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## **Executive Summary**

## **About this Study**

Ithin the world of 3D-printed guns, one pseudonymous figure has emerged as a symbol for the cause of universal access to firearms: "JStark1809". He created the world's most popular 3D-printed gun and established an influential network of 3D-printed gun designers. Since his death in July 2021, he has been memorialised as a martyr for the right to bear arms.

Based on open sources, this report identifies "JStark1809" as Jacob Duygu, a German national born to Kurdish parents who arrived as refugees from Southeast Turkey in the 1990s.

Using a combination of authorship attribution techniques, JStark can be identified as the author of over 700 seemingly "anonymous" comments on 4chan's /pol/ board. He disclosed hitherto unknown details about his life, broader political views, and extremist attitudes.

## **Designing a 3D-Printed Gun**

JStark's choice to design a 3D-printed gun arose from frustration at not being able to own a gun on his terms in Germany. This morphed into a belief that owning firearms is a human right. JStark thus designed a 3D-printed gun with no regulated parts to ensure anyone worldwide could make it.

The gun he designed, the FGC-9 ("Fuck Gun Control 9mm"), has been seen on five continents, in: Australia, Brazil, Finland, Germany, Myanmar, Netherlands, New Zealand, Slovakia, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, the UK, and the United States. It has been seen in the hands of gun enthusiasts, organised criminals, paramilitaries, insurgents, and terrorists.

He also created a network of 3D-printed gun designers and enthusiasts to create new designs, disseminate the digital blueprints online, and encourage their adoption. That network is known as Deterrence Dispensed and remains active even after JStark's death.

#### **Political Views**

When speaking pseudonymously, JStark stated he was sharing 3D-printed gun designs to enable people to resist tyranny and defend against authoritarianism. He presented a universal message and spoke out against xenophobia and racism.

Writing anonymously, however, JStark made numerous xenophobic, racist, and antisemitic comments over multiple years. He regularly used dehumanising slurs and racist tropes.

On several occasions, JStark made anonymous threats of violence. These included threats to kill so-called "traitors" of Germany and threatened politicians, law enforcement, and left-wing individuals. He instigated online and lamented how a "right-wing" terrorist group had not emerged.

#### Life as an Incel

JStark's "anonymous" comments reveal his life as an incel (involuntarily celibate). He felt his autism, height, looks, and ethnicity would shatter his chances of having a sexual or romantic relationship in Germany. In 2018, he travelled to the Philippines to escape his life as an incel.

He regularly made misogynist comments. He sometimes revelled in female suffering and despaired at his lack of relative power. He varied between condoning incel-motivated violence and seeing it as inevitable. Shortly before his arrest in June 2021, he threatened violence: "I will literally kill, (sic) or kill myself soon if i can't sleep in a bed with a girl again ...".

In the final months of his life, JStark expressed profound suicidal ideation. Anonymously, he wrote of his loneliness and depression – which he attributed to his status as an incel – and shared detailed plans to commit suicide. His chosen method is relatively new; routine toxicological analysis may fail to detect it. It is possible that after his arrest in late June 2021, JStark decided to take his life.

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The 3D-Printed Gun Movement

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Behind the Mask: Uncovering the Extremist Messages of a 3D-Printed Gun Designer

## Introduction

"[F]or all intents and purposes, he was the face of the cause working on a product that would let anyone who needed a gun have access to it".1

A 3D-printed gun designer describing JStark1809

ver the past decade, there has been a wave of innovation in 3D-printed guns. The first digital blueprint for such a firearm, released in 2013, was of a single-shot pistol known as the "Liberator". Its principal designer, Cody Wilson, wanted to prove the futility of gun control by ensuring anyone with an Internet connection could make a firearm at home.2 While his design was unreliable, clunky, and prone to disintegrating upon firing, it succeeded as a proof of concept. Since then, scores of 3D-printed gun designs - more effective and reliable than the Liberator - have been developed, with their digital blueprints freely disseminated online. The driving force behind these creations is a broad movement of gun enthusiasts, hobbyists, and ideologues who believe bearing arms is a human right.

From that movement, one pseudonymous figure has emerged as a symbol for the cause of universal access to firearms: "JStark1809" (otherwise known as "JStark", "Jacob Stark 1809", or "Jacob").3 He made two significant contributions. First, he established an influential network – known as Deterrence Dispensed – that develops new 3D-printed firearm components, disseminates the blueprints online, and encourages their adoption. Second, he led the design of the FGC-9 ("Fuck Gun Control 9mm"), a hybrid 3D-printed carbine that requires no regulated components. The designs were accompanied by a meticulous, step-by-step instructional guide, making the printing and assembly of the gun comprehensible to novices worldwide.

The FGC-9's combination of reliability and accessibility has made it a game-changer in 3D-printed firearms. Released in March 2020, it has been observed or seized by authorities in several countries worldwide, including Australia,4 Brazil,5 Finland,6 Germany,7 Myanmar,8 Netherlands,9 New Zealand,10 Slovakia,11

Popular Front, "The Death of JStark", podcast episode 133, 14 October 2021, 22m 58s

Andy Greenberg, "'Wiki Weapon Project' Aims To Create A Gun Anyone Can 3D-Print At Home", Forbes, 23 August 2012.

This report uses these names interchangeably.

"Firearms and 3D printing laws spark reaction from gun owners and shooters", ABC News, 13 July 2022.

