are indirectly or directly implicated in committing the following acts. Category B traitors can also be individuals from various professional groups (but not limited to): journalists, editors, teachers, lecturers, university professors, various school/university board members, publicists, radio commentators, writers of fiction, cartoonists, and artists/celebrities etc. They can also be individuals from other professional groups such as: technicians, scientists, doctors and even Church leaders. In addition, individuals (investors etc) who have directly or indirectly funded related activities.[…] Non-essential members are considered category C traitors. Many professionals such as f. example journalists, influential sociologists or university professors etc. are considered and categorized as category B traitors as we consider them political activists and not merely professionals. They will of course claim ignorance and state that they are a-political. This strategy might work for them until the day where they are visited by a Justiciar Knight - their judge, jury and executioner. 1000 per 1 million citizens.
Punishment: death penalty and expropriation of property/funds." -pp.930-931

Some of the charges against category A and B traitors:

   "Aiding and abetting to cultural genocide against the indigenous peoples of Europe. Cultural genocide is a term used to describe the deliberate destruction of the cultural heritage of a people or nation for political, military, religious, ideological, ethnical, or racial reasons." -p.771.

   "Aiding and abetting a foreign invasion/colonisation of Europe by allowing systematical Islamic demographic warfare (by the Global Islamic Ummah) The cultural Marxist/multiculturalist elites of Europe are committing high treason by allowing and justifying past and current deliberate

enemy is not described in religious/metaphysical terms at all.

   If we are to accept that Muslims are waging a cosmic war against "us" because their religious doctrine compels them or at least provides them with a legitimation, then how do the—even worse—internal enemies fit in this narrative and why are they helping the Muslims?

   Furthermore, even if it is not the Muslims, who are waging a cosmic war against "us", but it is "us", who are using a cosmic war scenario/ religious references to legitimate violence, the violence that "we" intend to perpetrate (against multiculturalists) isn't committed against the religious other at all. Juergensmeyer considers Breivik a "Christian terrorist" who is fighting "a battle for Christendom", but between the multiculturalists on whose agenda war isn't at all and the Muslims who are still a minority in Europe and are at worst lying about their homicidal tendencies (per Al-Taqiyya)—and whom Breivik doesn't intent to kill anyway!—, one has to wonder who is fighting against Breivik (if there's a supposedly larger-than-life cosmic war going on).

   What is even more astounding however, is that Berwick proposes working together with jihadists in order to attack European (=Christian) targets with nuclear weapons(!).

   (*"DO NOT for the love of God aim your rage and frustration at Muslims.*

Islamic invasion/colonisation of Europe by Muslim states and the rest of the Global Islamic Ummah through the use of demographic warfare (by allowing mass Muslim immigration and allowing and tolerating average Muslim birth-rates of 3-4). These actions committed are coordinated efforts aimed at our Islamisation and the elimination of our freedoms. Europe is thus subject to a foreign invasion and aiding and abetting a foreign invasion in any way constitutes treason." -p.772.

   "2c. Aiding and abetting to cause the extinction of the indigenous Europeans' by creating and/or maintaining the Marxist social structures which has lead to an average fertility rate of less than 1,5 among the indigenous Europeans. These policies of extinction is nothing less than the deliberate plan to cause the indirect demographical genocide on a mass scale by implementing and maintaining Marxist social structures. This huge deficit is then used as the primary argument to allow mass Muslim immigration. The utter unwillingness to change these social structures (reverse from matriarchal oriented structures to patriarchal structures) leading to this gradual extinction is considered no less than high treason. These Marxist social structures causes an annual Western European birth deficit of at least 2 million. The political doctrines which create the fundament for these Marxist social structures are included in another chapter. A few examples include collaboration by allowing the marketing and propagating the excessive distribution of contraceptive pills to European women, by allowing 500 000 annual abortions, by stripping aways mens rights and prerogative (as patriarch/head of the family) in relation to custody care, by criminalising physical disciplinary methods etc. [...]

   4. Contributing to deliberately exposing and thus endangering Europe's indigenous peoples to individuals and groups who exercise a fascist, violent, discriminating and genocidal political ideology known as Islam. These individuals and groups are all members of the Global Islamic Ummah, who has historically or still are exercising violent, hateful, threatening, discriminating and genocidal behaviour and acts towards and against Europe's indigenous peoples. The behaviour and systematic acts of terror includes: demographic warfare, murder, rape, robberies, theft,

*Muslim or Paki bashing is a sure way to hurt our cause as this is what the cultural Marxist elites WANT you to do. They want you to waste your efforts on fighting Muslims and they will do anything to prevent you from aiming your efforts at them. They want the indigenous Europeans to busy fighting Muslims as that will guarantee their positions. We will never have a chance at overthrowing the cultural Marxist if we waste our energy and efforts on fighting Muslims. This can easily be illustrated: When the pipe in your bathroom springs a leak and the water is flooding the room, what do you do? It's not very complicated, after all. You go for the source of the problem, the leak itself! You DON'T mop up until after you have fixed the actual leak. Needless to say, our regime is the leak (all category A, B and C traitors), the Muslims are the water. […] We will focus on the Muslims AFTER we have seized political and military control. At that point, we will start deportation campaigns" -p.1253-1254).*

   The charges for which the "traitors" are to be accused showcase that the Problem (strategic objective) indeed has to do with stopping/reversing the demographic annihilation of indigenous Europeans. Islam is once again conceptualized as a fascist (political) ideology.

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| harassment, slavery, sexual exploitation, financial exploitation and other various forms of physical and mental abuse."-pp.772-773. | |
| Working together with jihadists in order to attack European (=Christian) targets with nuclear weapons | |
| "There might come a time when we, the PCCTS, Knights Templar will consider to use or even to work as a proxy for the enemies of our enemies. This might be an option if we feel that conventional approaches are fruitless or if the intelligence agencies/system protectors working for the Western European regimes successfully manage to neutralise our long term efforts to liberate our countries. Under these circumstances, the PCCTS, Knights Templar will for the future consider working with the enemies of the EU/US hegemony such as Iran (South Korea is unlikely), al-Qaeda, al-Shabaab or the rest of the devout fractions of the Islamic Ummah with the intention for deployment of small nuclear, radiological, biological or chemical weapons in Western European capitals and other high priority locations. Justiciar Knights and other European Christian martyrs can avoid the scrutiny normally reserved for individuals of Arab descent and we can ensure successful deployment and detonation in the location of our choice."-p.959 | The mere notion of co-operating with jihadists in order to orchestrate and execute attacks against multiculturalists further underlines the fact that the latter are considered worse; in other words, the Internal Enemy (Traitors) is conceptualized as far worse than the Muslim Enemy. Moreover, the "nuclear, radiological, biological or chemical" warfare is meant to take place on European (Christian) ground and claim Christian lives. This is a tactical choice that makes sense as a fifth column (undermining from within) or false flag (committing an act and blaming it on another party) operation, but completely undermines the cosmic war narrative. |

Group B means objectives are also related to constructing the Enemy, both by discrediting Traitors through negative associations with Nazism, and by offering historic examples of Islamic savagery that supposedly validate the notions of an ongoing threat of Islamisation and demographic annihilation[24]. Judaism is conceptualized as a traditional European religion and Justiciar Knights (cultural conservatives) are expressly urged to support Israel against the global Jihad. However, Judaism, much like Islam, Nazism and Christianity, is assessed for its usefulness as a mobilizing/legitimizing instrument rather than as a value system; by discussing a "Jewish Problem" Berwick further proves that his references to culture actually concern race.

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[24] *See* Table 4b.

Table 7. Nazism & the Enemy.

| Manifesto | Comments |
|---|---|
| "While Nazism is simply too stained to get a second chance, Islam is certainly in a position to force unbelievers into Dhimmitude (as is happening in dozens of Muslim countries in varying degrees) and even to wage new jihads, this time with weapons of mass-destruction." -p. 51. | Nazism is being associated with Islam and both are being evaluated as ideologies; Similar to Nazism then, religion is just another ideology measured (but not rejected) for its usefulness as a legitimizing/mobilizing instrument, rather than as a value system. |
| "Muslims, on the other hand, are steeped in an Islamic tradition based on Muslim supremacy. Muslims view lack of force as a sign of weakness, and they despise weakness, which is precisely why Adolf Hitler stated his admiration for Islam, and thought it would be a better match for Nazism than Christianity, with its childish notions of compassion."- p.587. | By presenting Hitler as an admirer of Islam, the latter is represented as a hardcore and racist ideology, implicitly even worse than Nazism. Note that much like Islam and Nazism, Christianity is also being conceptualized as an either fitting or unfitting for certain purposes instrument. |
| "multiculturalism is an inversed form of Nazism where white European Christians ends up at the bottom of the food chain instead of on top. Exactly how the Jews according to National Socialist doctrines automatically were blamed for everything that went wrong in society."-p.804<br><br>"Adolf Hitler's autobiography Mein Kampf described a propaganda technique known as 'the Big Lie'. The EU has adopted this strategy, which consists of telling a lie so 'colossal' that it would be impossible to believe anyone 'could have the impudence to distort the truth so infamously.' This has been combined with the technique, perfected by Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels in Nazi Germany, of repeating a point until it is taken to be the truth." -p.303.<br>"A multiculturalist is just as bad as a Nazi, which again is just as bad as a true Muslim, a communist or a fascist."-p.1237.<br><br>Jews as Allies to the cause<br><br>"What the European Union does, however, is to treat Islam as a traditional, European religion on par with Christianity | Internal enemies such as the EU and multiculturalists are being associated to Nazism. |

| | |
|---|---|
| and Judaism. This is a crucial component of Eurabian thinking and practice." -p.295. | Judaism is conceptualized as a traditional European religion. |
| "Israel is at the forefront of global Jihad. If Israel falls, then all the forces currently targeting Israel (Islamic Jihad, Hamas, Hezbollah, Muslim Brotherhood financed by Saudi, Iran etc.) will start to focus full heartedly on Europe."-p.1373.<br><br>"Support Israel's fight against Jihad" (as a Justiciar Knight) -p.818. | Israel's politico–military prowess makes it a valuable ally in the fight against Jihad. |
| "There is no Jewish problem in Western Europe (with the exception of the UK and France) as we only have 1 million in Western Europe, whereas 800 000 out of these 1 million live in France and the UK. The US on the other hand, with more than 6 million Jews (600% more than Europe) actually has a considerable Jewish problem."-p.1163. | However, Berwick's thinly veiled racism comes to the surface, once he starts discussing a "Jewish problem", proving that culture is indeed a coded reference to race. |

Having thus consolidated the Enemy's negative portrayal through group B means objectives, Berwick centers group C means objectives around giving cultural conservatism a public relations makeover and propagating the notion that it is a defensive movement (*see* Table 4c). The overall theoretical construction of the Threat, the Enemy and "Us", naturally culminates in the proposal of a Response with the group D means objectives to join the anti-government resistance, prepare for pan-European coup d'états (their realization is a fundamental objective), and declare a pre-emptive war against the multiculturalist elites of Western Europe. Violent attacks are meant to wreak havoc on the cultural Marxist regime and only target Muslims exceptionally, in order to cause their radicalization (*see* Table 4d).

**Fundamental Objectives**

Table 8. Fundamental objectives[25].

| Seize political & military power (in Western Europe) | Deal with Enemies | Implement Cultural Conservative Agenda (post-coup d'état) |
|---|---|---|
| Overthrow cultural Marxist Western European governments through coup d'états.  Take control of military, police and state institutions, suspend constitution, secure borders, declare martial law. | Execute traitors. Deport Muslims. Use servant class of non- Muslims for cheap labor. Dismantle EU. Boycott UN. | Ban multiculturalism. Ban Islam. Ensure Nordic homogeneity through 'reprogenetics'. Reform the educational system. Reform the justice system. Reform the Church. |

When it comes to fundamental objectives, it is interesting to note that these are not limited to seizing politico–military control and dealing with the internal and Muslim Enemies, but also involve the implementation of a fully thought-out social reform which includes reforming the Church ("our future European Church will reflect our political doctrines […] The contemporary definition of the Christian world view will be reformed to correlate with nationalistic doctrines" -p.1134). Ironically enough, even though attempts to reform/secularize Islam were supposedly considered, but rejected on account of erring from a theological perspective (it wouldn't have been true Islam), in the case of Christianity following the doctrine is of no concern at all, since any Christian tenet deemed counterproductive simply has to go ("The pacifist/suicidal Christians must never be allowed to dominate the church again which is one of the reasons why I personally believe that the protestant Church in Europe should once again reform to become Catholic (Nordic countries, Germany, Benelux etc.)" -p.1308). In the case of a cosmic war, religion is meant to provide a legitimating framework regardless of actual belief, however Berwick's criticism and

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[25] (For full list, *see* Table 8a in the Appendix).

clearly expressed intention to reform *his* own religion so that it best fits the post-coup d'état society he has envisioned, would suggest that he is deconstructing this very framework—because it is not violent enough— ("A good Christian has to turn the other cheek and love his enemies. How are we to reconcile this with the reality of that Muslims regard this as a sign of weakness? And how can we fight sharia when bishops and church leaders are the first to call for a 'compassionate' immigration policy that allows masses of Muslims to settle here?" -p.680 / "Yes, Christianity teaches compassion, but it also teaches identifying evil and standing up to it. At the end of the day, the Church must decide whether, in the defense of civilisation, it wants to be a part of the problem or a part of the solution." -p.681).

