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Publication

0005 | May 2025

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## Maximum Re[i]ach: How Accelerationist Victimhood Narratives Mould Extreme-Right 'Affiliated Actors'

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# Maximum Re[i]ach: How Accelerationist Victimhood Narratives Mould Extreme-Right ‘Affiliated Actors’

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## ABSTRACT

This paper explores how social movement theory’s collective action frames illuminate the use of victimhood narratives by extreme-right groups embedded in far-right networks. Through a thematic analysis of victimhood narratives and their framing within the context of The Terrorgram Collective, this paper demonstrates that such narratives function not only as diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational tools, but also as powerful catalysts for radical action—merging existential grievance with conspiratorial tropes, hypermasculine ideals, and apocalyptic visions of “holy terror.”<sup>1-3</sup> In doing so, the group bypasses traditional leadership structures and transforms transnational individuals into an ideologically affiliated collective, united by a shared sense of existential threat and driven toward terrorism as a means of reclaiming agency.

## KEYWORDS

Social Movement Theory; Framing; Victimhood; Terrorgram; Extreme-Right

## Introduction

On 14 May 2025, three men in West Yorkshire were convicted of plotting a terrorist attack after stockpiling weapons and glorifying violent extremism on Telegram.<sup>4</sup> Although they lacked a formal command structure, the group used digital networks to promote violence, plan attacks on Islamic sites, and prepare for what they believed to be an imminent “race war.”<sup>4</sup> This incident exemplifies a broader pattern within broader far-right networks, where user-driven communities magnify grievances and present violence as a justifiable response to perceived victimhood. Furthermore, their actions also illustrate how political violence, including terrorism, can emerge as a continuation of political action by other means, as argued within social movement theory.<sup>5</sup> This reflects the core premise of contentious politics: when conventional forms of political engagement appear ineffective or exhausted, some groups resort to violence to achieve their objectives.<sup>6</sup> While social movement theory was originally developed to explain non-violent activism, its growing application to violent extremism highlights how collective identity, strategic framing, and shared grievances can galvanise supporters.<sup>7</sup>

While scholars have long examined how Islamist organisations use victimhood narratives—often highlighting the suffering of specific religious communities—the far and extreme right’s appropriation of similar themes in decentralised digital spaces has received comparatively little attention.<sup>8-11</sup> Recent research on the use of victimhood by extreme-right groups emphasises that such narratives do more than simply label harm; they serve as dynamic resources that unify group identity and legitimise aggression.<sup>12-14</sup> Terrorgram, an extreme-right accelerationist group once active on Telegram, exemplifies this logic. It demonstrates how framed oppression can unite dispersed individuals into a potent subculture. Although arrests have curtailed its direct activities, Terrorgram’s core rhetoric persists across far-right digital channels, illustrating how the framing of existential threat continues to provide a moral licence for terror.<sup>12,14</sup>

Against this backdrop, a central research question arises: How does The Terrorgram Collective leverage victimhood narratives within decentralised far-right networks to incite violence? This paper employed a two-stage qualitative design to examine *Militant Accelerationism: A Collective Handbook*,<sup>15</sup> a 136-page text published by Terrorgram. In Stage One, a reflexive thematic analysis was conducted to locate

overt and subtle references to victimhood. Stage Two then applied collective action framing, categorising passages of victimhood into diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames.<sup>7</sup> Understanding these framing processes offers deeper insights into the use of victimhood as a radicalisation tool within leaderless digital milieus, where the rhetoric of embattlement and existential threat continues to fuel violent extremism.

## Conceptual Framework

While far-right and extreme-right are often used interchangeably in scholarship, important distinctions remain. Far-right movements typically operate within formal political systems, emphasising nationalism, ethnocentrism, and exclusionary identity. They use populist rhetoric to depict “the nation” as victimised by outgroups or global conspiracies.<sup>16,17</sup> By contrast, the extreme-right moves beyond such populism by explicitly endorsing violence to achieve political goals.<sup>18,19</sup> It frames society as facing existential threats which act to legitimise violent action, including terrorism.<sup>20</sup> Thus, while the far-right seeks exclusionary reform within existing structures, the extreme-right aims for systemic change through violence.