<sup>&</sup>quot;3D Firearm Proliferation Among Latin American Criminal Organizations", *Militant Wire*, 16 May 2022. "KRP: Suomessa otettu kiinni sata AN0M-operaatioon liittyen", *Ilta Sanomat*, 8 June 2021; "Mies valmisti aseita

<sup>3</sup>d-tulostamalla "asetehtaassa", tuomittiin ehdottomaan vankeuteen", Helsingin Sanomat, 6 July 2023

<sup>&</sup>quot;Viele Täter polizeilich unbekannt", *Tagesschau*, 23 February 2022; Julian Feldmann, Nino Seidel & Robert Bongen, "Radikale Corona-Leugner: Waffen aus dem 3D-Drucker", *Das Erste*, 24 February 2022.

<sup>&</sup>quot;How rebel fighters are using 3D-printed arms to fight the Myanmar junta", France24, 7 January 2022.
"Man aangehouden met 3D geprint semiautomatisch vuurwapen", Politie Landelijke Eenheid, 11 February 2022. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iWJSgb\_ZBKs "King Cobras gang member Monnier Time sentenced for Mangere East shooting, possession of 3D-printed gun". 10

<sup>&</sup>quot;Zdieľal svastiky aj návody na sabotáže. Akopolícia vypátrala Slováka stíhaného zaterorizmus", SME, 30 May 2022.

Spain,<sup>12</sup> Sweden,<sup>13</sup> the UK,<sup>14</sup> and the United States.<sup>15</sup> An update, the FGC-9 Mk II, was released in April 2021. JStark's contributions helped transform 3D-printed firearms from a niche interest to a phenomenon now garnering widespread use and attention.

Despite his influence, little is known about the person behind the pseudonym. JStark took care not to reveal details about his identity or location and covered his face - wearing a distinctive black mask and sunglasses – in video appearances (see Image 1). Yet he was open to engaging with media and publicising his cause, having made at least eight appearances across podcasts, a conference, and a documentary.16

Most known biographical details originate from an October 2021 article in Der Spiegel magazine, which revealed his name as "Jacob D.". He had legally changed his first and last names in 2019.17 The German article stated his original name was Turkish, 18 while the English version said he was "thought to have Kurdish roots". 19 Jacob D. lived in Germany, having moved from the city of Hannover to the town of Völklingen in 2020. In late June 2021, German authorities raided his flat and brought him in for questioning. He was eventually released from police custody, and two days later, he was found dead in a car parked outside his parents' home in Hannover. The autopsy failed to determine the cause of death, though it ruled out "foul play or suicide".20 The article states that a longstanding heart condition and stress from his arrest may have led to cardiac arrest.<sup>21</sup> Jacob D. was 28 years old.

In death, the memorialisation of JStark transformed him into a martyr for the cause of the right to bear arms. One 3D-printed gun designer observed: "I love how Stark is slowly turning into myth, he went from the friendly guy on Keybase [a communications platform] to an ethereal martyr".22 JStark was considered the embodiment of the principle of the right to bear arms, as another designer said: "You didn't know him, he didn't have a face... But you knew he was someone who represented an ideal and an idea".23 Crucial to this

<sup>12</sup> "Un español, exmilitar en Venezuela, regentaba el primer taller ilegal de armas 3D descubierto en España", ABC, 18 April 2021.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Hade vapenverkstad i sitt hem – Jim Holmgren döms", Expressen, 27 September 2022; "'Bombmannen' nekas

av högsta domstolen", Falköpings Tidning, Ž8 October 2022. "Concerns that ÖNH could have 'home made' 3D printed weapons", The Irish News, 27 April 2022; R v Matthew Cronjager, Sentencing Remarks, Record of London, 19 October 2021, p. 3 (Cronjager attempted to solicit the manufacture of an FGC-9, as well as a Cheetah-9 SMG, from an undercover police officer); "Teen who inspired Buffalo shooting killer faces extradition to the US", The Times, 1 December 2022 (Daniel Harris attempted to manufacturer an FGC-9; the article only mentions a "carbine rifle", but the article's author revealed

in correspondence that it was an FGC-9).

Ari Schneider, "3D-Printed Guns Are Getting More Capable and Accessible", Slate, 16 February 2021.

Those appearances are: (1) The Kommando Blog podcast, "3D Printed Firearms with Deterrence Dispensed", Episode 8, March 2019; (2) Free Man Beyond the Wall podcast, "F%ck Gun Control w/ Jacob from Deterrence Dispensed", Episode 293, August 2019; (3) The Kommando Blog podcast, "Deterrence Dispensed Updated 2019", August 2019; (4) Guns N' Bitcoin podcast, "Live Free or Die with 3D Printed Guns – JStark1809", Episode 16, 11 December 2019; (5) Anarchast podcast, "Unstoppable Freedom with Deterrence Dispensed", Episode 516, April 2020; (6) The eMilitia Podcast, "Fuck Gun Control – The FGC-9 with JStark", Episode 41, May 2020; (7) The 7th Annual Hackers Congress Paralelní Polis, "Fuck Gun Control-9mm", October 2020; and (8) Popular Front, "Plastic Defence: Secret 3D Printed Guns in Europe", November 2020. In each appearance, except for the

Popular Front documentary, JStark can be heard speaking in what appears to be his natural, unmodified voice. German privacy laws mean his surname was initialised by Der Spiegel. Maik Baumgärtner, Alexander Epp, Roman Höfner & Roman Lehberger, "Gefahr aus dem Hobbykeller", *Der Spiegel*, Number 41, 9 October 2021; Maik Baumgärtner, Alexander Epp, Roman Lehberger & Roman Höfner "The Shadowy, Homemade Weapons

Community Just Keeps on Growing", *Der Spiegel*, 12 October 2021. Maik Baumgärtner, Alexander Epp, Roman Höfner & Roman Lehberger, "Gefahr aus dem Hobbykeller", Der Spiegel, Number 41, 9 October 2021.