Moreover, even though the Threat of Islam is used in order to "explain" the necessity of homegrown terrorism against the status quo ("We have lost the democratic battle of Europe. It is unrealistic to believe that we can save Europe through democratic struggle from a future reality where Muslims will be in the majority." -p.1292), Islam is increasingly removed from the narrative as a relevant explanation of the need for violence ("Even without Islam, a pure democracy with no restraints would not always be a good thing" -p.549), suggesting that not only is religion-culture a coded reference and, therefore, a safe way to frame racial concerns to begin with, but that the ultimate goal will not be achieved merely by the removal of the religious-racial other, anyway. In fact, Berwick, who entertains fascist notions throughout the manifesto [26] and endorses domestic terrorism already in his means objectives as aforementioned, admits that he lost faith in democracy a long time before the attacks—at least as early as in 2004, when he stopped paying for his Progress Party membership dues ("I eventually concluded that it would be impossible to change the system democratically and left conventional politics." -p.1396). Rather than religion "explaining" the demographical threat (as demographical Jihad) because of which

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[26] ("The most important thing to realise is that democracy is a tool, a means we use to achieve an end. Too many people now confuse it with the end itself. 'Democracy' has come to mean something that is good, something everybody wants, a bit like sex or chocolate. But there is no rational reason to assume that democracy of universal suffrage is uniformly good and can be applied with equal success in all circumstances, a huge mistake Americans made in Iraq. Any political system must first and foremost ensure the survival, the continued physical existence, of the community it serves. After that comes ensuring the prosperity and liberty of this community in the best possible way. However, when I look at the situation in Western countries today, I cannot see that democracy always ensures our liberty or prosperity, and in many cases it functions so poorly that it threatens our very survival. Perhaps in order to ensure our continued existence, we need to supplement democracy with other tools in our toolkit."-p.696).

it is crucial to take down the cultural Marxist governments and implement a fascist agenda, one has to wonder if the demographical threat itself is meant to explain the "need" for a fascist takeover, making the latter an intended strategic objective rather than a stated fundamental one.

**Strategic Objectives**

Table 9. Stated strategic objectives.

| Strategic objectives ← → The reasoning behind all decisions. | |
|---|---|
| Stop & reverse demographic annihilation. | ["Defeat Islamization or halt/reverse the Islamic colonization of Western Europe" -p.5] |
| Escape present & future dhimmitude. | ["Avoid our present and future dhimmitude (enslavement) under Islamic majority rule in our own countries." -p.9] |
| Never be minority. | ["The ultimate goal of any tribe must therefore be to never come in a position where it is reduced to a minority. The large majority of ethnical groups of the world, except the Rom/Gypsies and some Latin American Indians, control their own sovereign territories. […] Each tribe must do absolutely EVERYTHING to ensure that no other tribe attacks them demographically through immigration or higher birth rates." -p.1165] |

According to Berwick, the Problem whose gravity both excuses and necessitates an immediate violent response, pertains to the demographic extinction of indigenous Europeans, whereas the allochthonous threat is othered on the basis of religion (Muslims). Even though the Problem is discussed in cultural terms (religion) and with the use of pseudoscientific "data" ("Just consider the demographics. The number of Muslims in contemporary Europe is estimated to be 50 million. It is expected to double in twenty years. By 2025, one third of all European children will be born to Muslim families." -p.697), Berwick's racism seeps through the narrative both indirectly ("If I could travel in a time-machine to Berlin in 1933, I would be the first person to go – with the

purpose of killing him. Why? No person has ever committed a more horrible crime against his tribe than Hitler. Because of him, the Germanic tribes are dying and MAY be completely wiped out unless we manage to win within 20-70 years. Thanks to his insane campaign and the subsequent genocide of the 6 million Jews, multiculturalism, the anti-European hate ideology was created." -pp.1162-1163. —*Note that the actual problem here is that Hitler failed, rather than what he did; had he not failed, multiculturalism wouldn't have been born anyway*), and because he actually admits to going through the effort of hiding it ("It is not the message itself but rather the credibility of the actor who delivers it that makes the crucial difference. An individual using 'flagged' rhetoric such as 'race', 'race war', 'white people', 'black people', 'Jews' (in the same sentence as race f example), 'ethnic' (in the same sentence as Jews) – are triggering every imaginable mine put up for him which in turn will completely obliterate his 'reputational shield' (if he ever had one). [...] **So even though ethnicity and race still is relevant, it is not in our best interest to talk about it**[27]."-p.665-666).

More importantly, however, even if all references to religious identity are to be taken at face value and not as coded references to race, ethnicity is still ranked as the most meaningful cultural factor anyway, therefore limiting the importance of the religious signified ("This issue is extremely politically incorrect to discuss, due to the current cultural Marxist regimes but it is not a secret that ethnicity remains and will remain as the most important uniting cultural factor, more so than socio-economic factors, to a majority of Europeans." -p.1160. / "Despite what the Marxists would like to believe, our genetical heritage is the most important cultural marker as it is a visual proof that you represent a certain culture, certain traditions, a certain identity."-p.1227).

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[27] Emphasis mine.

All in all, an overview of Berwick's Means, Fundamental and Strategic Objectives, with regard to the findings which counter the cosmic war narrative, points to the fact that his discursive efforts are centered around constructing his own framework, rather than using already existing, eschatological religious references. Specifically:

1) Islam is conceptualized as a primarily political–military ideology.

2) Instead of being used to legitimize the violence perpetrated/to be perpetrated against the religiously defined other or on the basis of religion generally speaking, theological arguments are used when *teaching(!)* orthodox Islamic doctrine to the intended audience.

3) The Internal/Traitor- Enemy (who is European and therefore culturally Christian) is considered significantly worse than the Muslim Enemy (unlike the latter, he is to be killed). In fact, working together with the Muslim Enemy in order to unleash devastating attacks against Traitors, on Christian ground, is a possibility.

4) Islam is not to be destroyed, but removed from Europe (through deportations and not through killings).

5) Religion is a thinly-veiled coded reference to race. That in itself is not a problem, as religion can still provide a framework, despite its obvious instrumentalization. However, Berwick's intention to reform the Church after a nationalist coup d'état has taken down the multiculturalist regime, suggests that he is not interested in (his) religion's inherent capability to provide established narratives; Instead, Berwick wants to mold religious narratives into the shape that nationalism requires.

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**Berwick's War**

As far as the "war" that Berwick is fighting/waging against the Enemy is concerned, it is important to note that according to his manifesto, there are at least *two* wars to be fought, a "war within the West" and a "war against the West" ("An ideological 'war within the West' has paved the way for a physical 'war against the West' waged by Islamic Jihadists, who correctly view our acceptance of Muslim immigration as a sign of weakness. Perhaps we will need to resolve the war within the West before we can win the war against the West." -p.699). These two wars are both defensive as far as "our" side is concerned, and legitimate each other: the Muslim Enemy is waging a war against indigenous Europeans, facilitated by multiculturalist traitors; as cultural conservatives, "we" must therefore wage a (different) war against multiculturalists (an early victory of this war against the Internal Enemy will result in the deportation of all Muslims and execution of all traitors, whereas an early defeat will result in an all-out violent war between all who *look like* an indigenous Europeans and all who *look like* Muslims, de facto getting nationalists in power, at the expense of multiculturalists *and democracy*).

Table 10. Berwick's wars.

| Manifesto | Comments |
|---|---|
| War regarding the Muslim Enemy<br><br>  "This war by Islam against Europe, the West and indeed mankind has been going on for more than 1300 years. This is the third major Jihad, the third Islamic attempt to subdue the heartland of the West. Although I cannot prove this, I have a very strong feeling that this will also be the last attempt. There will be no fourth Jihad. Either Muslims will win this time, or Islam itself will be handed a defeat and a blow so powerful that it may never recover from it. This is perhaps the longest, continuous war in human history. And it's about to be decided within the coming decades." - p.342. | The war regarding the Muslim Enemy is conceptualized as an ongoing war of conquest/Jihad that Islam has been waging against the infidels/West. Having laid the theoretical groundwork, by establishing Islam as an inherently threatening and historically hostile to non-Muslims political–military ideology that seeks to |

"The spectacular acts of terrorism in the late 20th and early 21st centuries are but the most recent manifestation of a global war of conquest that Islam has been waging since the days of the Prophet Muhammad in the 7th Century AD and that continues apace today." -p.97.

"Since its inception, Islam has been waging an aggressive war against the rest of mankind, with the stated purpose of bringing every single human being on earth under Islamic rule. Infidels have been presented with only three options: Convert to Islam, die, or submit under Islamic rule as a dhimmi, a second-rate citizen in your own country subject to serious financial pressure, constant verbal humiliations and frequent physical abuse. Islam hasn't changed in the last 1400 years. Unless we are prepared to accept conversion or dhimmi status, we have to fight." -p.603.

How this war is being fought
"The Battle of Vienna in 1683, where the Ottoman Turks were beaten by a force led by King Jan III Sobieski of Poland, was the last time Muslims managed to threaten the West in traditional warfare. They gradually fell further and further behind due to their technological ineptness, which again is caused by their hostility towards freethinking as the basis of science. This suppression of curiosity is their Achilles' heel. Perhaps they have finally found ours. This time they are already inside Vienna. In the end, Muslims have been more successful at peacefully infiltrating the democratic West than they ever were in challenging the pre-democratic West in open warfare. Ibn Warraq warns that the Islamists view our open society as a means for infiltrating Western societies. He fears that we risk ending up with an Islamisation of democracy instead of a democratisation of Islam."-pp.550.551.

"an armed Jihad (armed struggle) always have specific goals. The Jihadists in Dagestan, Chechnya, Southern Thailand, Southern Philippines, Syria (Palestine) etc. all want to create Islamic states and implement Sharia. In order to reach this objective they must wage war and defeat the infidels (non-Muslims). However, al-Qaeda and Jihadists in the West have other objectives. They acknowledge the fact that Islam is still very weak in Europe, so an armed Jihad in the streets of European capitals is not advised at this point. Islam and the number of Muslims need to grow a few more generations. Al-Qaeda therefore seek to silence the Western media and Western politicians by creating fear in our hearts in order to force them to capitulate to radical Islam."-p.499.

conquer and subjugate them, already through his Means Objectives, Berwick naturally refers to the war regarding the Muslim Enemy as an aggressive war waged *by* him (against "us").

Interestingly enough, the ongoing Jihad against the West is not being waged with the use of violence ("traditional warfare"/"terrorism"). "Immigration", "higher birth rates" and generally speaking "infiltration" are the preferred methods of the Muslim Enemy, who is not yet in a position to successfully employ violence en masse in Europe. Berwick's fascistic tendencies further become apparent when he identifies democracy as a weakness that allows the Muslim Enemy to gain an advantage in this war.

"It is paramount to note, however, that even if no major terrorist attack ever occurs on Western soil again, Islam still poses a mortal danger to the West. A halt to terrorism would simply mean a change in Islam's tactics – perhaps indicating a longer-term approach that would allow Muslim immigration and higher birth rates to bring Islam closer to victory before the next round of violence. It cannot be overemphasized that Muslim terrorism is a symptom of Islam that may increase or decrease in intensity while Islam proper remains permanently hostile."-p.97.

"if the multiculturalist elites of Europe manage to suppress us efficiently and prevent us from seizing power the next 6 decades we will reach a situation where the Muslims will be in a majority in ALL European major cities. And when they get confident enough, war will break out (similar scenario to the Lebanon war Christians vs Muslims). At this point in time the economy has already collapsed and chaos and lawlessness reigns. The national militaries have dissolved because the multiculturalist government fled to another country to prevent being lynched. Noone was left to pay the army salaries so most of the soldiers created local militia groups protecting their neighbourhoods. These types of conflicts are extremely brutal and everything is either black or white. All individuals that look like Muslims will be gunned down, and they will gun down all who look like indigenous Europeans. Being an Asian or African under these conditions must be hard because most people will believe them to be Muslims. It is likely that they may end up as outcasts not accepted by either the Europeans or the Muslims. They may be deported, accidentally shot or deliberately killed by conservatives that are much less liberal than the "peace-time auto-gear European" is today."-p.1228.

Can this war be won?

"There are many people who think Europe is already lost. I happen to be among the ones who have stated that this is only one of several possible outcomes. Europe is now at one of those famous crossroads where the course of history could go either way. Given the weakness of Europe and the rapid expansion of Islam, it would be foolish to discount the possibility that Muslims could win this. However, I happen to think that another possibility is that Islam not only will lose the battle for Europe, but could become destroyed as a global force during this century."-p.342.

However, if "we" lose the war against the Internal Enemy (*see* below), the war waged by the Muslim Enemy against "us" will change in form, as traditional warfare between Europeans and Muslims will break out. This will involve "extremely brutal" conflicts and non-whites will become collateral damage. Tellingly, the violent phase of a supposedly religious war (Jihad)—which will de facto divide the population into two sides—, will be fought alongside racial lines, suggesting that the war regarding the Muslim Enemy never truly had to do with religion in the first place.

Victory against Islam is possible within the worldly realm and in view of secular, rather than metaphysical "allies".

"Globalisation doesn't necessarily mean that Islam will win. In the long run, it is quite possible that mass communications and the exposure to criticism will destroy Islam, but it could ironically make it more dangerous in the short term."-p.530.

War regarding the Internal Enemy

"We are in the very beginning of a very bloody cultural war, a war between nationalism and internationalism and we intend to win it. We will not allow the EUSSR elites to deconstruct everything European nor to sell the peoples of Europe into Muslim slavery. Islam WILL be thrown out of Europe for a third time and the Marxist, humanist and globalist traitors who colluded with the Ummah will be held accountable for their treason."-p.762.

