

The Bratislava LGBT+ Bar Shooting

And the 'Jewish Occupied System'



RESEARCH BRIEFING

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Memorial outside Tepláreň LGBT+ bar

Cover image: Tepláreň LGBT+ bar, Zámocká Street, Bratislava, Slovakia

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- The teenage perpetrator of the shooting outside the LGBT+ bar in Bratislava, Slovakia, in October 2022 was motivated by a deeply antisemitic conspiracist worldview and an anti-LGBT+ hatred.** He adhered to a white supremacist, accelerationist ideology; he also revered as “saints” likeminded extreme right-wing terrorists who have targeted religious, ethnic and minority communities in recent years.
- The shooter posted on social media in the hours before and after the attack.** He tweeted a link to his pre-attack manifesto several hours before the shooting. While on the run and prior to his suspected suicide, **the shooter also posted messages expressing regret that he had failed to attack the city’s Chabad House and Slovakia’s prime minister.** For over a year, he posted on Twitter extreme right-wing rhetoric and imagery, glorifying mass shooters and Nazi iconography and hinting at his plans for mass attacks.
- Even when the ultimate target is not Jewish, antisemitism often lies as the bedrock belief of many violent extremists.** In the shooter’s “farewell letter” to his family, he explicitly justified his “path of struggle against the jewish enemies and their collaborators” and his inner “joy that such an opportunity to strike at the jewish occupied system is presented to me”. Meanwhile, **the shooter’s manifesto displays his belief in a vast worldwide conspiracy of Jews threatening the destruction of the white race.** The text is replete with incitement to murder Jews, LGBT+ and others.
- The Bratislava shooter was deeply immersed in the violent, misanthropic and nihilistic ecosystem of 4chan, 8chan and Telegram’s “Terrorgram” network of channels,** which incessantly glorify, encourage and incite murder and terror attacks. He repeatedly emphasises in his text how material on these platforms directly inspired and motivated his attack plans, especially the terror attacks at the Christchurch mosques and Poway, California synagogue (March and April 2019, respectively) and at the Buffalo supermarket (May 2022).
- Conspiracy theories continue to be a key motivator for violence. **Like other recent terror attacks, the Bratislava shooting emphasises that conspiracy theories influence the worldview and modus operandi of violent extremists.** A variety of conspiracies inform and motivate political violence, allowing perpetrators to act on and “operationalise” their obsessive beliefs.
- Copycat attackers may not strike immediately: mobilising to violence can be rapid, but pre-attack preparations have also taken weeks, months or years to germinate.** The continued proliferation of easily accessible terror attack footage, memes, conspiracies and violent incitement creates the current cycle of “mimicked” attacks.
- The Bratislava shooting is yet another tragic example of the deadly impact of the toxic online content that fuels murder and attacks. **Imageboard platforms like 4chan and the Terrorgram channels on Telegram continue to reward such likeminded attackers by branding them “saints” and allowing them the opportunity to inspire others.** This cycle of terrorism will not stop if we only seek out legally defined terrorist content across these platforms, which constantly produce a mixture of legally defined terrorist material and “legal but harmful” content.

INTRODUCTION

On the evening of Wednesday 12 October, Juraj Krajčík, a 19-year-old white supremacist, perpetrated a fatal shooting attack outside an LGBT+ bar in Bratislava, Slovakia. His murders join the tragic record of recent extreme right-wing terrorist attacks targeting religious, ethnic and minority communities globally.

A disturbing, though no longer surprising, feature of the attack was evidence that the perpetrator had posted on social media in the hours before and after the shooting. Within hours of the attack, early reports already indicated that Krajčík’s social media posts and online manifesto revealed a hatred for LGBT+, Jews and non-white minorities. His post-attack posts revealed that he had aspired to attack at least two other targets: Slovakia’s prime minister and the nearby Chabad House, a Jewish religious outreach centre.

Posting pre-attack manifestos online shortly before an attack, often coupled with efforts to film or livestream attacks, has become a recurring component of right-wing terrorist modus operandi. An analysis of his 65-page manifesto

demonstrates the attacker’s adherence to a deeply antisemitic conspiracist worldview, fuelled by a white supremacist, accelerationist ideology and a veneration of recent likeminded terrorists.

But English-language reporting on this incident has paid much less attention to the farewell letter that Krajčík left for his family. Addressing them directly, he describes having no qualms that he chose the “path of struggle against the Jewish enemies and their collaborators”; he also expresses emotions of “joy that such an opportunity to strike at the Jewish occupied system is presented to me”.