Maik Baumgärtner, Alexander Epp, Roman Lehberger & Roman Höfner "The Shadowy, Homemade Weapons Community Just Keeps on Growing", *Der Spiegel*, 12 October 2021. 19

Ibid. In Germany, unlikely other countries, there is no statutory requirement for an investigation when an individual dies in police custody or there is a death following contact with the police.

Deterrence Dispensed member, Deterrence Dispensed chat, 13 March 2023 Guns N' Bitcoin, "Celebrating the life of JStark1809 - Twitter Space Podcast", Twitter, 18 October 2021, 53m 20s.



Image 1: JStark1809 in October 2020 (Source: 7th Annual Hackers Congress Paralelní Polis)

was his public persona – of a masked man making 3D-printed guns who adopted the slogan "live free or die" – which was recognised as key in spreading awareness, as one Deterrence Dispensed member noted:

I think Stark's anonymity, masked appearance, distorted voice, and the inclusive message he put forth in [the documentary] Plastic Defense (sic), allows people to relate to him and kind of put themselves in his shoes. His propaganda of the deed ensures that he lives on, and I have had a lot of success introducing people to [3D-printed guns] via Stark. He has kind of become a Batman like figure, and that certainly helps on the propaganda front.<sup>24</sup>

## **Findings and Structure**

The purpose of this report is to understand the person behind the mask. Until now, his background, beliefs, and offline behaviour remain largely unknown. Who was "JStark1809", and are there any differences between that persona and "Jacob D."? What motivated him to design 3D-printed firearms? What were his political beliefs and attitudes to political violence? What happened in his offline life?

To answer these questions, this report archived his open-source digital footprint. That comprises his forum posts, comments, and interviews under the "JStark1809" moniker. It supplements those pseudonymous comments by using an innovative methodology involving forensic linguistics and behavioural analysis to identify him as the author of

<sup>24</sup> Comment from Deterrence Dispensed member, Deterrence Dispensed chat, 13 March 2023.

hundreds of seemingly "anonymous" posts online. Jacob inadvertently gave unparalleled insight into his life, beliefs, and behaviour in those anonymous comments.

The difference between his pseudonymous and "anonymous" comments is striking. JStark supported worldwide access to guns, though his desire to make do-it-yourself firearms primarily came from his inability to acquire a gun on his absolutist terms in Germany. Under the "JStark1809" moniker, he shared a universal message of using guns to defend the oppressed from authoritarian governments. Anonymously, he posted xenophobic, racist, antisemitic, and misogynistic comments and endorsed anti-State violence. He also described his life as an incel (his struggles in forming romantic and sexual relationships) and spoke of his desire to travel to Southeast Asia or commit suicide. Just days before his arrest and death, he was so angry with life as an incel that he threatened violence. Writing anonymously, he said: "I will literally kill, (sic) or kill myself soon if i can't sleep in a bed with a girl again …".25

This report is structured as follows. Chapter two details the open-source methodology used in finding JStark's digital footprint, including how he was identified as the author of "anonymous" comments. It also summarises JStark's biographical details. The subsequent chapters analyse JStark's life according to three themes: (1) his journey to designing 3D-printed firearms; (2) his political beliefs, including his xenophobic online behaviour and threats of violence as expressed on 4chan's /pol/; and (3) his life as a self-identified incel, attitudes to misogynistic violence, and his related suicidal ideation. The report concludes with implications for the broader 3D-printed gun movement.

## Open-Source Methodology

"IS MY INTERNET BEING MONITORED? WHAT THE FUCK!".26 JStark, writing anonymously on 4chan

he empirical basis for this report is an archive of the open-source profiles, comments, and posts made by JStark online. That involves tracing his digital footprint to 4chan's "Politically Incorrect" board (known by its shorthand /pol/) and then using authorship attribution techniques to identify him as the author of other – ostensibly anonymous – comments on /pol/. Additional searches identified his accounts on Twitter (@thereal JacobK and @Krieger\_Jacob), YouTube (@chabi3000), Quora (Jacob Krieger), Reddit (u/JStark1809), Soundcloud (Jakob Duygu), and Couchsurfing (Jakob Duygu). They constitute hundreds of comments and other data points from JStark's teenage years in 2010 to a few days before his death in 2021. This chapter outlines the process of searching for and collecting data.

## Tracing JStark's Digital Footprint

The open-source trail begins with JStark – who introduced himself as Jacob - appearing on the "Free Man Beyond the Wall" podcast in August 2019.27 The host asked how he first became involved in designing and making 3D-printed firearms. In response, JStark recounted how he spotted flaws in a design published online by Cody Wilson, the founder of Defense Distributed and the designer of the "Liberator" 3D-printed gun. This led to a brief Twitter exchange with Wilson:

I just learned how to install CAD [computer aided design] software, open it up, and look at the models. And with just my untrained eyes I immediately saw that the AR-15 [CAD model] was basically crap. You couldn't really make any decent firearm out of that. And the issue was it wasn't complete, and the parts that were modelled were absolutely faulty in many ways. So what I did was, on Twitter, I tweeted at Cody, like, 'look at the bolt model, it's shit, it's crap, it's unusable, why did you release crap like that?' And he told me 'fix it yourself'. And then, I mean that was daunting, but I accepted the challenge.28

That exchange can be identified, thus revealing JStark's Twitter profile. A search of Wilson's tweets for words to the effect of "fix it yourself" shows he replied "fix it" to the account @thereal\_JacobK

User ID: naUWGK0f, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 17 September 2017, 14:00:42, No.141863627. The title of the podcast has since changed to "The Pete Quinones Show".