"We acknowledge that Europe has been in a technical state of civil war since 1999 when European and US cultural Marxists/multiculturalists, through NATO, decided to attack Christian Serb forces and thus disallowing them their right to repel Islam from their ancestral lands. The war against the cultural Marxist/multiculturalist regimes of Europe is a pre-emptive war, waged in order to repel, defeat or weaken an ongoing Islamic invasion/ colonisation, to gain a strategic advantage in an unavoidable war before that threat materialises. Thus, we consider this pre-emptive war as completely justifiable as it is a war of self-defence. We cannot afford to wait around and re-act when it is too late. We have anticipated, identified and will act accordingly upon the refuse, volatile, national and international conditions before they become explosive, before they lead us to catastrophe."-p.816.

"We, the free indigenous peoples of Europe, hereby declare a pre-emptive war on all cultural Marxist/multiculturalist elites of Western Europe." -p.802

How this war is being fought

"the ongoing European civil war is not a class war but a cultural war" -p.805
"European Civil War, Phase 1 – 1999-2030
- Islam, 2-30% based on country

The war regarding the Internal Enemy is conceptually less clear than the war regarding the Muslim Enemy; it is described as a very bloody cultural war starting just now, (another phase perhaps of) an ongoing civil war, and a pre-emptive, defensive war declared by "us" ("the free indigenous peoples of Europe"), against the Marxists/multiculturalists/ Internationalists.

In any case, this (secular) war must be fought in order to win the war against the Muslim Enemy. The sacred/religious is therefore secularized, in the sense that a supposedly religious (unfought) war against Islam must become somewhat replaced by a secular (fought) war against established governments (and the subsequent take-over of a nationalist regime).

- Open source warfare, military shock attacks by clandestine cell systems.
- Further consolidation of conservative forces.
European Civil War, Phase 2 – 2030-2070
- Islam, 15-40% based on country
- Consolidation continues, more advanced forms of resistance groups.
- Preparation for pan-European coup d'états.
European Civil War, Phase 3 – 2070-2083
- Islam, 30-50% based on country
- Pan-European coup d'états. Cultural
Communism/multiculturalism defeated in the first
European country followed by the rest.
- The implementation of a Cultural Conservative political agenda begins.
- Execution of cultural Marxist/multiculturalist category A and B traitors initiated.
- Deportation of Muslims initiated."-p.803

"It is essential for all cultural conservative resistance fighters to understand that we are in the middle of a war of perceptions. Our objective is to portray our enemies in the worst possible light - as cultural Marxist traitors who wishes to sell their own peoples into Muslim slavery. They, on the other hand, have the exact opposite objective. They are doing everything to tell the people that they have no political opposition whatsoever and that the occasional attack is only committed by backwater, brain damaged and inbred freaks. They are effectively "selling" the perception that we are nothing more than a bunch of pedophile and criminal scum of society, who has somehow escaped from the local insane asylum. They ALWAYS illustrate their definition of heroic icons of society using all factors to improve their looks and appeal. And they ALWAYS illustrate the nationalist resistance fighters in the worst possible light, without makeup, in bad lighting, without editing, and often in unfortunate postures. And these often appalling photos correlate with the above description. This is not coincidental but a deliberate aspect of their psychological warfare against us. They deliberately portray us as the anti-thesis of the ideal person so that we achieve a minimum of impact when it comes to appealing to the average European. We must counter this psychological warfare campaign by making it harder for them to use this weapon against us. We

Whether it is ongoing, just starting or about to be declared, the war concerning the Internal Enemy is meant to be fought by violent means and in order to achieve violent end goals.

At the same time, this war is also being/to be fought on an ideological level, by manipulating perceptions (propagating flattering portrayals of "our" side and unflattering ones of the Enemy).

must learn the basics of sales and marketing and apply this knowledge to our own benefit. We must learn to incorporate marketing/sales aspects in our operations" -pp.1065-1066.


Can this war be won?

   "We will ensure that all category A and B traitors, the enablers of Islamisation and the destroyers of our cultures, nations and societies, will be executed and your property expropriated.
It will take us up to 70 years to win, but there is no doubt in our minds that we will eventually succeed."-p.802.

   "We are going to win this war eventually no matter how they chose to act. If they comply with all our demands (and deport all Muslims from Europe) we will win. If they don't, then ==Islam will bring us to power== in phase 3 (2070-2083) when the Muslims reach 50%. At this point, the peoples of Europe will scream for any group or individual who can come and solve their problems…"-p.1352

   Berwick believes that the war against the Internal Enemy can be won, in no uncertain terms: an early victory against multiculturalists will result in their execution (and the deportation of Muslims), whereas an early defeat against them will result in an all-out war between Indigenous-looking Europeans and Muslim-looking others (*see* above, How the war regarding the Muslim Enemy is being fought) that will de facto get cultural conservatives in power.

   ==__== = Note that it is not (our) God bringing us into power, but Islam, and that this "Islam" is an expansionary politico–military ideology (*see* Table 5a. On Islam being an ideology/political-military articulation), rather than a religion. More importantly, "Islam" is essentially being described as a useful uniting cause against the Internal Enemy. In the case of a cosmic war, an ordinary socio-political conflict is elevated into a sacred war. However, ==this== instrumentalization of Islam suggests that Islam is not a (religiously framed) enemy to be fought, but a politico–military

| | ideology that will benefit "us" by wreaking havoc and turning public opinion against the Internal (secular) Enemy; *as such, it is to be left alone*.<br><br>  To sum up Berwick's conceptualization of the War, Islam is an expansionary politico–military ideology. Even supposing it were a religion, the then supposedly religious (unfought) war against Islam is practically replaced by a secular (fought) war against established governments (and the subsequent take-over of a nationalist regime), in order to remove the Islamic threat for good (through deportations). In other words, the war to be actively, violently fought, with the purpose of exterminating the enemy, is a secular one and specifically phrased as such, without resorting to metaphysical/spiritual references stemming from religious tradition. |
|---|---|

In reality, despite the fact that two wars against two different enemies are to be waged—also with differing methods, differing aims and a differing certainty for victory—both *stated* wars could be seen as one, *intended*, palingenetic war, since both in the case of a war against Islam, as well as in the case of a war against multiculturalists, the hoped-for byproduct is a second Western Renaissance resulting in the remodeling of European societies in accordance with the

cultural conservative agenda[28]. In any case, regardless of who the immediate enemy is, Islam is instrumentalized in a manner that turns a supposedly sacred/religious defensive war (against Islam) into a secular war against established governments/multiculturalists. According to Berwick's framing, forcing a coup d'état through terrorism is supposedly the consequence of an ongoing Jihad, which has necessitated a war against multiculturalists. Instead of using "transcendent spiritual images"[29] to justify a contemporary conflict, Berwick thus uses imagined future conflicts (coup d'états, war against multiculturalists, etc.) to justify a contemporary conceptualization of Islam (as a politico–military ideology).

Moreover, even though the sacred/religious is secularized, in the sense that a supposedly religious (unfought) war against Islam must be practically replaced by a secular (fought) war against established governments (and the subsequent take-over of a nationalist regime), the war regarding the Muslim Enemy never had to do with religion anyway, as it is to be fought alongside racial lines (in the case multiculturalists score an early victory and Muslims stop being a minority).

Finally, as a politico–military expansionary ideology aimed at conquering and subjugating non-Muslims, Islam has the potential to reinvigorate nationalism and turn public opinion against multiculturalism; as such, it is to be left alone. The war to be actively, violently fought with the purpose of exterminating the enemy is a secular one (against multiculturalists), and specifically phrased as such, without resorting to metaphysical/spiritual references stemming from religious tradition.

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[28] On the war against Muslims: "Perhaps this life-and-death struggle with Islam is precisely the slap in the face that we need to regroup and revitalise our civilisation. Is there still enough strength left in Europe to repel an Islamic invasion once more? If so, Muslims could indeed be responsible for triggering a Western Renaissance, the Second Renaissance." -p.337.
On the war against traitors: "We are going to win this war eventually no matter how they chose to act. If they comply with all our demands (and deport all Muslims from Europe) we will win. If they don't, then Islam will bring us to power in phase 3 (2070-2083) when the Muslims reach 50%. At this point, the peoples of Europe will scream for any group or individual who can come and solve their problems…" -p.1352).
[29] Juergensmeyer, M. (2016). Cosmic War. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion*. Retrieved 28 Dec. 2022, from https://oxfordre.com/religion/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.001.0001/acrefore-9780199340378-e-65.

**Berwick's Violence**

According to Juergensmeyer (2017), who considers Breivik a "Christian terrorist" (Juergensmeyer, 2022, p.86), a religious terrorist attack qualifies as performance violence if:

a) it has limited strategic value but successfully makes a symbolic statement,

b) victims are targeted because of their symbolic value, and

c) religion comes in as a means to control and produce desirable interpretations.

In the case of Breivik's double terrorist attacks on July 22$^{nd}$ 2011, Juergensmeyer states that "Like many modern terrorists, his violent act was a form of performance violence, a symbolic attempt at empowerment to show the world that for the moment he was in charge", that "the terrorist act was a wake-up call, and a signal that the war had begun. Behind the earthly conflict was a cosmic war, a battle of Christendom" (Juergensmeyer, 2022, p.85) and that, in any case, it didn't constitute strategic violence because it "did not result in uprisings against the government that Breivik […] thought (was) too permissive of liberal multiculturalism" (Juergensmeyer, 2017, p.154). According to Juergensmeyer then, Breivik's attacks are not "*tactics* directed toward an immediate, earthly, or strategic goal, but *dramatic events* intended to impress for their symbolic significant" (Juergensmeyer, 2017, p.155), because they lack "*strategy* (which) implies a degree of calculation and an expectation of accomplishing a clear objective that does not jibe with such dramatic displays of power as the Norwegian youth camp killings" (Juergensmeyer, 2017, p.154). Nevertheless, analysis of the manifesto paints a completely different picture about Breivik's conceptualization (and intended purposes) of such lethal attacks, as the ones he perpetrated.

First of all, rather than having abstract symbolic reasons or generally hoping to trigger uprisings against the government, Berwick sets out specific goals for what he calls "lethal shock attacks" ("The primary goal of the shock attacks is not the immediate physical manifestation of the attack…. The government will have to invest billions on security related fields, which will weaken them financially and might contribute to cuts in other fields." -pp.822-823. For the full list, *see* Table 9 in the Appendix).

Specifically, lethal shock attacks are committed for the explicit purposes of bypassing informational censorship and spreading information about the cultural conservative cause, recruiting "thousands of brothers and sisters", inflicting psychological damage on / terrorizing the Internal Enemy, and causing economic damages to the multiculturalist regimes.

In fact, making the public more aware of the cultural conservative ideology is considered to be especially important and, in itself, suffices as a legitimation for violence ("In order to successfully penetrate the cultural Marxist/multiculturalist media censorship we are forced to employ significantly more brutal and breath taking operations which will result in casualties. In order for the attack to gain an influential effect, assassinations and the use of weapons of mass destruction must be embraced."-p.824).

The Internal Enemy (and not the Muslim Enemy) is specifically identified as a, *political* for that matter, target ("The PCCTS follows a political goal, and focus attacks on the cultural Marxist/multiculturalist government, the MA100[30] political parties or any individuals who are categorised as a category A or B traitor." -p.824), and even though the symbolic impact of violent attacks is acknowledged, there is no religious framing for it[31]. Moreover, not only is the damage to be inflicted ideological—and not religiously so—, but *the violence itself* is described in secular terms rather than within a religious context ("asymmetrical warfare", "Fourth Generation warfare" etc., *see* Table 9).

Furthermore, lethal shock attacks are to be committed according to a… timeline of sorts ("Goals: - Phase 1 (1999-2030): Cell based shock attacks, sabotage attacks etc. […] Operational goals: P1: shock attacks, Execution of category A, B and C traitors (multiculturalists/cultural Marxists/suicidal humanists, capitalist globalists). Create favourable conditions for recruitment."-p.833). Situating attacks within a timeline is important, because it indicates that, according to Berwick, terrorist attacks are (to be) both recurring and designed to maximize results as a whole rather than individually ("A special emphasis was put on the long term nature of the struggle (50-100 years). Our task was to contribute to a long term approach and not to act

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[30] "MA100: (abbreviation for Multiculturalist Alliance 100) – refers to the political parties in Western Europe (approximately 100) who support multiculturalism." -p.1509.
[31] *See* Table 9.

prematurely. If there was a large scale attack the next 10 years it was said, we should avoid any immediate follow up attacks as it would negate the shock effect of the subsequent attacks. A large successful attack every 5-12 years was optimal depending on available forces"-p.1379. / "To eventually replace the regime after weakening it (this process will take decades)"-p.1480). This suggests that even if he had committed the 2011 attacks with the strategic purpose of instigating uprisings against the government, his failure to achieve this immediately after only one attack (technically two, on the same day) thus turning the attack into a symbolic one, wouldn't have mattered, since according to his own planning, attacks are not isolated events, but meant to produce results in a preplanned accumulative manner.