This piece reviews the attack, the perpetrator’s use of social media and the core conspiratorial features of his letter and manifesto. The piece emphasises the persistent risks and (inevitable) consequences of violent Nazi accelerationist material being so easily accessible, highlighting how this contributes to a cycle of terrorist attacks and copycat attacks. It also addresses the threat implications of more extremists “operationalising” their conspiracies and mobilising to violence.



THE ATTACK

On 12 October, shortly after 19:00 hours, Juraj Krajčík, the sole lone attacker, fatally shot two men and injured a woman outside the Tepláreň LGBT+ bar in Bratislava. The attacker reportedly arrived in the area at around 18:30.¹ Several people in the bar reported seeing him [loitering outside](#) for “some time”, possibly standing on the other side of the street for about 30 minutes.² At around 19:10, he fired multiple shots using a laser-sighted .45 ACP calibre handgun.

The attacker fled the scene, returning later that night to his family home in the city. He reportedly engaged in a verbal altercation with his parents, collected a new firearm and left home. Following a manhunt, police found him dead the following morning, presumably by suicide.

Slovak authorities have stated that both of the firearms the attacker used were legally owned by his father, a 2020 Slovak parliamentary candidate for the right-wing Vlasť (Homeland) party.³ At present, they do not suspect the involvement of any accomplices, and Krajčík’s relatives stated that they had no foreknowledge or involvement in his plans and attack. Authorities also believe that Krajčík had experience using firearms and had practised several times at shooting range.⁴



CCTV still of Krajčík outside the Tepláreň LGBT+ bar

1 [Two people dead after a shooting in central Bratislava](#), *The Slovak Spectator*, 12 October 2022

2 [Strelec zo Zámockej](#), *Denník N*, 14 October 2022

3 [Útočník z Bratislavy je mŕtvy. Pred útokom zverejnil manifest proti Židom a LGBTI ľuďom](#), *SME*, 13 October 2022; [Vražda zo Zámockej](#), *Aktuality.sk*, 13 October 2022

4 [O teroristickom útoku prehovoril otec strelca](#), *RTVS*, 18 October 2022

PRE- AND POST-ATTACK ONLINE POSTS

Krajčík posted on social media, specifically on Twitter and 4chan, before and after the shooting. On 10 October, two days before the shooting, he tweeted a list of people he considered “heroes and role models”, including Adolf Hitler, Payton Gendron (the 2022 Buffalo supermarket shooter), Brenton Tarrant (the 2019 Christchurch mosque shooter), John Earnest (the 2019 Chabad of Poway synagogue shooter), Robert Bowers (the 2018 Pittsburgh synagogue shooter) and other neo-Nazis and extremists.



On 11 October, he tweeted that, “I have made my decision” and “It will be done”.⁵



On 12 October, several hours before the shooting, he tweeted a link for users to view his pre-attack manifesto.

After the attack, he began tweeting with glee and satisfaction at having perpetrated the murders. At around 19:35, some 25 minutes after the shooting, Krajčík tweeted “#bratislava #hatecrime #gaybar #bratislava”, as well as “#bratislava feeling no regrets, isn’t that funny?”

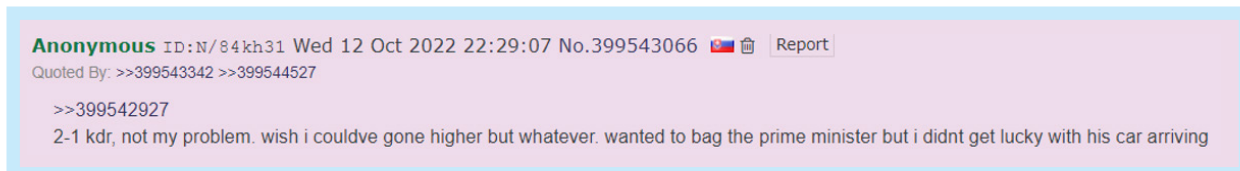
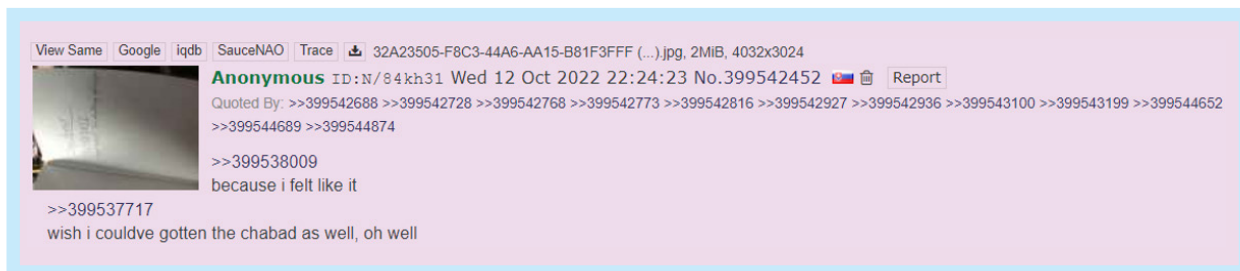


Furthermore, while on the run, the shooter tweeted more messages before his account was blocked. After midnight, for example, he tweeted that, “I’d do it all over again lmao”.