In this context, the notion of terrorism itself becomes crucial. Although contested, this study adopts English’s<sup>21</sup> definition of terrorism as:

*“heterogeneous violence used or threatened with a political aim; it can involve a variety of acts, targets, and of actors; it possesses an important psychological dimension, producing terror or fear among a directly threatened group and also a wider implied audience in the hope of maximising political communication and achievement; it embodies the exerting and implementing of power, and the attempted redressing of power relations; it represents a subspecies of warfare, and as such it can form part of a wider campaign of violent and non-violent attempts at political leverage.”*

Victimhood has evolved into a pivotal lens for analysing radicalisation, conflict, and collective identity.<sup>22,23</sup> At its core, victimhood involves perceptions and narratives of harm—material or symbolic—reshaping how people see themselves and their place in society. It is not a fixed status but a dynamic construct that can rationalise violence, legitimise authoritarian governance, or foster empathy and reconciliation.<sup>11,8,24,25</sup> Extremist groups often mobilise victim narratives to portray their in-groups as besieged by external forces.<sup>9,16</sup> In far-right milieus, these narratives commonly revolve around cultural decline, demographic replacement, or alleged double standards in government policies.<sup>19,26</sup> Moreover, competitive victimhood emerges when opposing collectives vie to demonstrate greater or more authentic suffering, intensifying conflict by preventing mutual recognition of harm.<sup>9,10</sup>

Such discourses are deeply intertwined with identity and masculinity, particularly in neo-Nazi or incel subcultures.<sup>17,18</sup> Their narratives imagine a bygone era of racial or cultural purity, framing current conditions as persecution.<sup>27</sup> This sense of embattlement transforms reactionary aggression into moral defence. This perceived embattlement can transform reactionary aggression into moral defence, recasting grievances into a kind of righteous vengeance.<sup>22</sup> Victimhood thus functions less as a static label and more as a strategic resource. But, to understand how these narratives are employed, collective action framing becomes a useful analytical tool. According to this perspective, social movements construct meaning by defining problems (diagnostic framing), proposing solutions (prognostic framing), and motivating collective action (motivational framing).<sup>7</sup> In extremist settings, such frames appear to amplify emotional responses that unites participants behind common goals.<sup>28-33</sup>

One such radical aspiration is accelerationism, a doctrine advocating for societal collapse to usher in far-reaching transformation. Within extreme-right milieus, accelerationists call for violence and sabotage to dismantle political, economic, and social institutions, ultimately paving the way for an ethnonationalist “new order.”<sup>34</sup> Although the concept originated in unconventional and leftist thought, its far-right iteration legitimises attacks on infrastructure, minority communities, and perceived “globalist” institutions, framed as necessary catalysts for systemic disintegration.<sup>35,36</sup> By weaving

together conspiracy theories, urgent calls to action, and victimhood narratives, accelerationists position themselves as heroic defenders of threatened identities, rendering even the most extreme acts of violence seemingly justified.<sup>19</sup> This potent narration of harm highlights the need to scrutinise how victimhood is mobilised throughout extremist text to combat perpetual cycles of conflict.

## Terrorgram: Context and Significance

The emergence of Terrorgram offers a revealing window into how extreme-right groups have leveraged far-right networks to promote extremist narratives and political violence. Although Terrorgram is often cited as appearing around 2019, its origins can be traced further back to the collapse of prominent neo-fascist forums like Iron March in 2017 and 8chan in 2019, prompting many extremist users to migrate to Telegram.<sup>38,39</sup> Telegram, known for minimal content moderation and robust anonymity became a flexible staging ground for Terrorgram.<sup>39</sup> At the peak of their activity three “hard propaganda” publications were released; *Militant Accelerationism: A Collective Handbook (MA)*,<sup>15</sup> *Do It for the ‘Gram*,<sup>40</sup> and *The Hard Reset*,<sup>41</sup> each blending conspiratorial tropes, violent imagery, and explicit tactical advice for users on the brink of militancy.<sup>42-44</sup>