Finally, whereas it is true that Berwick expresses an understanding of violence as performance, even using the words "theater" and "spectacular" when referring to terrorist attacks ("Our shock attacks are theatre…." -p.826, *see* Table 9), performance-violence is not intended to simply serve as an abstract "symbolic attempt at empowerment to show the world that for the moment he was in charge" (Juergensmeyer, 2022, p.85), but in order to enhance specific goals[32]. However, since such goals (e.g. to break media censorship, to inflict ideological damage on the multiculturalist ideology thereby causing defections etc.) are not situated within a framework that makes use of religious narratives about eschatological, metaphysical battles, and the secular conflict remains secular—instead of being elevated into the sacred—, the symbolic element of Berwick's attacks can hardly be seen as religious.

In conclusion, Berwick's attacks do not lack strategic value according to Juergensmeyer's own definition of what "strategy" constitutes, because they involve clearly stated, earthly objectives meant to produce results accumulatively, according to a timeline-related design, which indicates that they are not limited to (being) a chaotic, dramatic display of power. What is more, Berwick may have both an understanding of and an appreciation for the symbolic, performed aspect of violence, however, he has carefully conceptualized violent attacks in a way that makes their

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[32] Note for example how Berwick discusses Vlad Tepes: "He managed to defeat his external enemies, using same level of cruelty like any other ruler of his times, but he was a real master of STAGING the cruelty to obtain maximum effect . He was the greatest master of imagology, hundreds of years before this science to be discovered and theorised." -p.244.

legitimation, intended results, targets, frequency and role in his overall plan difficult to relate to religious references, religious interpretations, or religiosity in general. This will become further clear in the following chapter, in which I will be discussing his <u>secular</u> conceptualization of Christianity or, in other words, an identity signifier of "us".

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**Berwick's Religion**

In order to address both Berwick's self-identification as a Christian, as well as his interest in Christian imagery and symbols (e.g. Knights Templar, the cross), it is necessary to first analyze how exactly he conceptualizes Christianity.

Specifically, Berwick makes a distinction between "religious" and "cultural" Christianity, explicitly stating that he subscribes to the latter ("If you have a personal relationship with Jesus Christ and God then you are a religious Christian. Myself and many more like me do not necessarily have a personal relationship with Jesus Christ and God. We do however believe in Christianity as a cultural, social, identity and moral platform. This makes us Christian."-p.1307). Cultural Christianity is essentially a secular "Christianity" and, much like he does with Islam, Berwick favors a political interpretation of Christianity—as such, the latter is of course supposedly superior to the former— (*see* Table 10 in the Appendix). Seemingly then, Berwick has no interest in already established (Christian) spiritual imagery that he can employ for the justification/interpretation of his war.

In fact, Berwick even refers to "**Christian agnostics**" and "**Christian atheists**", in relation to cultural Christianity, repeatedly stating that they are welcome to join the Knights Templar (a military cultural conservative order), since a spiritual relationship with the sacred—in accordance with the Christian doctrine—is not a necessary prerequisite, and cultural Christianity is as valid a form as religious Christianity[33].

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[33] *See* Table 10.

Nevertheless, even though Berwick is not interested in propagating religious "Christianity", he is interested in repurposing Christian symbols in order to fit his secular (cultural conservative) agenda. Accordingly, he emphasizes the *usefulness* of Christianity, a "platform" that is not only criticized, but also compared to—and not necessarily found superior than—other native European religions ("Christianity is the ONLY cultural platform that can unite all Europeans" - p.1361, etc. *see* Table 10). Within this context, Christianity and Christian symbols are chosen due to their high unifying capacity for representing Europeans (e.g. "the cross is the most important cultural and historical symbol. The cross is Europe." -p.338, *see* Table 10 for more).

Contrary to Christianity in general and Christian symbols such as the cross, which Berwick embraces in a calculated and rationalizing manner, however, there is a Christianity-related identification that he whole-heartedly accepts and which is important to examine as it constitutes the most cosmic war-appropriate representation offered in the manifesto, namely the Knights Templar:

> "I am one of many destroyers of cultural Marxism and as such; a hero of Europe, **a savior of** our people and of **European Christendom**[34] – by default. A perfect example which should be copied, applauded and celebrated. **The Perfect Knight I have always strived to be**[35]. A Justiciar Knight is a destroyer of multiculturalism, and as such; **a destroyer of evil and a bringer of light**[36]. I will know that I did everything I could to stop and reverse the European cultural and demographical genocide and end and reverse the Islamisation of Europe."-p.1435.

Neverthelss, even when he uses Christian lore as a matter of genuine personal preference rather than rationality, Berwick's tendency to reform/challenge a given model takes over[37]. Tellingly, his re-imaginings both of what the Church and what the Knights Templar *should* be ultimately come together in his reformatory vision.

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[34] Emphasis mine.
[35] Emphasis mine.
[36] Emphasis mine.
[37] *See* Table 10.

When it comes to the elements he finds most fascinating and important in his re-imagining of the Knights Templar, chivalry (courage and honor) and martyrdom in particular, stand out[38]. Berwick's emphasis on the importance of martyrdom especially, is indicative of the fact that his interest in and primary conceptualization of the order lies in its usability as a military force ("The core strength of a Justiciar Knight is that we accept the fact that we're already dead. In a way, this makes us partly immortal. […] The sooner you accept that, the sooner you will be able to function as a soldier is supposed to function: without mercy, without hesitation, without compassion and without remorse. All war depends upon it."-p.935), a unit which is to fight against a *secular* enemy and because of a *secular* motivation ("Revolutionary patriots like the Justiciar Knights will then be celebrated as destroyers of Marxism and the slayer of tyrants; the fearless and selfless protectors of Europe, The Perfect Knights. For there is no greater glory than dying selflessly while pro-actively protecting your people from persecution and gradual demographical annihilation."-p.940).

To summarize Berwick's thinking then, the Knights Templar-protectors of "European Christendom", like himself, are "revolutionary patriots" fighting against "Marxists" in order to prevent the "demographic annihilation" of white—Nordic especially—Europeans[39]. What is more, even though Justiciar Knights are related to Christianity, Berwick's "Christianity" is secular, as aforementioned, meaning that the main framework from which he draws references and argumentations remains political on all levels (who "we" are, who the "enemy" is, what "our" cause is, what the problem is, etc.).

Furthermore, even though religion—and, as such, culture—is a coded reference to race when it comes to phrasing the Problem (as demographic Jihad) that ultimately legitimates the use of violence, religion is also instrumentalized on a practical level notable in Berwick's intended use of the Knights Templar too ("If praying will act as an additional mental boost/soothing it is the pragmatical thing to do[40]." -p.1345). Berwick's instrumentalization of religion on a practical level,

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[38] *See* Table 10.

[39] *See* footnote 23 page 39.

[40] Also in regard to praying: "A spiritually confident individual, who does not fear what awaits him, is less likely to fear death and will therefore act more confidently and professionally in warfare. As such (and from a pragmatical viewpoint), religion is an essential component in warfare but ESSENTIAL in martyrdom operations." -p.1345.

therefore refers to using selected elements (e.g. martyrdom, praying), rather than the epic imagery and generally speaking spiritually-inclined framework expected to be found in the case of a cosmic war.

What is more, Berwick's position with regard to the religion… to be intrumentalized is not consistent, meaning that Christianity does not constitute the sole (and perhaps even Berwick's truly favourite) religion to rally around. Note for example how in the following, very cosmic war-appropriate passage, the religious identity of "our" hero is pagan:

> "We all know about the Twelfth Imam, the super-bad Muslim guy at the bottom of the well in Persia. When Armageddon arrives, when Gog grapples with Magog and battle rages across the plain at Megiddo, the Twelfth Imam will awaken and lead the armies of Islam to their final victory, establishing the kingdom of Allah here on Earth. Forget the Twelfth Imam. We've got our own dude sitting on the bench. Call him the Twelfth Viking. He's suited up, ready to join the contest as soon as he's required. The Men of the North form the core of the Counterjihad. They are already in action, clearing the back alleys of Anbar Province, riding point in Kabul, and forming up in self-organised groups to defend our borders. As I've said before, it's not race that's the issue here, it's culture. The culture of the Danes, the Norsemen, the English, and the Celts. The culture of the hardy and self-reliant Men of the North, always ready to defend their ancient liberties with a ferocity that their enemies can scarcely imagine. The culture of productive enterprise and armed self-determination that has spread to all corners of the globe." -p.242.

This is an extremely interesting imagined/symbolic portrayal for two reasons: First of all, whereas Berwick begins by using Abrahamic lore and even finally refers to an epic, apocalyptic battle using religious references[41], his imagined/ideal response to the epic Muslim hero, is an epic *Viking* warrior. This is typical of Berwick's re-imagination of religious references, which ends

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[41] This is **the only time in 1518 pages** that the reader is actually graced with a cosmic war representation.

in mix and match imagery that does not truly allude to any religion, as it requires their reformation according to Berwick's secular agenda[42].

Secondly, even though the enemy is discussed in religious terms as far as "our" side is concerned, religion is completely discarded as the most important identity signifier and becomes replaced by "culture" instead; the culture of "the Danes, the Norsemen, the English, and the Celts" specifically. This suggests that religion, however abstractly or in practical terms it is re-imagined and instrumentalized by Berwick, is not prioritized as the most significant identity signifier and, subsequently, has a limited importance as a framework anyway. Also, Berwick's racial agenda is (once again) evident (if the issue truly concerned "Europeans" and their "culture", then why is "European" culture limited to the culture of Nordic people?), suggesting that, like religion, "culture" is a coded reference to race.

Finally, as far as Berwick's own religious identification is concerned, he states that he is Protestant, but "not excessively religious" and in favor of a reformation of the Church in accordance with his cultural conservative agenda, as he is first and foremost "a supporter of a monocultural Christian Europe." (p.1404, *see* Table 10). Taking everything in consideration, this "monocultural Christian Europe" refers to a white, secular Norway (and rest of the Western world).

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In conclusion, Berwick dialectically engages religious references with the intent to repurpose/reform them in a way that best fits his secular, cultural conservative agenda. His conceptualization of the kind of "Christianity" he endorses in particular, is a prime example of the secularization that religion goes through in order to fit into his narrative. Even reformed however, Christianity specifically is seemingly not his truly favourite religion (in comparison to Odinism), whereas Religion in general is also a secondary identity signifier in comparison with "culture"—which, in itself, is another coded reference to race.

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[42] Another example is the intended reformation of the Church, as soon as cultural conservatives seize political and military power - *see*

# Conclusion

Breivik's double terrorist attack on July 22$^{nd}$, 2011, can be described in accordance with Juergensmeyer's cosmic war theory only to the extent that Breivik actually shares Juergensmeyer's specific understanding of the symbolic use of violence and instrumentalization of a religiously inspired framework. Nevertheless, analysis of Breivik's manifesto has revealed major deviations from a narrative fitting not only Juergensmeyer's performance violence and cosmic war conceptualizations, but, ultimately, his characterization of Breivik's terrorism as "religious". Specifically, Juergensmeyer's cosmic war concept **can not** be applied to Breivik's terrorism because of the following reasons:

As far as the "religiously" othered Enemy is concerned, Islam is conceptualized as a political–military expansionist hate ideology, that must be removed through the deportations—but not killings—of Muslims from Europe. The Internal Enemy (multiculturalist traitors) is considered worse than the Muslim Enemy and must be executed. In fact, working together with the Muslim Enemy in order to unleash devastating (e.g. nuclear) attacks against indigenous (white, Christian) Europeans, on European ground, is a possibility.

As far as the "religiously" defined in-group (meaning "our" side) is concerned, Breivik makes a distinction between "religious" (meaning spiritual) and "cultural" (meaning secular) Christianity, specifically choosing the latter as his and the in-group's identification. Despite using imagery and symbols related to Christian lore (e.g. the Knights Templar, praying, the cross, etc.) even in this, secular, reconfiguration, paganism (Odinism, vikings)  seems to be his truly preferable cultural/secular "religious" response to the "religious" threat of political Islam, as evidenced by the only cosmic war representation gracing the 1518 page manifesto (the epic battle of the armies lead by the Twelfth Imam against "our" hero-champion, the Twelfth Viking, and the men of the North -*see* p.67).

As far as the "religious" war being waged/to be waged is concerned, according to Breivik's conceptualization of Islam, there is an ongoing jihad being fought through the use of demographical warfare (because Muslims still constitute a minority in Europe and supposedly

cannot afford to commit violent attacks en masse). Because of this one-sided, non-violent "war", it is vital that cultural conservatives (nationalists) fight a violent war against multiculturalist traitors, in order to seize military and political control in Europe (through terrorist attacks, coup d'états and executions). Therefore, the War to be actively, violently fought with the purpose of exterminating the enemy—of which Breivik considers his double terrorist attack a part of—is a secular one (against multiculturalist elites) and specifically phrased as such, without resorting to metaphysical/spiritual references stemming from religious tradition. Breivik considers this War winnable on the worldly plane and without (the help of) divine intervention.

As far as the "religiously" defined Problem is concerned (meaning the demographic warfare jihad that Muslims are supposedly waging against Europeans), the powerful identity signifier that Breivik appeals to is, in reality, (ethnic) Nationalism, and not truly Religion: Analysis of Breivik's objectives and overall rhetoric throughout the manifesto indicates that religion and culture are thinly-veiled coded references to race, meaning that, in reality, Breivik is concerned about the extinction of white, Nordic especially, Europeans, and chooses to describe the threat in cultural terms, in order to avoid problematic associations with Nazism.