Peter R. Quiñones, "Episode 293: F%ck Gun Control w/ Jacob from Deterrence Dispensed", Free Man Beyond the Wall podcast, 2 August 2019, 16m 20s. Available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20221221185755/ https://libertarianinstitute.org/freemanbeyondthewall/293/. JStark also described this exchange when appearing on The Kommando Blog podcast on 15 March 2019 and 4 August 2019.

on September 8th, 2018.<sup>29</sup> As @thereal JacobK has since been suspended, it is impossible to see the original tweet Wilson replied to and verify it contains JStark's criticism of the CAD model.30 Nevertheless, Wilson's reply closely matches JStark's description of the exchange, and the @thereal\_JacobK username contains the same name (Jacob) that JStark introduced himself as on the podcast.

His Twitter profile's display name was "Jacob Krieger".31 Searching for that name on archiving sites reveals two more of JStark's profiles. The first is @Krieger\_Jacob,32 an earlier Twitter account active from December 2013 until its suspension in December 2016; the month the @thereal JacobK account was created.33 It contains the same thematic content - relating to the Syrian Civil War - and display name as @thereal\_JacobK. The second is a YouTube account with the display name "Jacob Krieger" (and the username @chabi3000) that similarly commented on a video in 2016 about the Syrian Civil War.34 It features the same profile picture – the "Earthrise" photo taken by astronaut Bill Anders – as used in JStark's Quora profile.35

The open-source trail also leads to 4chan's /pol/ board.36 In a thread titled "Should I go to school in Germany?" from 13th May 2017, an American user seeks advice on living in Germany amid their concerns over the 2015 refugee crisis and the size of Germany's Muslim population.<sup>37</sup> The first reply, from a German-flagged<sup>38</sup> user with the User ID BZI4RFHJ, encourages them to move to Germany temporarily and includes an offer of help: "If you need more answers ask away and also you can contact me @thereal\_JacobK via dm". This was simply Jacob being candid online, before the emergence of the "JStark1809" persona and any fame for designing 3D-printed guns.

JStark's comment was labelled as written by "Anonymous" (see Image 2). This is characteristic of 4chan: users are automatically labelled as such when posting and commenting.<sup>39</sup> However, the website has a system for tracking participants in a conversation, as it assigns a unique User ID – composed of a string of letters and numbers - to each user who replies in a thread. The User ID appears next to the "Anonymous" label and remains for that user's session in that particular thread.<sup>40</sup> A new User ID is assigned to them if they post or reply in a different thread.

- @Radomysisky (Cody R. Wilson) tweet, Twitter, 8 September 2018. Available at: https://web.archive.org. web/20220419041125/https://twitter.com/Radomysisky/status/1038607916649959425. This is also the only tweet by Cody Wilson containing the word "fix". JStark later said that Cody Wilson then directly messaged him on Twitter and gave him his phone number, and the pair had a conversation about 3D-printed gun designs; The Kommando Blog podcast, 15 March 2019, 7m 20s.
- The tweet has not been saved on any archiving sites. Various other tweets by @thereal\_JacobK are available on Archive.org's Wayback Machine: https://web.archive.org/web/\*/twitter.com/thereal\_jacobk\*
- A June 2016 archive of that account can be viewed on the Wayback Machine at: https://web.archive.org/ web/20160610201311/twitter.com/krieger\_jacob
- On 22nd December 2016 @Krieger\_Jacob replied to a tweet from SITE Intelligence Group regarding an ISIS video of two captive Turkish soldiers being burned alive. As @Krieger\_Jacob has since been suspended, the content of the reply is unknown. However, over a dozen Twitter users – writing in Turkish – replied to @Krieger\_Jacob's tweet, criticising him. From the content of these replies, @Krieger\_Jacob's tweet was anti-Turkish and contained the derogatory term "Turkroach". It is highly likely that his account was subsequently reported and banned. Searching on Twitter for mentions of @Krieger, Jacob does not reveal any results afte December 2016.
- 34 "ضرب قناصة البي كي كي دبابة التي 55 والقضاء عليه بحمد لله", YouTube, 22 February 2016. Available at: https://archive.ph/PF302
- The Quora profile was found via a Google search for "Jacob Krieger". Jacob Krieger profile, Quora, December 2017. Available at: https://archive.ph/OhFBU.
- This can be found via a Google search for "@thereal\_JacobK".