After the attack, Krajčík also posted messages on 4chan in both English and Slovak. He expressed personal disappointment that he did not attack the local Chabad House synagogue and Slovakia’s prime minister. He also posted an image of himself with the words “have a last selfie” and another message with the words “hovor za seba”, meaning “speak for yourself”.

⁵ [Útočníka zo Zámockej našli mŕtveho, k streľbe sa prihlásil na Twitteri, pár hodín predtým zverejnil manifest proti židom a LGBTI](#), Denník N, 13 October 2022



In fact, on 15 August, Krajčík had also tweeted selfies outside the targeted LGBT+ bar, Bratislava’s Chabad House and the Slovak prime minister’s apartment building, presumably acts of hostile reconnaissance for his pre-attack preparations.⁶

Additionally, for over a year prior to the attack, Krajčík had used his Twitter account to post right-wing extremist rhetoric and imagery, including screenshots from 4chan and tweets glorifying mass shooters and Nazi iconography. As the ADL’s [review](#) of his account revealed, he had also repeatedly tweeted hints of planning mass attacks.⁷



⁶ [Útočníkom zo Zámockej je zrejme Juraj K. narodený v roku 2003](#), Denník N, 13 October 2022; [Vrah zo Zámockej si chcel počkať aj na premiéra Hegera, no vraj nezastihol jeho auto](#), Denník N, 13 October 2022

⁷ [Bratislava Shooter Promoted White Supremacist Content on Twitter for Over a Year](#), ADL, 14 October 2022

THE FAREWELL LETTER

Krajčík’s lengthy manifesto was posted online and presented as a neatly typed PDF document written in proficient English and including some imagery and graphics. By contrast, his farewell letter was more personal and handwritten on a single A4 sheet.

The letter’s tone is both acquiescent and defiant. He directly addresses his parents and sibling, along with an unnamed female with whom he was fixated. Krajčík expresses regrets for not always being an honest or good son but also thanks his parents for all they did for him.

He seemed to accept that he would likely die in the attack, writing to them that, *“We will probably not see each other on earth, but I will be waiting for you on the other side, wherever that could or could not be.”*

At the same time, he expresses his impulse to save “my people, my race” and to “step forward

and fight, even if I was supposed to be the last European to do so”.

Unlike the manifesto, his letter is sparser in naming grievances and sources of hate, making no reference to LGBT+; however, he emphasises his abiding determination to fight “Jewish enemies and their collaborators”:

“Every human has to pick their path. I have chosen mine, the path of fight against the Jewish enemies and their collaborators. I am satisfied with my path, I have no reservations. Therefore I am stepping forward without concern. There isn’t a trace of fear or remorse in me. There are only two emotions within me: joy that such an opportunity to strike at the Jewish occupied system is presented to me, and sorrow that I won’t be alive long enough to see the world after the enemy has been defeated. This is my role in life, and I take this responsibility into my hands with joy and expectation.”

THE MANIFESTO

Krajčík’s manifesto (titled “A call to arms”) is anchored in his belief of a vast, worldwide conspiracy of Jews threatening the destruction or future of the white race. Its opening lines are, *“It’s the Jews. It’s the Jews. It’s the Jews”* (emphasis original). He also describes how, *“the body of our people has been infiltrated by a particularly nasty, talmudic parasite.”*

The manifesto is replete with hatred of, and incitement to murder, Jews, LGBT+, law enforcement personnel, politicians, non-whites and others. It also shows that the attacker was steeped in the violent, misanthropic and nihilistic ecosystem

of 4chan, 8chan and Telegram’s “Terrorgram” network of channels that incessantly glorify, encourage and incite murder and terror attacks.⁸

In essence, the manifesto demonstrates the central role that such platforms play in radicalising extremists and literally helping them devise and refine their attack planning. The text highlights how right-wing terror attacks in 2019 and 2022 – alongside memes and material

⁸ Simon Purdue, [Ideological Nihilism and Aesthetic Violence: Mass Shooters and Online Antisocial Subcultures](#), GNet, 13 July 2022

glorifying attackers and tactical guidance shared on these alternative platforms – directly inspired and motivated his attack plans.