In itself, the instrumentalization of religion in general or "Islam" and "Christianity" specifically, does not constitute a problem as far as the cosmic war theory is concerned, because religion is meant to provide a framework, regardless of one's actual (spiritual) belief. However, the cosmic war theory can't be used to describe Breivik's war, because instead of alluding to established, religious frameworks to legitimate his narrative, Breivik dialectically engages religious references with the intent to repurpose/reform them in a way that best fits his secular, cultural conservative—racial/racist, in reality—agenda. This tendency is consistent and pertains both to the conceptualization of the "religiously" othered Enemy (e.g. "teaching" Islamic orthodox doctrine to the reader[43] in order to establish and propagate his version of "Islam") and the "religiously" defined in-group (e.g. secularizing Christianity, wanting to reform the Church in order to fit his nationalist agenda, etc.).

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[43] *See* Means Objectives, Table 5a.

Finally, Juergensmeyer's cosmic war theory is based on a conceptualization of "performance violence", according to which strategic and symbolic terrorism are the polar opposites in an imagined spectrum; accordingly, the scholar considers Breivik's (double) terrorist attack symbolic, because it is seen as a dramatic display of power "intended to impress for (its) symbolic significant" (Juergensmeyer, 2017, p.155). However, Breivik's attacks do not lack strategic value according to Juergensmeyer's *own definition* of what strategy constitutes (*see* p.61), because they involve clearly stated, earthly objectives (bypassing informational censorship and spreading information about the cultural conservative cause, recruiting new members, terrorizing the Internal Enemy, and causing economic damages to the multiculturalist regimes) meant to produce results accumulatively, according to a timeline-related design, rather than as one-time chaotic/dramatic events.

What is more, even though Breivik acknowledges the symbolic impact of violent attacks and expresses an understanding of violence as a performance (explicitly using the words "theater" and "spectacular"), violence is discussed using secular rather than religious language, and symbolic violence specifically is considered an enhancer of secular objectives, making it hard to relate his use of the symbolic to the religiosity necessary for a cosmic war interpretation.

In conclusion, **Breivik's terrorism is not religious, but decidedly secular**, because it concerns a war fought against a *secular* enemy, for a *secular* cause and by a *secular* in-group whose "Christianity" is, at best, the explicitly non-religious, yet "cultural" half-hearted, rationalized second best to the secretly preferable Odinism—and a coded reference to race anyway. As such, **Breivik's War is atypical of the capitalization of religious narratives that a cosmic war necessitates**: his mix and match reconfigurations and re-imaginings of religious references is particularly problematic, because the relevance/usefulness of (the supposedly prone to violence) religion, as far as cosmic war theory is concerned, is precisely that established metaphysical (religious) imagery can be weaponized in order to legitimize violent conflicts.

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Finally, Breivik's ideas may indeed inspire acts of truly religious terrorism in extremist individuals, regardless of how he is represented; However, it is vital that scholars and the media do not encourage the misrepresentation of secular violence, by inaccurately portraying him—and other similar cases—as a religious terrorist, because that secondary instrumentalization of religion on the part of the analyst rather than the terrorist-subject, makes unclear what the true targets are (e.g. government officials, antagonistic political parties etc.) and draws (negative) attention to religious groups while letting future non-religious, radicalized lone wolves fly under the radar, thereby unnecessarily pouring taxpayer money into questionable security policies[44].

Introducing "religion" in the discursive representations of terrorist acts, should therefore include discussing the perpetrator's specific conceptualization of religion, particularly with regard to whether it is a coded reference to another issue altogether. In this context, deceptively all-encompassing theoretical tools, such as Juergensmeyer's "cosmic war" concept, need to be refined by specifically including parameters concerning **secular violence**, that narrow down the cases of sociopolitical conflicts that *can* be described as religiously framed terrorism/cosmic wars, even when the terrorist brings up "religion".

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[44] Arguably, Breivik managed to gather materials in order to build, test, and successfully use bombs, exactly because he doesn't fit the profile of the person that is subjected to "random" airport security checks, for example.

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# Appendix

Table 1. Nation.

| Author | Definition |
|---|---|
| Stalin (☭) | "A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture." (Stalin 1953, chap. 1) |
| Hastings (Roman Catholic priest, primordialist) | "A nation is a far more self-conscious community than an ethnicity. Formed from one or more ethnicities, and normally identified by a literature of its own, it possesses or claims the right to political identity and autonomy as a people, together with the control of specific territory, comparable to that of biblical Israel and of other independent entities in a world thought of as one of nation-states." (Hastings, 1997, p.3) |
| Renan (early constructivist – he actually predates the school) | "The modern nation is therefore a historical result brought about by a series of convergent facts. Sometimes unity has been effected by a dynasty, as was the case for France; sometimes by the direct will of the provinces, as was the case with Holland, Switzerland, Belgium; sometimes it has been the work of a general consciousness, belatedly victorious over the caprices of feudalism, as was the case in Italy and Germany." (Renan, 2018, pp.251-252)  "A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things that, in truth, are but one constitute this soul, this spiritual principle.  One is in the past, the other in the present.  One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present consent, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received in an undivided form."  (Renan, 2018, p.261) |

| | |
|---|---|
| Anthony Smith<br><br>(ethnosymbolist) | "A named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths, and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy, and common legal rights and duties for its members."  (Smith, 1991, p.40) |
| Hobsbawm<br><br>(modernist / constructivist) | "The primary meaning of 'nation', and the one most frequently ventilated in the literature, was political. It equated 'the people' and the state in the manner of the American and French Revolutions, and equation which is familiar in such phrases as 'the nation-state, the 'United Nations', or the rhetoric of late-twentieth-century presidents."  (Hobsbawm, 2012, p.18)<br><br>"The 'nation' so considered, was the body of citizens whose collective sovereignty constituted them a state which was their political expression. For, whatever else a nation was, the element of citizenship and mass participation or choice was never absent from it." (Hobsbawm, 2012, pp.18-19) |
| Benedict Anderson<br><br>(modernist / constructivist) | "In the anthropological spirit, then, I propose the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign."<br><br>(Anderson, 2006, pp.5-6) |
| Gellner<br><br>(modernist / constructivist) | "It is nationalism which engenders nations, and not the other way round. Admittedly, nationalism uses the pre-existing, historically inherited proliferation of cultures or cultural wealth, though it uses them very selectively, and it most often transforms them radically. Dead languages can be revived, traditions invented, quite fictitious pristine purities restored . . . the cultural shards and patches used by nationalism are often arbitrary historical inventions. Any old shard and patch would have served as well." (Gellner, 1983, pp.55-56) |

Table 4a. Group A means objectives.

| [Group A] |
| --- |
| Knowledge of the Threat & Enemy (instill fear) |

- What Islam, Jihad, Al-taquiyya, Dhimmitude really are ⇨ Demographic threat.

- What Multiculturalism / Cultural Marxism, Political Correctness is. Who the internal traitors are. (Multiculturalists, feminists, Eurabians, etc.) ⇨ They (and not Muslims) must be killed. Alliance with jihadis is possible.

- Spread this knowledge ⇨ Distribute manifesto, create paper presence, make spectacular deadly attacks.

Objectives:

1) **Educate people about the doctrine of Islam.**
   ["People should be educated about the realities of Jihad and sharia. Educating non-Muslims about Islam is probably more important than educating Muslims, but we should do both." -p.334. / "We must learn about the doctrine of Islam. Knowledge of the doctrine is akin to having the 'playbook' of the opposing team in a sporting match. But this is not sport for us, it is about nothing else than our existential survival as non-Islamic countries and cultures. […] without knowledge some do not even realise that they are at war with us and therefore we are at war with them."-p.401 / "the history of the last 1400 year Islamic Jihad against non-Muslims and Europe comprises one of the most radical forms of historical negationism. The First chapter of this book is therefore dedicated in memory of this ongoing Jihad. We must strive to combat and reverse state sanctioned falsification process by preparing for the time when the true history of Islam will be re-introduced." -p.38.]

2) **Educate people about what Multiculturalism, cultural Marxism and Political Correctness are.**
   ["Very few Western Europeans realise that Political Correctness is in fact Marxism in a different set of clothes. As that realisation spreads, defiance will spread with it." -p.14. "Through defiance and through education on our part (which should be part of every act of defiance), we can strip its camouflage and reveal the Marxism beneath the window-dressing of 'sensitivity', 'tolerance', and 'multiculturalism'" -p.15. "Political Correctness – or cultural Marxism, to give it its true name –" -p.18.]

3) **Educate people about the Eurabia Project.**

["As Bat Ye'or points out, most of the workings of Eurabia are hidden from the public view, but sometimes we can catch glimpses of it if we know what to look for." -p.415.]

4) **Distribute the Manifesto.**
["I ask only one favour of you; I ask that you distribute this book to everyone you know." -p.5. "please help to make this book available to through various torrents, blogs, websites, on Facebook, on Twitter, on forums and through other arenas. It is truly a one-of-a-kind, unique and great tool that can and should be used by all cultural conservatives in the decades to come." -p.6.]

5) **Create a paper presence.**
["Creating a "paper" presence will be essential to reach a greater number of European patriots."-p.670. "seeking national distributions for publications critical of multiculturalism should be a prioritised task and we owe it to everyone to do our best in this process." -p.672.]

6) **Make spectacular, deadly shock attacks.**
["cultural Marxists/multiculturalists in Oslo may be the target today, but cultural Marxists in London, Paris, Berlin, Brussels, Milan or Madrid will be the target tomorrow. This war has just begun and we have no intention of acting prematurely. We know that time is on our side. Unfortunately, spectacular operations like these are the only way to be heard. Everything else we have tried has failed and yielded nothing. The Muslims showed us that deadly shock attacks are the only tool we have at the moment which will guarantee that our voice is heard. By forcing them to acknowledge our presence and explaining our agenda to everyone we are making it very hard for the cultural Marxist/multiculturalist media establishment to ignore the call of the free people of Europe." -p.1351.]

Table 4b. Group B means objectives.

[Group B]

Make the Enemy look Bad

- Draw parallels between Nazism and the (internal or Muslim) Enemy.

  - Jews are allies.

- Emphasize the historical savagery and animalistic nature of Muslims.
  (Slavery, Genocides, Pogroms, Rapes, Crime)

  - Christians disappearing: The case study of Lebanon.

Objectives

7) **"Support Israel's fight against Jihad"** (p.818)

8) **Show that "the fear of Islamisation is all but irrational"** (p.4).

["The fixed linkage between jihad – a permanent, uniquely Islamic institution – and enslavement, provides a very tenable explanation for the unparalleled scale and persistence of slavery in Muslim dominions, and societies. […] Jihad slavery, in its myriad manifestations, became a powerful instrument for both expansive Islamisation, and the maintenance of Muslim societies." -p.123. / "The scale and scope of Islamic slavery in Africa are comparable to the Western trans-Atlantic slave trade to the Americas" -p.125. / "Contemporary manifestations of Islamic slavery – certainly the razzias (raids) waged by Arab Muslim militias against their black Christian, animist, and animist-Muslim prey in both the Southern Sudan and Darfur -and even in its own context, the persistence of slavery in Mauritania (again, black slaves, Arab masters) – reflect the pernicious impact of jihad slavery as an enduring Muslim institution." -p.129. / "Several examples are classical Jihadi beheadings (not in Europe). Not to mention the outreach of contemporary slavery of Christians, Hindus in Muslim countries. There are thousands of examples of non-Muslim slaves in Muslim countries (who are slaves because they refuse to embrace Islam) and Western journalists are systematically ignoring it." -p.386.

"In Marocco, Algeria and Libya Christianity has died out due to centuries of Genocides, persecutions and harsh forms of dhimmitude. Judaism on the other hand survived but only barely" -p.421.

"The decline of the Christian role in Lebanon was caused by four factors. Firstly, the typical strife with the Muslim foes, secondly by internal Christian division and fighting, thirdly by foreign intervention and fourthly by voluntary and forced emigration of many Christians." -p.209. / "It is very plausible that the number of Christians will become negligible in 50 years and thus their presence in the Middle East will be in jeopardy." (about Lebanon) -p.213 / "The Christian's privileged status in Lebanon was challenged due to the demographic shift that increasingly favoured the Muslims over them." -p.217. / "The Islamic takeover of a country or a region of the country – is dependent on the relative proportion of Muslims compared with non-Muslims, and/or the influence of militant Muslims among the Muslim population. A higher proportion of Muslims among the population - or the growth of the number of militants among Muslims (even though Muslims constitute a smaller part of the population), drive the political development along a certain path. A successful assimilation process may change that path but there seems to be no definite examples yet of such a process." -p.484. / "Europe is under siege by Islam. It is under demographical siege." -p.563. / "The political and cultural elites are deliberately selling

their own people into Islamic slavery by allowing Islamic demographical warfare and by their reluctance to ensure a national indigenous fertility rate of 2,1." -p.786.

   "The massive wave of violence and especially rapes in Western cities now is a form of warfare against whites, and it's about time it is recognised as such." -p.343. / "There are several thousand native Europeans lying in graves who would be alive today if it were not for mass immigration. There are tens of thousands of living ones who have suffered vicious immigration crime. Millions more are going to suffer in the future, because this disaster will not be reversed overnight."-p.408. / "Although the EU warns against 'Islamophobia', those who live in the real world know that there has been an explosion of violent infidelophobia in Western Europe staged by Muslim immigrants. This wave of violence especially targets Jews, but the attacks against Christians that are going on in the Middle East are increasingly spreading to Europe as well. In more and more cities across the continent, non-Muslims are being harassed, robbed, mugged, raped, stabbed and even killed by Muslims. Native Europeans are slowly becoming second-rate citizens in their own countries. This violence by Muslims is usually labelled simply as 'crime', but I believe it should more accurately be called Jihad." -pp.717-718.]