  Anonymous, "Should I go to school in Germany?", 4plebs /pol/ archive, 13 May 2017. Available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20221211190845/https://archive.4plebs.org/pol/thread/125373572/
- 38 4chan's /pol/ board automatically assigns users with a country flag based on their IP address. Users can choose to override this and select a flag of their choosing.
- Should they so wish, 4chan users can assign themselves a name in place of "Anonymous" and a password-protected tripcode to certify they are the authentic user of that name. For instance, JStark used the name "JStark1809" when posting on 4chan's weapons board (known as /k/), which was associated with his unique tripcode of "!Jdu2OWcfupR". In practice, however, most comments on 4chan are by
- If the user returns to a thread with a new IP/proxy address, they are assigned a new User ID

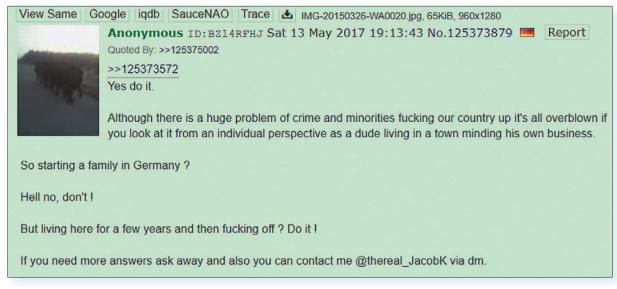


Image 2: JStark's 13th May 2017 reply to a thread on /pol/ (Source: 4plebs archive)

This feature allows the identification of JStark as the author of nine further comments – all with the User ID BZI4RFHJ – in the 13th May 2017 thread. In a lively discussion, he lists reasons someone should (and should not) move to Germany. In doing so, he discloses various details about himself, including his location ("Hannover"), struggles with autism ("I now have realized that i suffer from Asperger"), use of escorts ("But i have stopped going because i feel lonelier afterwards"), and self-identification as an incel ("I am an Aspie Incel so whatever"). His comments also cover particular themes, such as a fascination with the United States, despair about Germany, and life as an incel.

#### **Linguistic Markers**

When viewing JStark's comments, two features of his idiolect – that is, "a speaker's individual language habits or preferences" 42 – become apparent. First, he consistently and correctly capitalises the English word "I" when it appears at the beginning of a sentence (e.g., "I am an Aspie Incel so whatever" 43). However, when the word "I" appears anywhere else in a sentence, JStark consistently and incorrectly uses the lowercase "i" (e.g., "But i stopped going because i feel lonelier afterwards" 44). This is also true for the contractions "I'd", "I'll", "I'm", and "I've". The only exceptions are when JStark is posting in all caps. In the 13th May 2017 4chan thread, he capitalised the I all five times at the beginning of a sentence and wrote it in lowercase all five times it was used elsewhere in the text. It is unclear why he did this. His computer or browser may have automatically capitalised the first letter of a sentence, as was the case with all other sentences in the thread.

<sup>41</sup> These comments further verify that the User ID BZIRFHJ is indeed JStark: the reference to living in "a commie like block building with a tiny ass flat" mirrors the comments made by JStark on the Free Man Beyond the Wall podcast, August 2019, 34m 2s. Additionally, lamenting that there is "no cream beer" in Germany corresponds with JStark's known preference for cream beer.

<sup>42</sup> Sheila Queralt, "Linguistic Profiling: A Spanish Case Study", in Isabel Picornell, Ria Perkins & Malcolm Caldwell (eds.), Methodologies and Challenges in Forensic Linguistic Casework (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2022), paragraph 14.26.

<sup>43</sup> User ID: BZI4RFHJ, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 13 May 2017, 20:01:22, No.125379096.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 20:08:42, No.125379891.

Table 1: JStark's linguistic markers across platforms

	4chan /pol/	4chan /k/	Reddit	Twitter
Username(s)	User ID: BZI4RFHJ	JStark1809; JStark1809 !!Jdu2OWcfupR	u/JStark1809	@Krieger_Jacob; @thereal_JacobK
Date(s) of comments / posts	May 2017	March 2019 - October 2020	March 2019 - July 2020	May 2016 - December 2018
Number of comments / posts	10	134	79	17
Number of sentences	29	515	156	28
Average number of sentences per comment / post	2.90	3.84	1.97	1.65
Number of words	687	10,353	4,116	294
Average number of words per sentence	23.69	20.10	26.38	10.50
Capitalised I at beginning of sentence <sup>45</sup>	100% (5 of 5 instances)	100% (40 of 40)	100% (21 of 21)	100% (4 of 4)
Lowercase I elsewhere in sentence <sup>46</sup>	100% (5 of 5)	97% (56 of 58)	89% (55 of 62)	100% (1 of 1)
Space before exclamation or question mark	100% (14 of 14)	96% (22 of 23)	83% (5 of 6)	83% (10 of 12)

The second feature of JStark's idiolect is using a single space after words and the adjoining exclamation or question marks (e.g., "So starting a family in Germany? Hell no, don't!"<sup>47</sup>). That is atypical for German writers, where the use of a space is known as *plenken*. It is the norm in neighbouring France, meanwhile, and may feature in the comments of German-flagged 4chan users who were educated in France. JStark inserted this single space all 12 times he used an exclamation or question mark in the 13th May 2017 4chan thread. He did not consistently do this for other punctuation marks, such as commas, full stops, or hyphens.

An idiolect naturally varies over time and according to context, such as a change in platform or audience. To see if that is true of JStark, additional data was gathered from other platforms he was known to use. On Reddit, he made 72 posts and comments using the pseudonym u/JStark1809.<sup>48</sup> An additional seven deleted Reddit comments were recovered from the Reveddit website.<sup>49</sup> Another 134 posts

<sup>45</sup> Only sentences beginning with I, I'd, I'll, I'm, and I've are included in this tally. Sentences written in caps lock or in German are excluded.

<sup>46</sup> The words I, I'd, I'll, I'm, and I've are included in this tally. Sentences written in caps lock or in German are excluded.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 19:13:43, No.125373879.