In keeping with these and other attackers’ pre-attack sentiments, Krajčík’s manifesto expresses a sense that he must act now and cannot allow the white race to continue suffering:

“I can no longer stand by and watch, while our people are being destroyed. Watch the jews work us over slowly, inflicting cut upon cut, slowly bleeding us out with their policies...I must take a stand, even if just once in my life. Even if I must stand alone, even if just for one day, even if I may fail - I must do something. Because my people are worth fighting for...I can’t wait anymore. I must do what has to be done. I must fight back.” (Emphasis original)

Destroying ZOG

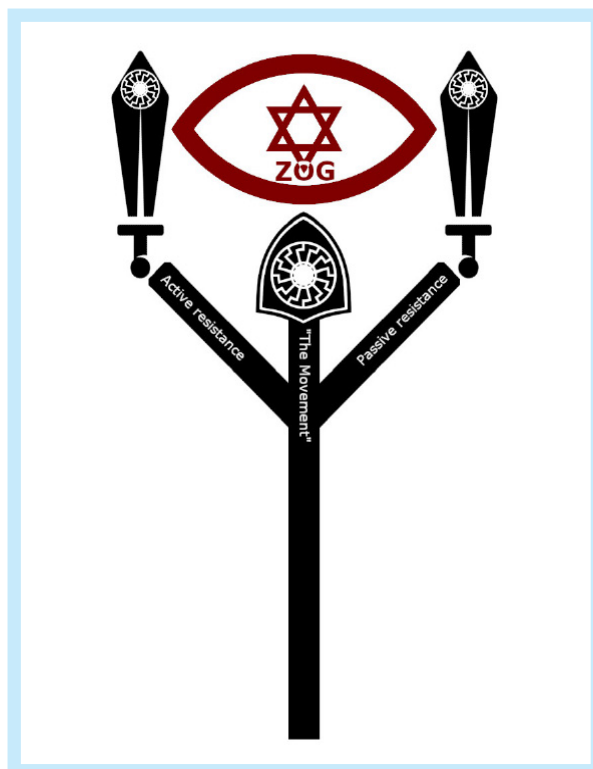
Krajčík’s manifesto is fixated with destroying ZOG (Zionist Occupied Government), a widespread white supremacist conspiracy claiming limitless Jewish power to control the US and foreign governments.⁹ He defines ZOG very widely to include any entity worldwide that threatens the destruction or future of the white race.

In calling for the “total destruction of ZOG (Zionist Occupied Government) in all its forms”, he refers to “Western ZOG” (the USA) and “Eastern ZOG” (Russia), believing them to represent “the two jewish centers of power”. And he also uses the terms JOG (Jewish Occupation Government), New World Order and rails against “the System”, the term neo-Nazi accelerationists use to describe corrupt, anti-white societies that must be destroyed.¹⁰

The attacker also provides a lengthy explanation (accompanied by the illustration above) that

⁹ [Hate Symbol - ZOG](#), ADL

¹⁰ [White Supremacists Embrace "Accelerationism"](#), ADL, 16 April 2019; Ben Lee, [Siege Culture and Accelerationism in the UK](#), CREST, 7 June 2022



“white resistance” to ZOG is based on three prongs of active resistance, passive resistance and joining “The Movement”.

For over two pages, the attacker provides a lengthy and eclectic list of ZOG and ZOG-adjacent targets that must be destroyed.

This includes governments, politicians, media, journalists, “enemy judges”, bankers, Davos, the UN, Hollywood, pornography studios and shops, “invasive non-Whites”, Rothschilds, police and several more. In many cases, he emphasises that the family members of such targets are targets themselves.

Additionally, Krajčík itemises a diverse litany of “endless” Jewish crimes against “our people, our Race”. This includes:

- Mass immigration of “enemy races”
- “jew-created” Covid vaccines
- Subverting white nations by placing Jewish-controlled traitors in government to do their bidding

- Controlling social media and mass media
- The civil rights movements, and more

Each crime is followed by the words, “*For this, you must die*”. One of the crimes is that Jews “organize and spearhead everything related to ‘LGBT rights’, pushing degenerate propaganda onto our Race. *For this, you must die.*” Earlier in the manifesto, he writes that, “They weaken us with propaganda that pushes degenerate ideologies and lifestyles like transgenderism, ‘sexual liberation’, faggotry and others.”