Table 4c. Group C means objectives.

[Group C]

Make "us" look Good

- Fix negative public image of cultural conservatives.

- Convince the people that cultural conservatism is a defensive movement.

   Objectives

9) **Empower cultural self-confidence.**
   ["'The root of Europe's problems is the lack of cultural self- confidence (nationalism). Most people are still terrified of nationalistic political doctrines thinking that if we ever embrace these principles again, new 'Hitler's' will suddenly pop up and initiate global armageddon. Needless to say; the growing numbers of nationalists in Europe are systematically being ridiculed, silenced and persecuted by the current cultural Marxist/multiculturalist political establishments. This irrational fear of nationalistic doctrines is preventing us from stopping our own national/cultural suicide as the hordes of Islam is increasing annually.'" -p.585.]

10) **Educate people about the Crusades.**

[“In both the Western academia and media as well as the Islamic world, the Crusades are viewed as wars of aggression fought by bloody-minded Christians against peaceful Muslims. While the Crusades were certainly bloody, they are more accurately understood as a belated Western response to centuries of jihad than as an unprovoked, unilateral attack.” -p.98. / “The Crusaders were a defensive force” -p.137.]

11) **Explain that "we" are a defensive movement.**
[“Everyone needs to know that we are a purely defensive movement. We didn't start this fight that is leading us to cultural suicide. They did, the cultural Marxists/multiculturalists. We are simply doing what is necessary to protect European culture and to make sure we won't end up under Sharia law.” -p.655.]

12) **Win the hearts and minds of people (with regard to cultural conservatism).**
[“We must win the people over culturally—by defining how man ought to act, how he ought to perceive the world around him, and what it means to live the good life. What is the meaning of life? How should we relate to each other? Our families and communities? Other nations? God? The planet? What is good, and how do we recognise it? What is evil, and how should we respond? These are the basic ontological questions on which our ability to parse the rest of reality depends—the foundations of every human's cognitive model of the world. Change these underlying assumptions, and the way we prioritise and evaluate everything else in the world necessarily changes, too. We must recognise this and focus on selling the cultural conservative worldview, via every possible channel. We must make this the central focus of our movement. Once we get them to accept our basic assumptions about reality (rationalism), we know, the rest of our agenda will follow naturally. We must set ourselves up as a daring and controversial counterculture that offers an original and rebellious alternative to the prevailing set of cultural Marxist/multiculturalist assumptions.” -p.653.]

13) **Avoid problematic language.**
[“Using appropriate rhetoric is essential in communicating a message successfully. The word ‘white', ‘ethnic' or ‘nationalist' for that matter should never be used in modern debates with adversaries or individuals who may have been subject to severe indoctrination. These words are so stained by history and post-war media coverage that you are basically just undermining yourself and the message you seek to communicate by actively using them. It's wise to limit the use of all words that has stigma attached as well as or the cultural Marxist/multiculturalist mainstream media will attempt to label you as a bigot. If you use the word ‘race' you are basically contributing to committing character assassination of yourself or will contribute to self-defeat of the organisational goals you are representing. You need to understand the following; the modern European man/women has been indoctrinated or conditioned in a way that he is likely to run for the hill or active subliminous mental defensive blocks if you use rhetoric containing these words in your attempt to reach out to him or her. Ill try to explain this more throuroughly as this applies to me as well. In a world where the absolute arch sin is to be a Nazi, words who are associated with Nazis must be avoided at all costs, regardless of the justification for associating them with given ideology.” -p.661.]

14) **Avoid problematic behavior/associations.**

["Appear politically correct or at least moderate, dress normally. Try to limit your rhetorical activities. Avoid excessive forum posting. Excessive forum activity might get you "flagged" by your national government." -p.842.]

Table 4d. Group D means objectives.

[Group D]

Join the Resistance

- Organize the resistance against the government [homegrown terrorism].

- Mentally and physically prepare yourself for attack operations.

- Resort to violence.

Objectives

15) **Prepare the groundwork for a second European Renaissance.**

["Creating the foundation for a Second European Renaissance, pre-2083
The essence of consolidation for all European cultural conservative is: 1. Defining who we are and whom we are willing to include/exclude 2. Describing the problem/what we want "fixed" 3. Conclusions/Solutions/The way ahead" -p.649.]

16) **Create a Youth movement.**

["Create a pan European student/youth movement (at universities, high schools, social activities). F example call it: 'Young Europeans', 'Christian European Renaissance Movement' or just 'Renaissance Movement' (Attempting to unite Christians, Anti-Eurabians, nationalists and other types of cultural conservatives." -p.652. / "Patriotic youth groups (also referred to as street activists) are the back bone of the resistance and the creation of such political entities should be a primary goal." -p.1237.]

17) **Create a Resistance movement.**

["we have only a few decades to consolidate a sufficient level of resistance before our major cities are completely demographically overwhelmed by Muslims." -p.9. / "The difference between other indigenous rights movements and the European indigenous rights movements is that we have not in any way been defeated militarily. The European armed indigenous rights movements/resistance movements are just starting to emerge and this will continue in the coming decades. The armed fight for our survival lies ahead of us." -p.667-668.]

18) **Train elite tacticians.**
["Invest in creating elite tacticians No successful movement goes anywhere without a tightly-knit, trusted, trained core of elite activist leaders who are all working for the same goal." -p.654.]

19) **Invest smartly.**
["My advice to all cultural conservatives now (2010) is therefore to steer away from real estate, stock market investments and investments in Muslim countries altogether and rather invest in commodity. […] As a general rule, stay away from stocks. But if nevertheless are planning to invest then focus on the following areas: Anything military/security related (guns, body armour, war supplies, security etc) Transport sector – truck companies, railway, shipping (bulk, tank etc). Transport rates will go through the roof as they do in all wars. However, many transport units always face the risk of expropriation from national governments/militaries. Coca Cola and similar companies have traditionally been "crisis proof". Farming/food production related companies. Worst case scenario: Alternative investments for the future (items that have little value today but will increase in value) - Guns – everything from assault rifles, ammo, grenades and mines. - Body armour - Fortified rural compounds with large rations of food/water - Survival gear – including survival books, kits, fishing gear, basic farming equipment - Farms with focus on high calorie products - Automobiles with limited high tech electronics (standard diesel engines) -p.760.]

20) **Become familiar with urban terrain.**
["Being familiar with the avenues, streets, alleys, ins and outs, the corners of the urban centers, its paths and shortcuts, its empty lots, its underground passages, its pipes and sewer systems, the urban resistance fighter safely crosses through the irregular and difficult terrain unfamiliar to the police, where the police can be surprised in a fatal ambush or trap at any moment. Because he knows the terrain, the Justiciar Knight can pass through it on foot, on bicycle, in a car, and never be trapped." -p.828.]

21) **Finance operation – gather intel - acquire weapons.**
["Finance the operation: from 10 000 Euros for basic operations (consecutive executions) and up to 300 000+ Euros (for more advanced operations). - Buying forged ID (if necessary) - Rent an apartment and/or hiding place (base of operation), including setting up armour/explosive caches (hid/dug down in remote locations) – Transportation (car rental) - Information (anonymous PC/laptop – internet) – Buy weapons/armour/ammo/explosive components" -p.831.]

22) **Avoid electronic communications – use software to hide your electronic traces.**
["We therefore avoid the use of electronic communications (including mobile phones, email and internet chat), because electronic intelligence, signals intelligence, ELINT, SIGINT, is a strength of conventional militaries and counterintelligence organisations." -p.830. / "Use software which masks your IP address and other technology while researching via the internet (f example the Tor network, anonymize.net or Ipredator). Be extra careful when researching for bomb schematics (fertiliser bombs) as many terms will trigger electronic alerts. You can consider using other people's networks remotely via laptop by parking outside their apartment/house. You can also

buy an anonymous laptop and browse free from your local Mc Donalds etc. Use software to remove spy ware, cookies etc. Before you start planning an operation use the following guidelines: No email correspondence, phone activity that might incriminate you or reveal any information of relevance. The most essential aim is to avoid ending up on any watch list." -p.843.]

23) **Prepare an alibi.**

["Present a "credible project/alibi" to your friends, co-workers and family. Announce to your closest friends, co-workers and family that you are pursuing a "project" that can at least partly justify your "new pattern of activities" (isolation/travel) while in the planning phase. F example, tell them that you have started to play World of Warcraft or any other online MMO game and that you wish to focus on this for the next months/year" -p.841.]

24) **Meditate and keep yourself motivated.**

["I simulate/meditate while I go for a walk, playing my Ipod in my neighbourhood. This consists of a daily 40 minute walk while at the same time philosophising ideologically/performing self indoctrination and the mental simulation of the operation while listening to motivational and inspiring music. I simulate various future scenarios relating to resistance efforts, confrontations with police, future interrogation scenarios, future court appearances, future media interviews etc. or I philosophise about certain articles in the book. This daily mental exercise or ritual keeps me fully motivated and charges my batteries. And I'm sure it can work for other people as well." -p.845-846.]

25) **Prepare yourself physically (exercise and take steroids).**

["You are going have to go through a 'physical transformation period' to prepare yourself as a Justiciar Knight before you engage in armed resistance against the cultural Marxist/multiculturalist establishment. As such, the struggle requires determination, courage, and top physical conditioning. [...] You should really consider using steroids to reach your goal."-p.892. / "The use of anabolic steroids will significantly increase your agility, speed, strength and endurance." -p.895. / "Physical fitness will give you the resources to cope with fatigue. The fitter you are the better you will survive. Start training now" -p.902.]

26) **Acquire armor and explosives.**

["1. Armour research phase 2. Armour acquirement phase Purge harddrive, purge evidence, bury armour crate 3. Weapons research phase 4. Weapons acquirement phase Purge harddrive, evidence, did not bury weapons crate 5. Explosives research phase 6. Explosives acquirement phase Purge harddrive, purge evidence 7. Explosives manufacturing phase 8. Execution" -p.850-851.]

27) **Go on sabotage missions to inflict economic damage to the cultural Marxist regime.**
["The primary purpose of sabotage missions is to cause system disruptions or contribute to gradual but devastating economic losses to the cultural Marxist regime. The most potent and efficient way of doing this is to select targets and use means that will trigger secondary reactions and effects. These secondary reactions/effects can be f example pollution/oil spills (requiring

extremely expensive cleanup operations), damage on the electricity or communications net." -p.966. / "devastating sabotage attacks, which have the potential to cripple a countries economy, should not be employed by resistance fighters in countries where there are realistic possibilities for a democratical regime shift or where the people have not undergone two decades of severe mental conditioning (brainwashing) and should therefore be limited to Western European countries." -p.978.]

28) **Take professional pictures with female patriotic models for recruitment campaigns.**
["Sexy projections of females sell and inspire, in peacetime and during war. There will primarily be men taking most of the risks so it should be a priority to appeal to a broadest selection of European males. Resistance leaders/cell commanders or individual cell operatives must prioritise to arrange and book a professional photo session prior to operation for one or all involved. Resistance leaders of larger networks should also arrange photo sessions with female patriotic models to use in online marketing/recruitment campaigns. It is essential that enough resources are invested into marketing material in order to create a professional and appealing image of our struggle." -p.1066.]

29) **Watch out for Wiki attacks.**
["Keep in mind that our enemies (cultural Marxists, humanists) may try to use Wikipedia to ridicule or discredit these resistance fighters. They may also attempt to sabotage existing Wikipedia entries. All sympathisers should therefore keep an eye out for these wiki attacks." -p.1067.]

30) **Use your trial to make the cultural conservative cause known (if caught).**
["The goal for the European resistance fighter is not to win the trial but to present all available evidence, presented in this compendium, and his cause in the most favourable way in order to help generate a maximum amount of sympathisers and supporters for the national and/or European patriotic resistance movement." (trial after being caught) -p.1104.]

31) **Avoid paying taxes when possible.**
["Avoid paying more tax than you have to, if you see a loophole – use it. If you have the possibility to prevent taxation through illegal means – do it (as long as you know you will get away with it of course). If you have the opportunity to burden the system, even if your situation does not require it, do it. These approaches are known as economical resistance methods. They represent methods ordinary patriots can use to contribute to burden and thereby weaken the system whenever an opportunity arises. Do whatever you can to avoid unnecessary taxation, even it means breaking the law. Because if you are contributing to sustain the system you are basically funding and facilitating the multiculturalist elites agenda allowing them to continue to sell their people into Islamic slavery." -pp.1121-1122.]

32) **Become a Justiciar Knight.**
["There are many ways to contribute to the struggle. Becoming a Justiciar Knight is just one out of several manifestations of the struggle" -p.1411.]

33) **Create a nationalist/patriotic conservative blog or YouTube channel.**
["You can be a blogger, spreading the truth about the topics listed in this book. - Create a blog today and spread the Conservative Revolution; Wordpress.com, Blogger.com. Register your blog with nationalist/patriotic/conservative blog networks so you can stay in touch with others like you. Create a channel on Youtube or join other patriotic channels. You can publish your videos by creating an account." -p.1411.]

34) **Infiltrate a mainstream political party.**
["You may try to influence the democratical process by infiltrating the MA100 political parties (parties supporting multiculturalism) and weaken their resolve from the inside." -p.1411.]

35) **Infiltrate the police or military.**
["You can seek a career in the police force or the military with the goal of reaching positions where you gain influence when the window of opportunity opens up within a few decades. The military command is perhaps the most important arena as it will be extremely important in phase 2 and 3." -p.1412.]