His Reddit posts are available at: https://www.reddit.com/user/jstark1809 or https://web.archive.org/

<sup>web/20221212220012/https://old.reddit.com/user/JStark1809/jstark1809/ or http://web.archive.org/
screenshot/https://www.reveddit.com/y/jstark1809/ or http://web.archive.org/
screenshot/https://www.reveddit.com/y/jstark1809/?removal\_status=all. Two posts are incorrectly listed as "deleted" on Reveddit, these are not included in the seven posts mentioned above.</sup> 

were archived from 4chan's /k/ (weapons) board, where he used the names JStark1809 and JStark1809 !!Jdu2OWcfupR.50 The latter features a password-protected tripcode after his name, which is used to prevent impersonation.51 A further 17 tweets were recovered from his @Krieger\_Jacob and @thereal\_JacobK accounts.52

JStark's idiolect is remarkably consistent across the 240 comments he authored over five years across three platforms (see Table 1: JStark's linguistic markers across platforms). On 4chan's /k/ board, he capitalised the word I at the beginning of a sentence 100% of the time it was used (40 of 40 instances) and used the lowercase version elsewhere in the sentence 97% of the time (56 of 58 instances). He also inserted a space before the exclamation/question marks 96% of the time on /k/ (22 of 23 instances).

These linguistic markers, in combination with comments self-identifying as autistic, incel, and living in Hannover, can represent a method of spotting additional comments potentially authored by JStark. It is near certain that he posted in multiple threads, given the level of engagement shown in the 13th May 2017 /pol/ thread and the information he shared. The question then arises: how can we find more of JStark's "anonymous" posts on /pol/?

### **Keyword Searches**

Two methods were used to find other comments he potentially authored. The first involved keyword searches on the 4plebs /pol/archive,<sup>53</sup> starting with terms used in the 13th May 2017 thread, such as "Second Amendment", "United States", "Aspie Incel", "Asperger", and "Hannover". This method assumed that JStark repeated certain words and phrases across different threads.

The in-built 4plebs search feature was used, with two criteria applied: (1) comments must have been posted on the /pol/ board, and (2) the user must have been German-flagged. These criteria were to help narrow down the search results from the hundreds of millions of posts made on 4chan.<sup>54</sup> The second criterion assumes that JStark's flag did not change – that he did not, for instance, set a VPN for outside of Germany, post from outside the country, manually change his flag or use one of 4chan's so-called "troll" or "meme flags".<sup>55</sup> Initially, the search result was restricted to within a three-month window of the 13th May 2017 thread; after successfully finding other potential posts, this timeframe was removed.

Search results were then sifted through to identify comments containing JStark's linguistic markers (the combination of a capitalised I at the

His posts on /k/ are available on a website that archive's /k/ posts. The name has been withheld at the discretion of the author. The archive site has 141 comments authored by JStark1809. Several /k/ comments with the username "JStark1809" were impersonators; where it was possible to discern the impersonating comments, they were removed from this study.

<sup>51</sup> The tripcode is a hash of a user-selected password; to replicate the tripcode, a user would need to enter the correct password. Tripcodes are used to prevent impersonation and to recognise the same user across different threads.

Only a small fraction of tweets from these accounts were archived by the Wayback Machine. By June 2016, @krieger\_jacob had over 440 tweets, yet just four tweets (excluding retweets) are archived from May to June 2016. By December 2018, @thereal\_JacobK had 1,369 tweets, yet only 13 tweets are archived between January 2017 and December 2018.

<sup>53 4</sup>plebs.org describes itself as "a community run archive of 4chan.org". It claims to "archive all threads and images from specific imageboards on 4chan". 4plebs homepage, 2023. Available at: https://4plebs.org/

<sup>54</sup> In a study of /pol/ posts between November 2013 and September 2021, there were 194 million that contained country flags. Of those, 2.78% were German-flagged. Sal Hagen, "Mapping 4chan/pol/'s country flags", Open Intelligence Lab (OlLab), 21 October 2022. Available at: https://oilab.eu/mapping-4chan-pol-s-country-flags/

<sup>55</sup> For more on how /pol/ users use flags, see the above reference

beginning of a sentence and a lowercase i elsewhere; a space between a word and the adjoining exclamation or question mark) and self-identifying comments (where a User ID describes themself as an incel, autistic, or living in Hannover). This method revealed several threads where these features were present. Many of these were also in a daily recurring /pol/thread (known as "Syria General" or /sg/) dedicated to discussing the Syrian Civil War, further increasing the likelihood it was the same author.

In turn, finding potential posts allowed for the discovery of more keywords to use in searches. For instance, when writing about the United States, JStark disclosed in 2017 that he had recently travelled to Texas: "I hate this fucking city [Hannover]. I wish i could live in rural USA. I missed my time in Texas". 56 This sentiment was repeated in other comments. 57 Further keyword searches were then conducted for "Texas". Similarly, these newfound posts highlighted other characteristics he explicitly self-identified as (such as being a soldier, non-white/ethnic minority, and Kurdish) and other themes to his posts (such as his planned travels to Southeast Asia and the Philippines, and suicidal ideation). Those characteristics and themes were then used to identify JStark in further searches.

### **Image Hash Searches**

The second method involved searching for hashes of the images he uploaded. Every image in the 4plebs archive is assigned a unique hash – a string of numbers, letters, and symbols – and the in-built search tool can be used to find all other instances when that hash (i.e., the same image) was uploaded. Searches were first conducted on the hashes of the images uploaded in the 13th May 2017 thread, with the same prerequisites (presence of his linguistic markers and self-identifying content) as with the keyword searches. The results were similarly sifted through to identify his linguistic markers and self-identifying comments, with preference given to images not frequently shared on 4chan (with a hash posted less than five times) or those that appear to have been taken by the uploader.<sup>59</sup> This method assumed he shared the same images, such as his favourite memes, across multiple threads.