Although the Terrorgram was confined to far-right decentralised Telegram channels, its influence soon made its mark offline. In 2021, an 18-year-old in Turkey stabbed and injured five people, praising Terrorgram propaganda as “useful” for orchestrating attacks.<sup>45</sup> A year later, a 19-year-old in Bratislava credited *MA* for its “incredible writing and art” before killing two people outside an LGBT bar.<sup>45,46</sup> Another pair of cases in the United States—one in New Jersey, another in Florida—featured suspects who possessed Terrorgram materials while plotting sabotage and potential mass shootings.<sup>43</sup> In at least one case, an individual prosecuted as a lone actor was found to have interacted directly with Terrorgram members via Telegram for over a year, openly planning their attack in public channels.<sup>45</sup> This challenges the long-standing notion of the “lone actor” in today’s digital landscape by demonstrating that some perpetrators may receive interpersonal reinforcement or informal guidance through extremist networks, even in the absence of a formal command structure.<sup>34</sup>

By late 2024, authorities in Europe, North America, and Australia had intensified investigations after tying Terrorgram publications to arrests for attempted sabotage, violent attacks, and conspiracy to commit terrorism.<sup>36,47</sup> Months later, two Terrorgram members, believed to be instrumental in authoring the documents and guiding radicalised youth, were arrested, prompting countries to officially proscribe Terrorgram a terrorist organisation.<sup>45,48,49</sup> Although these measures disrupted Terrorgram’s ability to produce new material, the group’s original publications remain in circulation, frequently reposted across far-right networks.<sup>43</sup> As the introductory case shows, simply removing active group members can fail to halt the impact of extremist material, which remain readily available for consumption. Ultimately, Terrorgram highlights the imperative not merely to deplatform those spreading extremist content, but to critically understand and actively disrupt the narratives that enable radicalisation and sustain networked violence.

## Victimhood: A Collective Action Perspective

### Diagnosis

One of the most notable features of *MA* is its relentless insistence that young white men are existential victims of a monolithic “System.” This so-called system, the text contends, unites ‘ethnic invaders, degenerate politicians, law enforcement, race traitors, and Jewish-controlled elites’ to eradicate white identity. Such sweeping claims parallel observations in the victimhood literature, where the construction of pervasive threat not only solidifies in-group bonds but also legitimises violent self-defence.<sup>50,51</sup> Rather than depicting white men as passively wronged, the text deems enlightened cohorts forced into militancy to pre-empt total annihilation, thereby establishing victimhood as an urgent rationale for aggression.

Chapters such as “Denial of a Deserved Struggle”<sup>15(pp.9-10)</sup> and “Mutual Suffering”<sup>15(p.9)</sup> crystallise the text’s diagnostic framing by declaring what is wrong—an orchestrated destruction of whiteness—and who is at fault: an all-encompassing “beast system.”<sup>15(p.6)</sup> Terrorgram persistently accuses conspirators of “erasing”<sup>15(p.9)</sup> white history, power, and communal vigour. In alignment with the notion of competitive victimhood, it dismisses minority grievances as fraudulent while proclaiming whites the only authentic casualties of contemporary oppression.<sup>10</sup> Simultaneously, Terrorgram casts white men as “caged by modern comforts”<sup>15(p.12)</sup> yet capable of “exterminat[ing] thousands of muds.”<sup>15(p.16)</sup> This contradicting oscillation between victimhood and omnipotence serves to heighten emotional intensity by galvanising both resentment and fantasies of inexorable power.<sup>9,30</sup>

A fictional storyline exemplifies these contradictory impulses by presenting kidnapping and sexual violence as acts of heroic “rescue.”<sup>15(p.77)</sup> Black gangs are singled out as responsible for the ongoing subjugation of white women, reinforcing the broader conspiratorial sense that a hidden system orchestrates white victimhood. Analyses of far-right masculinity show how claims of male grievance are routinely recast as paternalistic protection, even while they entrench patriarchal control.<sup>27,52</sup> Here, Terrorgram alleges that Black gangs habitually abduct and rape innocent white women, thus legitimising the militants’ incursion as morally upright. However, the forcibly ‘rescued’ women—one a university medical student—are taken to the group’s camp as “war brides,”<sup>15(p.79)</sup> erasing their personal victimisation the moment white men lay claim to them. This dynamic reflects the patterns of machista (sexist) terrorism which argues that paternalistic justifications for violence often serve as a smokescreen for patriarchal domination.<sup>53</sup> Once saved, the women are effectively re-subjugated as “spoils,”<sup>15(p.83)</sup> making it clear that female suffering is subordinated to the movement’s larger narrative of racial threat, militarised self-defence, and white male dominance.