36) **Infiltrate the media.**
["You can seek a career in any media organisations, particularly the broadcast media." -p.1412.]

37) **Infiltrate academia.**
["Academic infiltration is just as important as joining the guerrilla movement in phase 1. You might not see immediate results but you are playing a crucial role." -p.1412.]

38) **Have (more) children and teach them cultural conservatism.**
["Another much underestimated task is procreation. By having as many children as possible and 'moulding them into conservative warriors; to fight with the pen or the sword' will be the key to our future victory. We need a new generation who has been shielded from the cultural Marxist/multiculturalist indoctrination campaigns and we need brothers and sisters who parent these future Europeans heroes. If you are not willing to sacrifice your own life, then I would strongly advise you to make babies and ensure that they will be willing to sacrifice theirs when the time is right." -p.1411-1412.]

39) **Attack Muslims to cause their radicalization.**
["The European Islamic Ummah is our most potent weapon in our fight against the establishment. Our objective in Phase 1 and 2 will be to manipulate this force by contributing to radicalise Muslim individuals." -p.922. / "Manipulative proxy attacks Involves all devastating attacks against Muslim groups with the purpose of provoking a collective response or manipulate individual Muslims to choose the path of Jihad." -p.1064.]

40) **Prepare for pan-European coup d'états** (their realization is a fundamental objective)**.**
["European Civil War, Phase 1 – 1999-2030
- Islam, 2-30% based on country

- Open source warfare, military shock attacks by clandestine cell systems.
- Further consolidation of conservative forces.
European Civil War, Phase 2 – 2030-2070
- Islam, 15-40% based on country
- Consolidation continues, more advanced forms of resistance groups.
- Preparation for pan-European coup d'états." -p.803.]

41) **Declare a pre-emptive war against multiculturalist elites of Western Europe.**
["The time for dialogue is over. We gave peace a chance. The time for armed resistance has come. PCCTS, Knights Templar on behalf of the free peoples of Europe, hereby declare a pre-emptive war against the cultural Marxist/ multiculturalist regimes of Western Europe. We acknowledge that Europe has been in a technical state of civil war since 1999 when European and US cultural Marxists/multiculturalists, through NATO, decided to attack Christian Serb forces and thus disallowing them their right to repel Islam from their ancestral lands. The war against the cultural Marxist/multiculturalist regimes of Europe is a pre-emptive war, waged in order to repel, defeat or weaken an ongoing Islamic invasion/ colonisation, to gain a strategic advantage in an unavoidable war before that threat materialises. Thus, we consider this pre-emptive war as completely justifiable as it is a war of self- defence. We cannot afford to wait around and re-act when it is too late. We have anticipated, identified and will act accordingly upon the refuse, volatile, national and international conditions before they become explosive, before they lead us to catastrophe." -p.816. / "We, the free indigenous peoples of Europe, hereby declare a pre-emptive war on all cultural Marxist/multiculturalist elites of Western Europe." -p.802.]

| Group A | Group B | Group C | Group D | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Knowledge of the Threat & the Enemy (instill fear)<br><br>• What Islam, Jihad, Al-Taqiyya, Dhimmitude really are => Demographic threat<br><br>• What Multiculturalism / Cultural Marxism, Political Correctness is. Who the internal traitors are. (Multiculturalists, feminists, Eurabians, etc.) => They (and not Muslims) must be killed. Alliance with jihadists is possible.<br><br>• Spread this knowledge => Distribute manifesto, create paper presence., make spectacular deadly attacks.<br><br>**Objectives**<br>1) Educate people about the doctrine of Islam.<br>2) Educate people about what Multiculturalism, cultural Marxism and Political Correctness truly are.<br>3) Educate people about the Eurabia Project.<br>4) Distribute the Manifesto.<br>5) Create a paper presence.<br>6) Make spectacular, deadly shock attacks. | Make the Enemy look Bad<br><br>• Draw parallels between Nazism and the (internal or Muslim) Enemy. · Jews are allies.<br><br>• Emphasize the historical savagery & animalistic nature of Muslims. (Slavery, Genocides, Pogroms, Rapes, Crime) · Christians disappearing · The case study of Lebanon.<br><br>**Objectives**<br>1) Support Israel's fight against Jihad.<br>2) Show that the fear of Islamisation is all but irrational. | Make 'us' look Good<br><br>• Fix negative public image of cultural conservatives.<br><br>• Convince the people that cultural conservatism is a defensive movement.<br><br>**Objectives**<br>1) Empower cultural self-confidence.<br>2) Educate people about the Crusades.<br>3) Explain that 'we' are a defensive movement.<br>4) Win the hearts and minds of people (with regard to cultural conservatism).<br>5) Avoid problematic language.<br>6) Avoid problematic behavior/associations | Join the Resistance<br><br>• Organize the resistance against the government [homegrown terrorism].<br><br>• Mentally and physically prepare yourself for attack operations<br> • Resort to violence.<br><br>**Objectives**<br>1) Prepare the groundwork for a second European Renaissance.<br>2) Create a Youth movement.<br>3) Create a Resistance movement.<br>4) Train elite tacticians.<br>5) Invest smartly.<br>6) Become familiar with urban terrain.<br>7) Finance operation - gather intel - acquire weapons.<br>8) Avoid electronic communications - use software to hide your electronic traces.<br>9) Prepare an alibi.<br>10) Meditate and keep yourself motivated.<br>11) Prepare yourself physically (exercise and take steroids). | 12) Acquire armor and explosives.<br>13) Go on sabotage missions to inflict economic damage to the cultural Marxist regime.<br>14) Take professional pictures with female patriotic models for recruitment campaigns.<br>15) Watch out for Wiki attacks.<br>16) Use your trial to make the cultural conservative cause known (if caught).<br>17) Avoid paying taxes when possible.<br>18) Become a Justiciar Knight.<br>19) Create a nationalist/patriotic conservative blog or YouTube channel.<br>20) Infiltrate a mainstream political party.<br>21) Infiltrate the police or military.<br>22) Infiltrate the media.<br>23) Infiltrate academia.<br>24) Have (more) children and teach them cultural conservatism.<br>25) Attack Muslims to cause their radicalization.<br>26) Prepare for pan-European coup d'états (their realization is a fundamental objective).<br>27) Declare a pre-emptive war against multiculturalist elites of Western Europe. |

Table 8a. Fundamental objectives.

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### Enforce the Cultural Conservative (Nationalist) agenda

- Seize political and military power in Western Europe.

- Deal with Enemies.

- Implement cultural conservative agenda.

Objectives

1. **Overthrow cultural Marxist Western European governments through coup d'états.**

2. **Seize political & military control in all Western European countries.**

3. **Ban multiculturalism.**

4. **Ban Islam.**

["organisational goals are two fold as we are both an Indigenous Rights Movement and a pan-European Crusader Movement. 20-70 year plan: Seize political and military power in all Western European countries. Destroy and ban political Marxism/cultural Marxism (multiculturalism) as political concepts in Europe and drive out Islam for a third time. Through military coups, overthrow all multiculturalist (cultural Marxist) regimes in Western Europe within the year 2100 and replace them with governments supervised by a "patriotic guardian tribunal" consisting of cultural conservatives/nationalists. The doctrines of multiculturalism (cultural Marxism) and Islam will be banned as a hate-ideology." -p.832.]

5. **Create a paramilitary group in your area** (if there isn't one)**.**
["If there isn't a militia or paramilitary group for your area - MAKE ONE! Building a militia or para-military group is the efforts to create an organisation designed to function and perform as a military unit." -p.1282.]

6. **Create a cultural conservative tribunal to suspend the constitution and declare martial law.**
["create a tribunal consisting of 20 cultural conservative/nationalist intellectuals/political leaders per country. These individuals must oppose Islamisation, multiculturalism and have a long and credible track record in patriotic oriented political activism. All selected individuals must be staunch supporters of nationalistic ideological principles. You are to immediately allow this tribunal to mobilise a patriotic military force (known as patriotic transitional guards) by allowing the tribunal, the representatives of the National Resistance Movements unrestricted access to the state broadcasting channel. As soon as a military force/armed militia consisting of 1000 per 1 million citizens has been established, the tribunal will declare a temporary suspension of the

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constitution. This will be followed by a declaration of martial law which will last until a new government has been established and order has been restored. The force of "patriotic transitional guards", lead by the tribunal, is then to gain full control of the national military and police forces. Efforts will then be made to immediately secure control of the border and all significant state institutions. The tribunal will exercise the right to veto all new bills and dictate all issues temporarily relating to international agreements, security related issues, border control and all cultural issues until the genocidal policies currently in effect have been removed and appropriate measures have been implemented." -p.785-786.]

7. **Establish armed militia which is to take control of the military, police, border and state institutions.**
[same as 6)]

8. **Execute all multiculturalist traitors who do not capitulate before Jan. 1st 2020.**
["All cultural Marxist/multiculturalist category A and B traitors will be granted immunity from prosecution and punishment provided they capitulate before Jan. 1st, 2020 and give their full and unwavering support to the transitional patriotic tribunal. A minimumrequirement will be that they at least refrain from criticising the patriotic reforms. Any cultural Marxist breakaway/dissenting faction who refuses to acknowledge our legitimacy before or during the transitional phase or any faction who directly or indirectly support violent opposition will be severely punished. All category A and B traitors who continue to oppose us will be executed." -pp.787.]

9. **Execute multiculturalists found guilty of treason and expropriate their property/funds.**
["Category A traitor… Punishment: death penalty and expropriation of property/funds." -pp.930-931.]

10. **Deport all Muslims.**
["All Muslims are to be immediately deported to their country of origin. Each family (family head) will receive 25 000 Euro providing they accept the deportation terms. Anyone who violently resists deportation will be executed." -p.787.]

11. **Contain Islam.**
["And let's end the stupid support for the Palestinians that the Eurabians have encouraged, and start supporting our cultural cousin, Israel." -p.331. / "We should implement a policy of containment of the Islamic world." -p.331.]

12. **Stop sending foreign aid to Africa and divide it in two.**
["Foreign aid has harmed Africa and should be phased out. Every single donor country should call their client and inform them that the current aid will stop in five years. This should apply to the enormous amounts channelled from state to state and through the World Bank. This will force them to take immediate and necessary action to implement sustainable measures. Limitless development assistance to African governments, has fostered dependency, encourage corruption

and ultimately perpetuated poor governance and poverty." -p.1203 / "Africa must be divided in two – a Muslim and a non-Muslim part (Christian and Animist)." -p.1204.]

13. **Boycott the U.N.**
["Boycott the United Nations!" -p.329. "We should separate ourselves from the Islamic world as much as possible. They will suffer far more from this than we will. We can start by boycotting the UN, which is now little more than a tool for global sharia" -p.329.]

14. **Dismantle the E.U.**
["The EU must die, or Europe will die. It's that simple." -p.322. / "For Europe, the most important thing to do right now is to dismantle the European Union in its present form, and regain national control over our borders and our legislation. The EU is so deeply flawed as an organisation, and so heavily infiltrated by Eurabian and pro-Islamic thinking that it simply cannot be reformed." -pp.330-331.]

15. **Use non-Muslims contracted workers from abroad for cheap labor.**
["Future servant class One of the primary arguments for modern mass immigration is to justify the demand for labour, jobs the indigenous Europeans are unwilling to take. Now, who will take these jobs when we have halted immigration completely and deported all the Muslims?" -p.1196 / "6-12 month "focus contracts" will be offered to individuals from Bangladesh, Pakistan and India (these services may be reserved for Christians, Hindus, Sikhs and Buddhists considering our Hostile stance towards the global Islamic Ummah). These will be flown in in bulk every month and will leave at the end of the contract. During their stay they will work 12 hours a day for the duration of their contracts (6 or 12 months) and are then flown back to their homelands. There should be at least a 6 month quarantine period between every 12 month contract to prevent the individuals from becoming too culturally attached." -p.1197.]

16. **Use 'reprogenetics' programs to ensure Nordic homogeneity among the population.**
["mend the non-Nordic dilution by compensating with reprogenetics clinics which can reverse national/tribal dilution." -p.1162.]

17. **Provide liberal zones in post coup d'état societies.**
["we must copy the Marxist strategies by integrating or at least offer any and all liberals the freedom of unlimited sex in a future scenario. We must present concepts that are credible and ensures all aspects of individualism for those who seek it (with the exception of hate-ideologies like multiculturalism, Islam etc). This does not mean that our future societies will end up as anarchies which is what pure liberalism is. The only difference is that we are at the same time presenting concepts of chastity and chivalry at the same time. So how is this possible, how can we ensure that both conservatives and liberals are happy? The solution is liberal zones segregated from the rest of the society, a more thorough implementation of the US "liberal zone" model. Consider it as a doctrine of "Las Vegasism". The concept of "Sex and the city lifestyles" will not be glorified as it is today but restricted to our future Las Vegas zones giving everyone who truly desires this form of lifestyle the opportunity to pursue his or her definition of happiness while at

the same time protecting the rest of society from social and moral break down. We must never make the mistake of confusing liberal concepts with Marxist concepts" -p.1168. / "Abortion should only be allowed in case of rape, if the mother's life is in danger, or if the baby has mental or physical disabilities. The liberal zones may be exempt by this rule. […] Contraceptive pills and equivalent methods will be severely restricted in conservative territories. The liberal zones may be exempt by this rule. […] Sexual education in schools should be limited to that of 1950/60 Western Europe. The liberal zones may be exempt by this rule." -p.1179.]