The image hash search involved a further nuance, which is necessary to explain in detail. One characteristic of imageboards is the proliferation and sharing of the same memes by multiple users, so the presence of the same image hash across multiple threads does not automatically mean that the same user was behind each upload. The image hash 'LWkefGBJSNwVDhMITf6pjQ==' (of a foot stepping on a cockroach) was uploaded 17 times on /pol/, for example, and it may have had 17 different uploaders.

Here, it was important to distinguish by filenames, as consistent filenames suggest the same user may have uploaded that image. For the image hash 'LWkefGBJSNwVDhMlTf6pjQ==', 11 uploads had the filename "ÜCÜK BÜCÜK.jpg" (displayed next to the image), meaning that the uploader had a file on their computer titled "ÜCÜK BÜCÜK.jpg".

<sup>56</sup> User ID: MkwEQohl, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 21 March 2017, 15:36:27, No.117635200. This comment, and subsequent references to JStark's /pol/ comments, can be found on the 4plebs.org archive.

subsequent references to JStark's /pol/ comments, can be found on the 4plebs.org archive.

57 See, for example, User ID: +hiffmhQ, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 9 April 2018, 02:46:57, No.167300107.

<sup>58</sup> See, for example, User ID: zeclXejG, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 20 March 2017, 01:11:23, No.117410749, where he even discloses his nickname: "Call me Jacob, i hate my Kurdish name".

<sup>59</sup> JStark uploaded several photos from his time in the Bundeswehr, which he reposted across threads. These photos were only ever reuploaded by User IDs that were identified as JStark.

Yet, suppose another user were to save that image. In that case, 4chan automatically renames the downloaded image according to the Unix timestamp<sup>60</sup> (e.g., "1449243147873.jpg") of when that hash was first uploaded to 4chan, rather than the name of the uploaded file (i.e., "ÜCÜK BÜCÜK.jpg"). This filename convention therefore suggests that the 11 uploads of the "ÜCÜK BÜCÜK.jpg" file were not from 11 different users downloading and sharing the same image from 4chan, but potentially from one user reuploading the same file 11 times.<sup>61</sup>

#### **Inclusion Criteria and Collected Data**

As mentioned, a prerequisite of the keyword and image hash searches was that the user must have been German-flagged and posting on /pol/. When determining JStark as the User ID, two of the following four criteria must have been met: (1) consistent use of his linguistic markers, (2) presence of self-identifying content (where the user explicitly states they are an incel, autistic, non-white/ethnic minority, Kurdish, or a soldier), (3) comments covering particular themes (the Syrian Civil War; despair or anger about Germany; firearms or the US Second Amendment; a desire to move to the USA; misogyny or life as an incel; South East Asia or the Philippines; suicidal ideation), and (4) hashes linked to other JStark-attributed comments. Attention was also paid to comments in recurring threads (where JStark was identified to have regularly posted in) and their timestamps (where they occurred shortly before or after other identified comments).

The threshold was set at two criteria simply because having all four present was unnecessary to identify JStark as the author with near certainty (i.e., with ≥95% confidence). Not all User IDs posted self-identifying content, yet their linguistic markers and image hashes meant there was a remote chance another user aside from JStark was the author. Moreover, the image hash search was given greater weight when determining authorship, especially when a hash and filename combination was not posted frequently on /pol/ (i.e., less than five times)<sup>62</sup> or if the photo was judged to have been taken by JStark.<sup>63</sup>

JStark can be identified with near certainty as the author of 719 "anonymous" comments across 89 threads (see Table 2: Simplified list of JStark's anonymous comments on 4chan's /pol/). They range from 18th March 2017 to 27th June 2021, just a few days before his death. His comments fall into three general batches: March to September 2017 (491 comments), February to May 2018 (37 comments), and January to June 2021 (191 comments). Based on the context of the replies and content, JStark was judged to have switched to a new User ID in a thread on four occasions. How he did this is unclear; he may have switched proxies when returning to a thread. Additional comments where JStark was judged to likely (i.e., 55-75% confidence) or highly likely (i.e., 80-90% confidence) be the author were discarded from the dataset.

<sup>60</sup> The Unix timestamp tracks time as a running total of seconds since the start of the Unix Epoch on January 1st, 1970, at UTC. For the current Unix timestamp, see: https://www.unixtimestamp.com

<sup>61</sup> A different filename did not automatically disqualify a comment as being authored by JStark, as it was possible that JStark renamed filenames, perhaps according to the context of the thread and/or post he was replying to.

<sup>62</sup> A study of 1,003,785 unique image hashes, posted on /pol/ in a two-and-a-half-month period in 2016, found "about 70%" were only posted once and 95% were posted no more than 5 times. Note that study did not incorporate the filenames into their analysis. Gabriel Emile Hine, Jeremiah Onaolapo, Emiliano De Cristofaro, Nicolas Kourtellis, Ilias Leontiadis, Riginos Samaras, Gianluca Stringhini, and Jeremy Blackburn, "Kek, Cucks, and God Emperor Trump: A Measurement Study of 4chan's Politically Incorrect Forum and Its Effects on the Web", Proceedings of the International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media, 2017, Vol 11, No 1, p. 97.

<sup>63</sup> That was determined by a combination of: (1) the contents of the photos, (2) the similarities in the filenames, and (3) the absence of results when reverse image searching.