Heightened infiltration anxieties intensify these themes. Terrorgram warns that “fence-sitters”<sup>15(p.51)</sup> and superficially sympathetic whites can undermine the movement from within. By framing even apathy as betrayal, the text constructs a stark moral cosmos that labels all non-devotees as existential threats. This echoes the conspiratorial subcultures observed by Miceli,<sup>54</sup> where suspicion of mainstream institutions escalates into suspicion of any insider not fully committed. In Jackson and Hall’s<sup>55</sup> terms, neutral or moderate positions are discredited as dangerous halfway houses, reinforcing the logic that one either joins the fight or sides with the oppressor. This expansion of potential traitors not only intensifies a siege mentality but forces white men to embrace aggression unequivocally if they hope to survive in a world allegedly saturated with saboteurs.

The system is moreover accused of stifling white men’s natural capacity for struggle, fuelling what Terrorgram repeatedly calls a “spiritual crisis.”<sup>15(p.10)</sup> Consumer comforts are framed as sapping the warrior spirit that white men presumably possess, leading to moral degeneration on the brink of racial oblivion. The text couples’ moral outrage with contradictory images of powerlessness and unstoppable might.<sup>24,56</sup> Such contradictions, rather than diluting credibility, exacerbate emotional fervour by imbuing adherents with both righteous indignation and a promise of cosmic-level retribution. It parallels Kloosterboer’s<sup>19</sup> argument that extremist narratives often supply interpretive frameworks capable of merging personal grievances (in this case, consumer alienation) with a grandiose sense of impending apocalypse. Here, consumer society itself becomes part of the conspiracy, depriving white men of their authentic warrior destiny and thereby making terror the only viable path to redemption.<sup>57,58</sup>

Throughout, Terrorgram applies these diagnostic frames to virtually every institutional domain, from the media to corporate boardrooms, in an effort to construct a master conspiracy reminiscent of “ZOG”<sup>15(p.112)</sup> (Zionist Occupied Government). It cites events such as Waco and Ruby Ridge<sup>15(pp.18-19)</sup>—federal standoffs with lethal outcomes—to depict them as emblematic of anti-white atrocities. In so doing, it aligns with the persecutory worldview, where sporadic incidents are woven into a larger tapestry of alleged systemic war on white men.<sup>9,59</sup> Cultural phenomena such as “child drag queen parades”<sup>15(p.25)</sup> or “pornographers”<sup>15(p.14)</sup> become moral signposts of Western decay, reaffirming the text’s conviction that white annihilation is near. This logic echoes Zitek et al.,<sup>60</sup> who show that perceived victimhood often fosters a moral entitlement that normalises aggression: by recasting everyday cultural

shifts as existential assaults, Terrorgram envisions itself as righteously avenging an embattled in-group on the cusp of extermination.

Contradictions about white men's presumed weakness and potential for mass destruction add to what Staub<sup>57</sup> has called the deepening of a siege mentality. Once the narrative proclaims white extinction imminent, moral restraints recede, an observation mirrored in studies linking existential threat to the rapid erosion of ethical inhibitions.<sup>50,56</sup> Victimhood in this context operates not merely as a grievance but as a sweeping justification for pre-emptive hostility, consistent with Jacoby's<sup>61</sup> recognition that victim-based identities can transition seamlessly into aggressive posturing whenever survival appears at stake.

Hence, Terrorgram's diagnostic frames merge paternalistic rescue discourse, infiltration fears, and a conspiratorial condemnation of consumer society into a single logic of total hostility. By repeatedly asserting that the white race face's imminent genocide, the text situates violence not only as rational but as near-sacred duty. Scholars suggest that, when an in-group's survival is depicted as contingent on total confrontation, the lines separating moral from immoral violence disappear.<sup>10</sup> Additionally, the storyline's appropriation of women's suffering highlights how paternalism can dovetail with hyper-masculine vengeance, a tactic often seen in extremist settings where gender hierarchies reinforce the broader narrative of embattled identity.<sup>62</sup> In this environment, victimhood offers moral licence to kill, weaving resentful self-defence and grandiose ambition into a cohesive call to arms. Ultimately, these diagnostic frames prime the text's subsequent prognostic and motivational frames, where large-scale terror is represented not merely as pragmatic but as a moral and even existential imperative.