For the Bratislava shooter, targeting an LGBT+ bar is seemingly an extension of ZOG and thus a legitimate target. As Hannah Rose, a research fellow at the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR), astutely observed in her analysis of the attack, “Jewish people are not the only victims of antisemitism; in the shooter’s worldview, attacking an LGBT+ bar is a means of attacking Jewish people”.¹¹

Attack planning and preparations

The manifesto dedicates four pages to describing the practical and mental/emotional preparations necessary for attack planning. Krajčík defines levels of “target value” and “target density”, describing that, “*targets should be selected from a pool of potential ones collected ahead of time*”.

For example, in high-density targets “the amount of targets within the operation area is essentially unlimited”, specifying targets such as ethnic enclave neighbourhoods, pride parades and “*religious buildings on important dates (Yom Kippur, Islamic Friday prayers...)*”.

¹¹ Hannah Rose, [The Bratislava Attacks: Insights from the Shooter’s Manifesto](#), GNet, 14 October 2022; Also see [Rose’s Twitter thread on 13 October 2022](#); For an in-depth analysis of the connection between antisemitism and anti-LGBT+ sentiments in the violent accelerationist milieu, see Blyth Crawford, [Sleeping with the Enemy: Sex, Sexuality and Antisemitism in the Extreme Right](#), ICSR, 2022

Krajčík explains that he planned to target primary, secondary and tertiary targets, but he declined to include a specific target list in the hope of attacking other locations if he survived his first assault. He wanted to prevent increased security at the other targets. Krajčík also advises his readers to learn from his mistakes, prepare accordingly and “*Use the lessons you find to prepare yourself in a better way, to avoid my own errors.*”

Radicalisation and inspiration

Krajčík’s document is full of white supremacist references, tropes and material. At the end, he provides a recommended reading list, including Brenton Tarrant’s manifesto “The Great Replacement”, William Pearce’s *The Turner Diaries* and *Hunter*, as well as online tactical guides for fighting “white resistance”.

Krajčík celebrates Telegram’s Terrorgram channels and 8chan for opening his eyes and teaching him practical guidance for fighting a “White revolution”. Near the end of the document, he thanks “8/pol/anons” and writes that, “*Without you, I would have never made it this far.*”

Krajčík also praises the influence of “Slovakbro” and laments his arrest in May 2022. “Slovakbro” is the online pseudonym of Pavol Beňadik, a 22-year-old influential activist on extreme right-wing online networks. Slovak authorities arrested Beňadik for spreading hate speech and guides for manufacturing 3D-printed weapons, following an investigation supported by European partners and the FBI. In November 2022, Beňadik pleaded guilty to several crimes, including terrorism offences, and was sentenced to six years in prison.¹²

Earlier, Krajčík praises the enduring legacy of 8chan – where Tarrant and Earnest posted their pre-attack manifestos – for inspiring fellow attackers and

¹² Ivan Mego, [Extrémista, ktorým sa inšpiroval terorista zo Zámockej, ide do väzenia](#), StartitUp, 10 November 2022; [Suspect arrested in Slovakia for spreading hate speech and 3D printed weapons manuals](#), Europol, 8 June 2022

writes that, “8chan may be gone, but its influence continues to propagate forward. And they will continue to propagate for a long time.” On 30 August, in fact, Krajčík tweeted the same sentiment (see right).

Krajčík’s manifesto also describes that his radicalisation process started with Tarrant’s manifesto and livestream of the Christchurch mosque attack in 2019. This was followed by John Earnest’s manifesto and his shooting attack at the Poway synagogue in April of the same year:

“My main two inspirations to carry out an operation, and the main reason I even opened my eyes to the kikes and their plans and decided to resist them, were Brenton Tarrant and John Earnest...When he posted his manifesto on the same website as Saint Tarrant - 8chan - I decided to check out what made the website so special, and from there on I was never the same.”

Krajčík also writes that the “new impulse” for planning his own attack in Bratislava came in May 2022, with Payton Gendron’s manifesto and his mass shooting at the supermarket in Buffalo, New York that killed ten Black shoppers. Krajčík describes how he identified with Gendron whose acts so intensely inspired and motivated Krajčík to write his screed and plan his own attacks:

“The final nail in the coffin was Payton Gendron. His livestream gave me new inspiration, a new impulse to do what had to be done after years of procrastination. And in Gendron, I saw myself - a young man with his whole life ahead, who decided to fight for something bigger than himself, who fought for what he believed in. He had the same feeling that many others before him, and he took it.

“In May of this year, I began writing this document and seriously preparing myself for carrying out a strike against ZOG. Saint Gendron gave me the final nudge, allowing me to overcome my own indecision and begin seriously working towards carrying out an operation.”