18. **Enforce masculine and patriarchal norms.**
["If the West is to survive, we need to reassert a healthy dose of male authority. In order to do so we need to roll back the welfare state. Perhaps we need to roll back some of the excesses of Western Feminism[13], too." -p.363.]

19. **Reform school curricula to enforce anti-promiscuity.**
["An anti-promiscuousity mentality should be included in a future secular social reform agenda and should be spearheaded through the restriction of media rights (restriction in the availability of pro- promiscuous material) and the reform of school curriculums. […] Promiscuousity should be demonised by the media, but instead they encourage promiscuous lifestyles." -p.1175.]

20. **Reintroduce marriage as a pact based on cooperation and respect rather than love.**
["A marriage must be forged as an institution for the raising of children. Marriage must be based on a specific agreement between a man and a woman who creates an advanced pact which must have a minimum validity of at least 20 years. This pact must be forged upon the mutual interest to achieve a goal based on cooperation, on friendship, proper communication and on mutual respect - not on love" -p.1176.]

21. **Reform the legal system so that the father is awarded custody rights by default.**
["As of now, the mother will always be awarded child custody rights unless she is mentally ill or a drug/alcohol addict. The system must be reformed so that the father will be awarded custody rights by default. This will ensure that that divorce rate will be significantly reduced (by up to 50-70%) and will contribute to uphold the nuclear family." -p.1179.]

22. **Reform the Church so that it fits the cultural conservative agenda.**
["They castrated and made the Church impotent and irrelevant, we will rejuvenate it by implementing our own reforms." -p.1307. / "The Catholic and Protestant Church are both cheering their own annihilation considering the fact that they embrace the ongoing inter-faith dialogue and the appeasement if Islam. The current Church elite has shown its suicidal face, as vividly demonstrated last year by the archbishop of Canterbury's speech contemplating the legitimacy of Sharia in parts of Britain." -p.1403.]

Table 9. Lethal Shock Attacks.

"We will launch information campaigns and create awareness by using any means necessary, including distribution of our messages by using lethal shock attacks against concentrations of class A and B traitors in a panEuropean context. The primary goal of the shock attacks is not the immediate physical manifestation of the attack (destroying a few buildings, killing a few hundred traitors) but rather the indirect effects. Shock attacks will have the potency to penetrate the strict censorship regime of the cultural Marxists/multiculturalists. Any substantial shock attack will therefore have the potential to do massive ideological damage on the multicultural ideology (as the multicultural dream will become ever so distant) and its propagators in various ways;

 - Education of the European peoples – people will be interested to know why buildings around them are falling down and will seek information themselves and/or learn what the media presents
 - Moral effect/recruitment - encouraging thousands of brothers and sisters
 - Creating important military and ideological reference points
 - Increasing and developing the level of innovation/sophistication of methods applied
 - Contribution to increase the acceptance level of new methods applied
 - Discouraging our enemies which may lead to direct/indirect "defection", or fear/reservations against criticising right wingers etc.
 - Contribution to force many Europeans out of their self-induced coma
 - Many individuals (especially category A, B and C traitors who until now has just "gone with the flow") will re-evaluate the premises for their support to multiculturalism (destruction of our European cultures) or at least the premises for allowing mass- Muslim immigration/the ongoing Islamisation and will re-consider if it is really worth the trouble
 - Contribution for creating a broader acceptance for defending and support European culture without being target of EUSSR labelling techniques (bigot, fascist, Nazi, racist).
 - Marketing the resistance movement
 - Making moderate cultural conservatives more approachable, by the establishment, by broadening or expanding the very definition of extreme right wing axis etc.
 - Many individuals (politically neutral) may start to have reservations against working in government buildings (near concentrations of category A or B traitors) which will help polarise the left and right. We will be contributing to re-writing the very fabric of society which will have short term and long term effects.
 - We may see police strikes or at least demands for higher salary (especially in countries where there is no tradition for urban revolutionary warfare). Many cultural conservative street police may quit the job as they are uncomfortable and simply unwilling to hunt down and kill militant cultural conservatives. Alternatively, they may also stay and help us in future operations directly or indirectly. Either way, they will be vary of future military operations and will stay out of our way (which will result in a minimum of sympathiser deaths for any future operation). Others may quit for similar reasons. This trend may result in the police force itself turning Muslim which will have reprecautions for as how they are viewed by the public. An increase in Muslim police officers will increase mistrust towards the police and government (just remember the riots in Utrech triggered by a Muslim cop who killed a nationalist).

- The government will have to invest billions on security related fields, which will weaken them financially and might contribute to cuts in other fields." -pp.822-823.

Secular framing for violent attacks:

"A severely burned category A or B traitor will in reality become a living symbol of what awaits individuals guilty of trying to sell their own people into Islamic slavery. They will act as a deterrent and contribute to spread fear in the hearts of the rest of the traitors and will thus cause more ideological damage than that of a dead body. He or she will become a living testament to what will happen to any and all category A and B traitors and everyone will learn that high treason is not without risks." -p.944.

"The most efficient shock attacks are successful operations launched against the cultural Marxist category A and B traitors themselves targeting government buildings, media HQs and other concentrations of cultural Marxist/multiculturalist elites. Alternatives include assassinations. The primary purpose of shock attacks is not necessarily to cause as much infrastructure/personnel damage as possible (with the exception of harming as many category A and B traitors as possible) but to rather sow terror in the hearts of our enemies and everyone supporting them, thus inflicting massive ideological damage." -p.966.

Violence described in secular terms:

"The art of asymmetrical warfare is less about inflicting immediate damage but all about the indirect long term psychological and ideological damage. […] our targets are every cultural Marxist, multiculturalist/globalist or suicidal humanists who are currently a part of the EUSSR power hierarchy (the so called category A, B and C traitors). We, the resistance movements, are dispersed all across Europe. The essence of our actions is to convince our enemy that there is nowhere to hide" -p.826

"Fourth Generation warfare has often involved an insurgent group or non-state entity trying to implement their own government or re-establish an old government over the current ruling power. However, a fourth generation war is most successful when the nonstate entity does not attempt, at least in the short term, to impose its own rule, but tries simply to disorganise and de-legitimise the state in which the warfare takes place. The aim is to force the regime adversary to expend manpower and money in an attempt to establish order, ideally in such a highhanded way that it merely increases disorder, until the state surrenders, withdraws or becomes vulnerable to a military coup." -p.1479.

Terrorist attacks described as performance:

"Our shock attacks are theatre and theatre is always performed for an audience. Our audience and targets are every cultural Marxist, multiculturalist/globalist or suicidal humanists who are currently a part of the EUSSR power hierarchy (the so called category A, B and C traitors). We, the resistance movements, are dispersed all across Europe. The essence of our actions is to convince our enemy that there is nowhere to hide" -p.826.

"I do know however that there have been more than a hundred successful operations from armed nationalist movements in Europe the last decade. But the main problem is that a great majority of these operations are not 'spectacular' enough to break media censorship" -p.1362.

Table 10. Christianity.

Political Interpretation of Christianity:

"As Christianity is a way of life, and life involves power relationships, Christianity is at once a political way of life. One can not separate out ones politics from ones faith and beliefs, they are intertwined as ones beliefs effects ones politics. Thus, within the Christian worldview, there is no separation of 'Christianity' and 'politics', as distinct spheres, 'politics' is but another sphere of the way of life that is Christianity. Politics is subsumed within Christianity." -pp.684-685.

"Christianity however, goes further, it transforms the very understanding of politics, for politics is never about domination, it is about service." -p.686.

Christian "agnostics" & Christian "atheists":

"any European Christian conservative can act as a Justiciar Knight. This includes Christian agnostics and Christian atheists. Although the PCCTS, Knights Templar is a pan-European indigenous rights movement we give all Europeans, regardless of skin colour, the opportunity to become a Justiciar Knight as long as the individual is either a Christian, Christian agnostic or a Christian atheist."-p.820.

"As this is a cultural war, our definition of being a Christian does not necessarily constitute that you are required to have a personal relationship with God or Jesus. Being a Christian can mean many things; - That you believe in and want to protect Europe's Christian cultural heritage. The European cultural heritage, our norms (moral codes and social structures included), our traditions and our modern political systems are based on Christianity - Protestantism, Catholicism, Orthodox Christianity and the legacy of the European enlightenment (reason is the primary source and legitimacy for authority). It is not required that you have a personal relationship with God or Jesus in order to fight for our Christian cultural heritage and the European way. In many ways, our modern societies and European secularism is a result of European Christendom and the enlightenment. It is therefore essential to understand the difference between a 'Christian fundamentalist theocracy' (everything we do not want) and a secular European society based on our Christian cultural heritage (what we do want). So no, you don't need to have a personal relationship with God or Jesus to fight for our Christian cultural heritage. It is enough that you are a Christian-agnostic or a Christian-atheist (an atheist who wants to preserve at least the basics of the European Christian cultural legacy (Christian holidays, Christmas and Easter). The PCCTS, Knights Templar is therefore not a religious organisation but rather a Christian "culturalist" military order." -pp.1361-1362.

The cross as a uniting symbol:

"European Christendom and the cross will be the symbol in which every cultural conservative can unite under in our common defence. It should serve as the uniting symbol for all Europeans whether they are agnostic or atheists."-p.1307

"There are pragmatical considerations Odinists have to evaluate as well. Do they really believe the symbolism of Mjöllnir (Thors hammer) has the potential to unite the Nordic peoples against the forces we are facing? Do they really believe Odinistic symbolism would be more suitable compared to the uniting force of Christendom's symbolism and that of the cross? Anyone with half a brain will know that only the symbolism of the cross (which is a part of all the Nordic flags btw with the exception of Germany) has the potential to unite us for this cause. Choosing to fight under the banner of the cross, does not constitute that you have to reject your Odinistic heritage in any way or form" -pp.1360-1361.

"As for secularism, are there any strong uniting symbols at all? I think not. In order to protect your culture you need, at the very minimum, strong, uniting symbols representing your culture. In this context, the cross is the unrivalled as it is the most potent European symbol. I have had this discussion with many Odinists, and even they understand this." -p.1361

Christianity as both a useful platform and a lacking set of values, in comparison to Odinism:

"As a cultural Christian, I believe Christendom is essential for cultural reasons. After all, Christianity is the ONLY cultural platform that can unite all Europeans, which will be needed in the coming period during the third expulsion of the Muslims." -p.1361.

"It wasn't exactly a secret that many in the NS movements rejected Christendom completely and instead support Odinism. It is however understandable that they view modern humanist Christendom as weak and therefore unworthy of support (a view which I partly agree with). However, the solution is not to reject Christianity but rather to reform Christianity to re-introduce the concepts of "self-defence" as propagated by former Crusader Popes." -p.1374.

Re-imagining the Knights Templar:

"the Knights Templar was re-founded in London in 2002 by representatives from eight European countries, for the purpose of serving the interests of the free indigenous peoples of Europe and to fight against the ongoing European Jihad (referred to as the 'third Jihad'). The Knights Templar was re-founded as a pan-European nationalist military order and a military/criminal tribunal with two primary objectives. The order is to serve as an armed Indigenous Rights Organisation and as a Crusader Movement (anti-Jihad movement)." -p.817

"A Justiciar Knight who martyrs himself for the cause, and/or self terminates during or after an operation for tactical reasons, should be celebrated as martyrs for the Church. It is expected that the Catholic Church and other denominations of Church authorities in Europe (and independent canon law

experts) acknowledges our sacrifices and defines our deeds as acts of martyrdom for the Church, according to canon law. […] all Justiciar Knights who dies for their faith will be a great source of inspiration for generations to come. They will be role models. Certain, exceptionally brave and selfless, Justiciar Knights in the coming decades should even be considered as candidates for official veneration"-p.1348.

Martyrdom:

"Modern day chivalric organisations have nothing to do with knighthood, martyrdom, courage or honour through military service (for the protection of the European people or Christendom). Knighthood has gradually eroded into a corrupt tradition"-p.815
"Let us be perfectly clear; if you are unwilling to martyr yourself for the cause, then the PCCTS, Knights Templar is not for you" -p.934.

"Knighthood is directly linked to martyrdom. Taking martyrdom out of knighthood would be like taking elections out of a democracy. A person unwilling to martyr himself for a greater cause can never call himself a Knight and a Christian individual unwilling to martyr himself for the preservation of European Christendom can never call himself a Knight of Christ. We, the PCCTS, Knights Templar, can, and we are currently the most genuine successors to their legacy." -p.1363.

Breivik's religious identification:

"At the age of 15 I chose to be baptised and confirmed in the Norwegian State Church. I consider myself to be 100% Christian. However, I strongly object to the current suicidal path of the Catholic Church but especially the Protestant Church. I support a Church that believes in self defence and who are willing to fight for its principles and values, at least resist the efforts put forth to exterminate it gradually. The Catholic and Protestant Church are both cheering their own annihilation considering the fact that they embrace the ongoing inter-faith dialogue and the appeasement of Islam. The current Church elite has shown its suicidal face, as vividly demonstrated last year by the archbishop of Canterbury's speech contemplating the legitimacy of Shariah in parts of Britain." -p.1403.

"(I am) Christian, Protestant but I support a reformation of Protestantism leading to it being absorbed by Catholisism. The typical "Protestant Labour Church" has to be deconstructed as its creation was an attempt to abolish the Church Religious: I went from moderately to agnostic to moderately religious" -p.1398.

"Regarding my personal relationship with God, I guess I'm not an excessively religious man. I am first and foremost a man of logic. However, I am a supporter of a monocultural Christian Europe." -p.1404.