## Prognosis

Prognostic framing asks, "*What should be done?*" and "*How do we fix the problems?*"<sup>7</sup> For Terrorgram, the response is militantly unequivocal: accelerate the system's collapse through sabotage, terror, and the eventual annihilation of designated out-groups. Terrorgram combines two common framing moves: (1) Discrediting all moderate avenues, and (2) Exalting hyper-violence as the sole virtuous path to salvation.

Unlike certain far-right movements that pursue multiple approaches—*cultural activism, infiltration of institutions, local demonstrations*—Terrorgram offers only one: "holy terror."<sup>15(p.6)</sup> This sharply contrasts with groups that attempt political entryism or policy lobbying before embracing violence.<sup>16</sup> By negating even the possibility that white men might affect reform within the system, Terrorgram eliminates every moderate option, effectively confining adherents to an all-or-nothing worldview—a pattern similarly observed in other violent movements.<sup>30,54</sup> Such rhetorical closure epitomises the "no alternative" predicament that Kowalchuk<sup>63</sup> describes as "all-or-nothing" frames, wherein activists perceive any nonviolent or piecemeal measure as futile.

Terrorgram's text proclaims that white men must wage pre-emptive war against a "System" bent on orchestrating their extinction. This imperative aligns with what Psoiu<sup>64</sup> labels "object shift," wherein local or personal grievances—alienation, unemployment, perceived betrayals—are recast as cosmic threats ("puppet elites"<sup>15(p.122)</sup>, "race traitors"<sup>15(p.13)</sup>). Notably, the text advocates beginning with relatively minor sabotage—tampering with rail lines, draining substation coolant—to demonstrate the System's vulnerability and mobilise alienated white men, a group Terrorgram implicitly targets. In each instance, success, even if merely symbolic is held up as proof that sabotage is effective.

Consistent with Suh's<sup>65</sup> findings on partial successes accelerating militancy, Terrorgram frames each small act of disruption as a stepping stone to further violence. Sabotage thus functions as both a short-term "solution" (instantly undermining an institution) and a waystation leading to "pre-emptive extermination." Over time, acceptable thresholds for violence rise, incrementally legitimising ever more severe tactics. This gradual escalation operates in tandem with Terrorgram's framing of nonviolent avenues as irreparably compromised—leaving sabotage and terror as the only recourse.

Such comprehensive rejection of nonviolent channels underscores how Terrorgram weaves victimhood and apocalyptic solutions. Scholars note that when a movement frames itself as beyond rescue—its members labelled existential victims—it becomes easier to legitimise aggression as essential and inevitable.<sup>8,24</sup> Hence, Terrorgram presents terrorism as a form of self-preservation: once anything short of militancy is ‘polluted,’ lethal violence appears mandatory. This shift parallels Argomaniz and Lynch’s<sup>58</sup> argument that perceived “injuries” spur violent activism when entrenched ideological frames provide a moral rationale. Terrorgram’s chapters on sabotaging power grids or forming “small paramilitary clusters” demonstrate how moral outrage is methodically transformed into actionable instructions, turning private resentments (frustration over joblessness) into large-scale sabotage.<sup>29,30</sup>

Accelerationist logic undergirds Terrorgram’s broader strategy. Loadenthal<sup>24</sup> documents similar tactics in ecofascist subcultures, where moral panic transitions to tactical memes championing violence. Terrorgram likewise melds half-ironic sabotage rhetoric with precise operational guidance (e.g. train derailment, substation coolant removal), generating a kind of “dark inevitability”<sup>15(p.68)</sup> around revolt. Research on digital radicalism.<sup>44,47</sup> indicates that extremist channels, especially those benefitting from minimal platform moderation, use mock disclaimers or “just joking” frames to present lethal sabotage as casual yet heroic. This “ironic gamification” dilutes moral barriers by reimagining violent acts as a challenge or game, all under a grand cosmic mission.

By reiterating that pro-social political engagement is irrevocably flawed, Terrorgram reinforces a recurring paradox found in extremist narratives: white men are cast as both powerless victims of modernity and potentially unstoppable warriors if they embrace violence.<sup>57</sup> Rather than undermining credibility, these contradictions heighten adherents’ emotional intensity.<sup>56</sup> By framing recruits as simultaneously oppressed and invincible, destined for cosmic victory, Terrorgram cultivates an emotional rollercoaster—righteous anger plus grandiose aspiration—that discourages nuanced thinking and fosters extremist cohesion.