NTMA0315 @ntma0315 · Aug 30

That’s right. 8chan may be dead, but it is the idea that matters. It is the idea that lives on, more fragmented than in the 8ch days but lives on, in various corners of the Internet where it continues to propagate.

Krajčík drew encouragement from the effects of Gendron’s attack, concluding that the Buffalo shooting devastated “the cohesiveness and safety of an entire community” and that similar attacks can “uproot an entire community”. This is a stark reminder that seeking to damage community cohesion is among terrorists’ many objectives.

But it also points to another crucial point: the violent potential of conspiracy theories. Like other recent terror attacks, the Bratislava shooting emphasises how conspiracy theories influence the worldview and modus operandi of violent extremists.

Nearly 20 years ago, Professor Christopher Andrew, the official historian of MI5, lamented that Western authorities often fail to understand the mindset of fanatics and dismiss their obsessive conspiracy theories as irrelevant. Andrew, however, argued the precise opposite and urged authorities to understand that:

“All fanatics are necessarily conspiracy theorists. Their extreme hatred of the enemies they have sought to destroy over the last millennium... can only be justified by substituting demonic, conspiratorial myth-images for reality...however, at an operational level, the most dangerous fanatics, despite their conspiracy theories, are calculating and often dangerously effective”¹³

Conspiracy theories, however irrational, often inform and motivate political violence on the part of those who believe them, allowing perpetrators to “operationalise” their conspiracies.

¹³ Christopher Andrew, [Intelligence analysis needs to look backwards before looking forward](#), History and Policy, 1 June 2004

THE THREAT OF COPYCAT ATTACKS

A global network of violent right-wing extremism, white supremacy and accelerationist ideologies have fuelled terrorism and murder by sharing vast quantities of easily accessible and violent content on social media and imageboard platforms, such as 8chan, 4chan and other alternative platforms.

These networks are nurtured by an online meme culture that celebrates attacks, glorifies attackers and urges more attacks. They treat mass violence as a game and goad future attackers to improve on previous attackers’ “high scores” (i.e., maximising fatalities). CST warned about these developments in its 2020 report, *“Hate Fuel: the hidden online world fuelling far right terror”*.¹⁴

These developments have created what analysts are calling the “cumulative momentum of extreme-right transnational violence”.¹⁵ Since 2018-19, this far-right ecosystem has contributed to several terrorist attacks targeting religious, ethnic and minority communities worldwide, including three attacks against synagogues.

Although lone attackers have planned and executed these terrorist attacks, they see themselves as part of a global extreme right-wing/accelerationist movement, replete with its own online language and subculture that is developed and sustained in this online ecosystem.

Consequently, these attacks have exhibited significant commonalities: the release of pre-attack manifestos designed to inspire others to engage in similar violence; the livestreaming (or attempted livestreaming) of the attacks; the attackers’ choice of dress/attire; the deliberate

use of in-group references, in-jokes and violent aesthetics; the dominance of conspiracies anchored in violent antisemitism and non-white ethnicities (e.g., the great replacement theory); the use of firearms and more.¹⁶

In the aftermath of high-profile attacks, law enforcement officials often warn that would-be attackers research past attacks for tactical guidance, and that wide publicity of them may inspire others to mimic aspects of these attacks.

At times, the impression is that a would-be attacker may seek to emulate an attack in short succession. Security analysts and practitioners, however, should keep in mind that months or years can pass between attacks.¹⁷ In fact, subject experts have differentiated between a “contagion effect” (the imitation of an attack within days or weeks) and a “copycat effect” (the imitation of an attack/attacker over months or years).¹⁸

Consider the timespan among the following nine extreme right-wing terror attacks from October 2018 to October 2022:

- Over four months passed between Robert Bowers’ mass shooting at a synagogue in Pittsburgh (27 October 2018) and Brenton Tarrant’s mass shootings at two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand (15 March 2019). Bowers used Gab to announce his attack intent. Tarrant announced his intent

¹⁶ Jacob Ware, [Testament to Murder: The Violent Far-Right’s Increasing Use of Terrorist Manifestos](#), ICCT Policy Report, March 2020

¹⁷ Stephane Baele et al., [Mining The Chans](#), CREST, 29 January 2021

¹⁸ Bram van der Meer, J. Reid Meloy et al., [The Adult Mass Murderer in Europe and North America: The Paranoid Spectrum from Distrust to Delusion](#), ATAP Annual Threat Management Conference, 17 August 2017; Julia Kupper, [The Venomous Rhetorical Web of Far-Right Terrorists](#), GNET, 17 October 2022

¹⁴ CST Research Briefing, [Hate Fuel: the hidden online world fuelling far right terror](#), 2020

¹⁵ Amarnath Amarasingam et al., [The Buffalo Attack: The Cumulative Momentum of Far-Right Terror](#), CTC Sentinel, July 2022, p. 1

and promoted his manifesto on 8chan’s /pol/ board and livestreamed his attack via Facebook Live.