Thus, Terrorgram’s prognostic frame goes beyond advocating sabotage; it designates genocide as “the inevitable remedy.”<sup>15(p.16)</sup> This aligns with what Holt et al.<sup>56</sup> describe as “radical cosmic war frames,” in which adversaries must be annihilated rather than simply opposed. Terrorgram constructs a logic where survival is contingent on extermination, fusing existential dread with a mandate for mass violence. This apocalyptic vision of “racial re-birth” echoes Kloosterboer’s<sup>19</sup> account of extremist end-state fantasies, where the destruction of the out-group is imagined as the gateway to a purified future. Furthermore, merging sabotage and genocide into a singular moral directive reflects what McEvoy and McConnachie<sup>67</sup> describe as the “telescoping” of violent movements. Small disruptions take on outsized meaning as signs of an impending purge with even minor acts of violence such as placing nails on a road<sup>15(p.40)</sup> are cast as steps toward civilisational collapse.

A notable dynamic lies in how Terrorgram justifies moving from sabotage to pre-emptive extermination. In the victimhood literature, Demirel<sup>14</sup> shows that competitive victimhood can escalate aggression: if a group perceives itself as fundamentally imperilled, violent solutions become morally mandatory. Hence, Terrorgram depicts genocide not as a gratuitous atrocity but as logical self-defence, implying that ensuring one’s own continuation legitimises annihilating external groups. This rationale aligns with the concept of chosen trauma, wherein historical or imminent peril converts once-taboo violence into a perceived necessity.<sup>66</sup> Crucially, each sabotage or lone-wolf incident proves the System’s fragility, reinforcing a self-fulfilling prophecy: the more havoc is unleashed, the more certain further escalation seems, confirming that moderate avenues lack merit.

Finally, the absence of formal hierarchy in Terrorgram does not weaken its influence; instead, narrative becomes its form of leadership. Moral outrage, symbolic storytelling, and do-it-yourself terror guides replace command structures, directing action without direct instruction. This post-organisational model is particularly effective for disillusioned young white men who already feel alienated from mainstream institutions.<sup>44,47,67</sup> Terrorgram capitalises on this by assuming exclusion as a shared truth, embedding social grievance into every message. Its outsider ethos frames white men as abandoned by politics,

betrayed by culture, and left with no option but violence. This narrative logic doesn't just justify radicalisation—it invites it. As Mythen and Khan<sup>11</sup> observe, social exclusion strengthens radical bonds. Within this ecosystem, each act of sabotage or terrorism “proves” Terrorgram’s claim that “only terror works,” reinforcing a self-fulfilling cycle of alienation and attack.

Rather than presenting a nuanced array of strategic options, Terrorgram collapses every ‘solution’ into a single path of sabotage, terror, and “racial re-birth.” It rejects pro-social politics, exploits victimhood to redefine genocide as self-defence, and draws on established extremist motifs to abolish any moral boundary. In line with framing and victimhood scholarship, this all-or-nothing strategy rooted in existential grievance functions as a potential driver of mobilisation.<sup>7,8,24</sup> Once every moderate route is delegitimised, large-scale violence no longer appears extreme but, the only rational course of action.<sup>57</sup> Terrorgram’s prognostic framing transforms intangible resentments into a real-time blueprint for terror, demonstrating how decentralised accelerationist texts do more than merely assert injustice; they systematically craft a ‘solution’ saturated with lethal victimhood.

## Motivation

Terrorgram’s motivational framing attempts to transform those already primed by victimhood and given a blueprint for sabotage into active agents of “holy terror.”<sup>15(p.93)</sup> By depicting white men as existential victims whose only hope lies in immediate, uncompromising action, the text redefines passivity as complicity and urges lethal engagement as the sole path to integrity.

One of the text’s most striking elements is its emphasis on a divine or cosmic vocation, portraying terrorism as a transcendent act that surpasses mere revenge. By contrasting modern helplessness with the notion that a single furious believer can sway a cosmic war, Terrorgram elevates homicide, genocide, or self-destructive violence into near-apocalyptic obligations—moving beyond the classic notion of duty. This sense of cosmic responsibility is reinforced by the text’s tendency to recast real mass killers as mythic figures: “Saint Tarrant,” “Saint Breivik,” “Saint Roof”, or “Saint Copeland”<sup>15(pp.6,24,114)</sup> appear not as aggressors but as emancipated victims who have transcended their persecution through terror. One excerpt proclaims, “Only through ACTION can a man forge such a legacy... The terror he inflicts... is eternal,”<sup>15(p.6)</sup> explicitly framing violence as a path to exalted identity rather than a criminal act. Such a portrayal echoes Omeni’s<sup>69</sup> observations about heroic redemption within Islamist contexts, where personal humiliation is transformed into collective grievance and holy war. In this way, Terrorgram suggests that violence is more than a grim necessity—it is a sanctified route to power and salvation.

A second motivational device in Terrorgram is the gamification of terrorism. By repeatedly referencing “high scores” and urging prospective militants to take their place among the saints, the text transforms murdered enemies into a form of symbolic currency. This competitive reward system frames surpassing “highscores”<sup>15(p.105)</sup> as the key to eternal renown, linking lethal violence to a quest for enduring recognition beyond death. Crucially, this gamified dynamic intersects with Terrorgram’s broader emphasis on victimhood. Although the ‘system’ is portrayed as omnipotent, the handbook stresses that it cannot “points...cannot be rescinded.”<sup>15(p.103)</sup> In reframing lethal violence as both retribution and a potent reclamation of agency, Terrorgram implies that by eliminating as many enemies as possible, readers can re-assert dominance over predatory forces.

Additionally, by framing terrorism as both heroism and martyrdom through spiritually gamified narratives, Terrorgram addresses concerns about the movement’s long-term viability. Research on Islamist terrorism indicates that sustained moral struggles can mitigate anxieties about short-term futility.<sup>69</sup> However, Terrorgram does not guarantee that readers will witness accelerationism; rather, it advocates the initiation of a protracted conflict to avert the impending annihilation of the white race. The ultimate reward lies in transcending victimhood and attaining sainthood status. The text insists that whites “did not ask” for war; instead, it is imposed upon them, compelling individuals to reclaim their power. Accordingly, every act of violence becomes symbolically potent, fuelling a broader struggle for survival. This framing moves beyond moral justifications rooted solely in group victimisation by

recasting the war of “holy terror” itself as externally forced, thereby constituting another layer of victimhood. As a result, the text frames terrorism as essential to reject the victim status, reclaiming both personal and collective agency.

The motivational framing also envelops overtly graphic depictions of violence and step-by-step directives on how to inflict maximum harm, transforming brutality into a near-ritualistic demonstration of loyalty. For instance, the text’s enthusiasm for lurid detail is evident in a line describing a shooting spree—“A few of the targets I hit flail around on the ground until I headshot them”<sup>15(p.111)</sup>—which converts gore into a spectacle of triumphant resolve. By exhorting readers to “dip [their] hands into the filth”<sup>15(p.7)</sup> and “prove [themselves],”<sup>15(p.55)</sup> Terrorgram propels a visceral fascination with carnage and underscores that genuine devotion to the cause demands overt acts of savagery. In keeping with research on extremist recruitment, these hyper-violent portrayals do more than desensitise adherents; they also frame each lethal deed as tangible proof of one’s fidelity to the handbook’s grand narrative of white victimhood.<sup>31,70</sup> Presenting white men as besieged or near-eradication, Terrorgram recasts each kill as a sacramental gesture—an act of “righteous”<sup>15(p.110)</sup> vengeance that reclaims agency through bloodshed.<sup>71</sup> Although such graphic depictions may repel some, they simultaneously forge a hardline in-group identity in which authenticity is measured by one’s willingness to carry out—or even relish—violence.<sup>72</sup> In this sense, ritualistic glorification of bloodshed, entwined with an overarching victimhood discourse, reinforces both subcultural cohesion and the moral imperative to commit terror in pursuit of “collective salvation.”