- A month after Christchurch, John Earnest perpetrated a shooting at the synagogue in Poway (27 April 2019). He posted his pre-attack announcement on 8chan’s /pol/ board and attempted to livestream via Facebook Live.
- Just over three months later, Patrick Crusius perpetrated a mass shooting at a Wal Mart in El Paso, Texas (3 August 2019), and Philip Manshaus attacked a mosque in Baerum, Norway (10 August 2019). Crusius posted his pre-attack announcement on 8chan’s /pol/ board; Manshaus posted on Endchan and attempted to livestream via Facebook Live.
- Two months later, Stephan Balliet committed an attack outside the synagogue in Halle, Germany, on the Jewish high holiday of Yom Kippur and at a nearby Turkish restaurant (9 October 2019). Balliet posted his pre-attack announcement on Meguca and livestreamed on Twitch.
- One year and 10 months later, a 15-year-old, who was inspired by Balliet and other attackers, perpetrated a stabbing attack at his secondary school in Eslöv, Sweden (19 August 2021). He posted his pre-attack announcement on Discord and livestreamed via Twitch.
- Peyton Gendron’s radicalisation journey began in May 2020, after he found online footage of Tarrant’s attacks. He delayed his attack multiple times but perpetrated his mass shooting on 14 May 2022. He posted his pre-attack announcement on Google Docs, 8chan ‘moe’ and 4chan.
- Nearly five months to the day, Juraj Krajčík’s perpetrated his shooting in Bratislava (12 October 2022).

Krajčík’s manifesto explains explicitly not only that his journey started taking shape three-and-a-half years ago (following Tarrant and Earnest’s attacks), but also that his attack plans accelerated five months before his shooting following Gendron’s attack in May:

“Since 2019, I have slowly been preparing: gathering targets, researching and monitoring them, reading about tactics and strategies. My targets switched as both the global situation and my personal knowledge evolved. Yet my desire to strike against the ZOG has always remained. What was missing, was my courage. I could’ve struck at any time: I had numerous opportunities... Saint Gendron gave me the final nudge, allowing me to overcome my own indecision and begin seriously working towards carrying out an operation.”

The dynamics of copycat attacks are explored in a fascinating recent study titled “The Contagion and Copycat Effect in Transnational Far-right Terrorism”.¹⁹ The authors identified the connections and interconnectivity of pre-attack online announcements, manifestos and other violent aesthetics that were used by ten extreme right-wing terrorists from 2011 to 2022.²⁰

19 Julia Kupper, Reid Meloy, et al., [The Contagion and Copycat Effect in Transnational Far-right Terrorism: An Analysis of Language Evidence](#), *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 16:4, August 2022. See Table 1, p. 5

20 The attackers listed in this study include Anders Breivik (who attacked on 22 July 2011), Dylann Roof (who attacked on 17 June 2015), Robert Bowers, Brenton Tarrant, John Earnest, Patrick Crusius, Philip Manshaus, Stephan Balliet, Hugo Jackson and Peyton Gendron. The Bratislava shooting post-dates the study’s publication.

The study demonstrates how the contemporary white supremacist/extreme right-wing/accelerationist online ecosystem “empowers copycats and escorts them on their pathway to violence”. And the authors underline key stages that enable attackers’ mobilisation to violence, which are worth quoting at length:

“...[D]uring the self-radicalization process, offenders study targeted violence manifestos and live-streams from infamous role models, which inspire them to commit attacks. While planning and preparing for the act, these writings and recordings are utilized as a do-it-yourself guide, providing tips on targets, training and operational intelligence, such as surveillance.

“During the mobilization stage, the subjects proceed to compose manifestos themselves, which often reference notorious same-genre authors, copying structural components and citing or rephrasing textual elements from previous writings.

“While implementing the terrorist attack, the assailants announce their planned actions on a digital platform shortly prior to the act, again quoting or rewording the language from previous online postings.

“In the final phase, the perpetrators broadcast their acts of violence on mainstream online platforms, which often entails a visual display of weapons that reference the names of preceding attackers or victims of opposing attacks.

“These communication strategies are designed to create an operational manual to incite others to commit additional mass casualty events, while simultaneously demonstrating their inclusion within the far-right online ecosystem.”²¹

21 Julia Kupper, Reid Meloy, et al., [The Contagion and Copycat Effect in Transnational Far-right Terrorism: An Analysis of Language Evidence](#), Perspectives on Terrorism, 16:4, August 2022, p. 11

Furthermore, these extreme right-wing attackers use their manifestos and livestreams to encourage supporters to study the lessons of their attacks, especially any mistakes, so that their followers can avoid similar missteps in subsequent attacks. This has been a key feature in the manifestos of the attackers listed above, including most recently the Buffalo and Bratislava shooters.

Operationally, the bottom line is that copycat attackers may not attack immediately. Their pre-attack preparations – ideological, practical and psychological – may take months or years to germinate. Attackers may also use “malevolent creativity”²² by integrating tactical lessons from previous attacks and seeking to innovate their own attack methodologies and modus operandi. Ultimately, the continued proliferation of easily accessible terror attack footage, memes, conspiracies and violent incitement trap us in a repeating “time-loop” of mimicked attacks.



Telegram image glorifying extreme right-wing terrorists, from Tarrant to Krajčík

22 Amarnath Amarasingam et al., [The Buffalo Attack: The Cumulative Momentum of Far-Right Terror](#), CTC Sentinel, July 2022, p. 4-5

THE RISKS OF GLORIFYING “SAINT KRAJČÍK”

Accounts on Telegram’s Terrorgram channels immediately celebrated Krajččík’s shooting, referring to him as “St. Tarrant’s 6th disciple” and to Tarrant as “Terrorgram’s 1st Saint”. One channel produced an infographic paying homage to “Saint Juraj Krajččík” for his “Day of Action” and describing its operational details. The channel also added him to its so-called “Saints Calendar”, a monthly diary that celebrates the birthdays of, and commemorates the attacks by, hundreds of white supremacists worldwide.



Cropped version of the infographic glorifying Krajččík on Telegram

Another channel quickly produced a 2.5-hour narrated audiobook of the entire manifesto. The narrator begins by describing the attack and declaring that, “We mourn Saint Krajččík’s death, but his legacy is immortalised through words and action. This audiobook is a noble contribution towards that cause.” On concluding the reading, she ends by stating that, “Thus concludes the gospel of Saint Krajččík...Rest in power, Saint Krajččík, we will never forget you.”

This weaponisation of online platforms fits a predictable pattern in the current security landscape: prospective attackers feed off the memes and material glorifying previous attacks and attackers; they aspire to broadcast their own atrocities and generate their own violent, nihilistic memes; and they aim to outperform a predecessor’s “kill count” or “high score” and thus enter the pantheon of accelerationist “saints”.

In May, CST assessed the implications of Peyton Gendron’s Buffalo attack, his manifesto and diary entries.²³ We repeated earlier warnings that online hate fuels murder and explained that “Gendron is a living embodiment of the deadly impact of the toxic online content”, which is vital to the radicalisation of far-right extremists. As with many other analysts, we also expressed the core concern that Gendron would be glorified as a hero and saint and inspire others to plan new attacks.²⁴

And here we are again, this time in Bratislava, with online platforms affording Krajččík the precise reward that he craved: joining the ranks of those terrorists who inspired him and allowing him the posthumous opportunity to inspire yet others.

This cycle of terrorism will not stop if we only seek out legally defined terrorist content across these platforms. They constantly produce an admixture of legally defined terrorist material and “legal but harmful” content. As we wrote in May, “We cannot afford more years of inaction that allows this global, far right terrorist movement to continue spreading its hate”.²⁵

23 [Hate Fuelled: The Role of Online Platforms Inciting Murder in Buffalo](#), CST, 19 May 2022

24 [The Buffalo Terrorist Attack: Situating Lone Actor Violence into the Militant Accelerationism Landscape](#), Middlebury Institute International Studies at Monterey, July 2022; Galen Lamphere-Englund and Jessica White, [The Buffalo Attack and the Gamification of Violence](#), RUSI, 16 May 2022

25 [Hate Fuelled: The Role of Online Platforms Inciting Murder in Buffalo](#), CST, 19 May 2022

CST'S MISSION

- **Promote good relations** between British Jews and the rest of British society by working towards the elimination of racism, and antisemitism in particular.
- **Represent British Jews** on issues of racism, antisemitism, extremism, policing and security.
- **Facilitate Jewish life** by protecting Jews from the dangers of antisemitism, and antisemitic terrorism in particular.
- **Help those who are victims** of antisemitic hatred, harassment or bias.
- **Promote research** into racism, antisemitism and extremism; and to use this research for the benefit of both the Jewish community and society in general.
- **Speak responsibly** at all times, without exaggeration or political favour, on antisemitism and associated issues.



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