Conversely, Terrorgram employs a carrot-and-stick approach in its motivational framing. Those who fail to act are condemned to die as a “coward”<sup>15(p.15)</sup> and a “race traitor,”<sup>15(p.16)</sup> rather than achieving the status of a saviour who sacrifices himself for his race. This stark binary—act or remain complicit—binds shame and honour to the imperative of lethal action. Moreover, an aura of inevitable collapse reinforces this pressure. References to relentless demographic shifts and moral decay suggest that societal downfall is unavoidable. In response, the reader is pushed to reflect on their legacy and accept that acceleration is the only rational path forward. By presenting violence as the sole remaining option, Terrorgram moves the reader from despair to violent acceptance. In this sense, Terrorgram’s motivational framing resonates with the concepts of polarisation-vilification, in which nonparticipation is recast as moral failure and apocalyptic framing which presents violence as the only logical course of action—a mechanism that shifts adherents from despair to violent acceptance.<sup>73,74</sup>

Likewise, Terrorgram perpetuates and intensifies victimhood in a manner that leaves no space for neutrality. Claims of solidarity, unless accompanied by sabotage or mass attacks, are dismissed as empty rhetoric—further entrenching the belief that every individual who does not physically fight back is effectively colluding with ‘the system.’ Under these conditions, the handbook’s motivational frames serve as a dual trigger: they simultaneously promise redemption through reasserting white men’s lost agency and threaten any hint of restraint as an act of treason against the very group identity they claim to defend. In painting all non-militant allies as part of the out-group to be culled, Terrorgram casts victimhood not as a static state of helplessness, but as a dynamic force that weaponizes shame and fear of ostracism, pushing adherents to ever more extreme positions rather than allowing for nuanced or partial alignment.<sup>63</sup>

Ultimately, Terrorgram’s motivational frames transform the act of violence into a moral and even spiritual imperative, knitting together cosmic destiny, masculine identity, and a sense of urgent victimhood.<sup>75</sup> Rather than permitting aggression as a grim inevitability, Terrorgram frames it as a redemptive path, a chance to transcend humiliation by embracing “holy terror.” Through the canonisation of “saints,” explicit calls for “high scores,” and the shaming of all who remain passive, the text erodes any boundary between mere grievance and lethal action. In this construction, each kill stands as undeniable proof of loyalty to a persecuted in-group teetering on the brink of annihilation. Consequently, terror becomes a sanctified response to existential harm, promising both personal vindication and collective deliverance. By closing this feedback loop—where victimhood justifies carnage, and carnage confirms the urgency of victimhood—Terrorgram ensures that white men, as

depicted in its pages, have no apparent moral recourse but to unleash the violence it portrays as both cosmic duty and final salvation.

## Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated how accelerationist victimhood narratives, underpinned by selective and competitive traumas, shape a potent extreme-right subculture even in the absence of formal hierarchies. Through Terrorgram's *Militant Accelerationism: A Collective Handbook*,<sup>15</sup> we see that victimhood is not merely a static claim of harm, but a triadic force embedded across collective action frames. First, the diagnostic lens establishes white men as an imperilled in-group besieged by a predatory system composed of all except the devout accelerationist, reinforcing a siege mentality. Second, the prognostic element dismisses nonviolent strategies as lost battles, instead prescribing sabotage, terror, and genocide as the only legitimate means of combatting white extinction. Finally, motivational frames recast victimhood as a moral mandate: by embracing "holy terror," individuals convert a sense of disempowerment into righteous vengeance—an aggressive reclamation of agency that blurs the line between victim, perpetrator, and spiritual harbinger.

Several recurring motifs—apocalyptic visions, conspiratorial tropes, infiltration anxieties, and hypermasculine ideals—further amplify these victimhood narratives. Terrorgram's emphasis on paternalistic "rescue" both exploits and perpetuates patriarchal structures, while its glorification of bloodshed and "high scores" locks devotees into an escalating feedback loop of competitive brutality. Taken together, these findings highlight how the group bypasses traditional leadership models in favour of a post-organisational dynamic, where weaponised narratives guide individuals toward extreme violence.

Crucially, the longevity of Terrorgram's messaging, even after high-profile arrests, underscores that disrupting the narrative is as vital as removing key propagandists. Herein lies the utility of collective action frames from social movement theory: by revealing exactly how victimhood's triadic nature merges personal grievance with cosmic war, policymakers and practitioners can better target the moral and emotional foundations of victimhood narratives. Beyond deplatforming, interventions must address the driving narratives—whether through legal measures (prosecuting lower-level sabotage), robust community cohesion efforts, or tailored social services to reframe grievances. Recognising that victimhood is not just a lament but also a strategic resource—one that both incites and vindicates violence—offers a clearer roadmap for pre-empting future waves of "holy terror."

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