This list is not intended to be an exhaustive tally of his posts on /pol/. He certainly authored other comments that were not found by the keyword and image hash searches. It is also possible that some comments listed in Table 2 may have been misattributed to JStark, although attribution was always conservatively applied. Nonetheless, the collective body of 4chan posts is consistent and presents a coherent picture of his life, attitudes, and offline behaviour.

Testament to the efficacy of the data collection was the discovery of a photo of JStark's face (see Image 3) posted on /pol/ in March 2017.<sup>64</sup> It was the only time he uploaded an image of his entire face on 4chan. However, he would post cropped images of the same photo (e.g., just showing the lower part of his face) in other threads.<sup>65</sup> The cropped images have different hashes than the uncropped photo, so they could not be linked via the hash search. However, they were found in threads uncovered by keyword searches, thus validating that search method.

Furthermore, the photo of JStark was processed through the Pimeyes facial recognition search engine. The closest resemblance was that of a Soundcloud user, Jakob Duygu (see Image 3).66 Searching for that name on other platforms reveals a Couchsurfing profile – which uses a photo also found on the Soundcloud account – of Jakob Duygu, where he wrote in 2014 that he lives in Hannover, is about to join the Bundeswehr, and plans on travelling to the United States.67 These characteristics were repeatedly found in the /pol/ comments attributed to JStark.







**Image 3:** Jakob Duygu, also known as JStark1809 (Sources: Couchsurfing, circa 2014 (left);<sup>68</sup> Soundcloud, circa 2014 (centre);<sup>69</sup> 4chan /pol/, 2017 (right)).<sup>70</sup>

<sup>64</sup> User ID: FDQGLmRP, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 25 March 2017, 00:08:45, No.118155665. Available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20221211194723/https://archive.4plebs.org/pol/thread/118150273/

<sup>65</sup> See, for example, User ID: msvAvoEv, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 10 September 2017, 15:31:33, No.141018316. Available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20221211224626/https://archive.4plebs.org/pol/thread/141010227/; User ID: zEde7MEE, 4plebs/pol/ archive, 17 September 2017, 19:21:11, No.141891246. Available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20221213202835/https://archive.4plebs.org/pol/thread/141877337/

Jakob Duygu profile, Soundcloud, circa 2014. Available at: https://soundcloud.com/jakob-duygu and https://web.archive.org/web/20231005104747/ https://web.archive.org/screenshot/https://soundcloud.com/jakob-duygu. The name "Duygu" is a Kurdish family name, however it is also common among Turkish people; that overlap may explain why the German language Der Spiegel article stated his original name was Turkish. Note that when he legally changed his name to "Jacob D.", the surname was different to "Duygu", which was his original surname.

<sup>67</sup> Jakob Duygu, Couchsurfing profile, circa 2014. Available at: https://www.couchsurfing.com/people/jakobduygu

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Jakob Duygu, Soundcloud profile, circa 2014. Available at: https://soundcloud.com/jakob-duygu and https://web.archive.org/web/20231005104747/http://web.archive.org/screenshot/https://soundcloud.com/jakob-duygu

Analysis of his digital footprint reveals his basic biographical details. JStark was born in Germany in 1992 or 1993 to Kurdish parents who had left Southeast Turkey as refugees. He grew up in Hannover and discarded his Kurdish first name, instead going by "Jakob" Duygu. He joined the Bundeswehr in 2015, serving as a junior non-commissioned officer<sup>71</sup> in a logistics unit.<sup>72</sup> Around 2018, he travelled to the Philippines to escape his life as an incel. He eventually returned to Germany and established Deterrence Dispensed in 2018/19, aiming to create and disseminate 3D-printed gun designs. He published digital blueprints for the FGC-9 in 2020 and released an updated Mark II version in 2021. In the months leading up to his arrest in June 2021, he displayed pronounced suicidal ideation. He died of unknown causes in July, two days after being released from police custody.

### **Discovering Deception**

It is almost certain that JStark self-censored on /pol/ or even engaged in deception and countersurveillance. He was conscious of his posts being viewed on 4chan, and voiced suspicions in 2017 that he was under surveillance: "WHAT THE FUCK ?!? AM I GOING CRAZY OR IS SOMEONE DELETING COMMENTS HERE ? IS MY INTERNET BEING MONITORED ? WHAT THE FUCK !".73 He was concerned about monitoring: "Please, i beg you, please don't tell me that there are special mods for German related threads on /pol/ now, that are monitoring and deleting posts because of German authorities ?".74 The need for operational security would have only heightened after the release of the FGC-9 in 2020, which may increase the likelihood of encountering deception in the 2021 batch of comments rather than those from 2017 and 2018.

It is possible to discover one such attempt at deception. At its heart is a photo of JStark in military uniform standing in front of a truck, albeit with his head cropped out (see Image 4).<sup>75</sup> That photo was posted in 16 threads: ten in 2017, one in 2018, and five in 2021, thus linking the three periods of his /pol/ comments. At times, there were several months between the photo being posted, decreasing the chance it was another /pol/ user reposting the image. The filenames are also consistent: 14 photos are titled "4.jpg", while the final two are titled "Aganaut.jpg". Furthermore, the threads often featured other photos JStark had taken, such as of military training, his military ID card, boots, fatigues, G36 rifle, and his (cropped) face.

<sup>71</sup> User ID: 12b6Feh1, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 10 January 2021, 07:59:10, No.301675527.

<sup>72</sup> The badge on the beret, viewable in a photo JStark uploaded of himself, matches that of the Bundeswehr's Nachschub- und Transporttruppe. User ID: FDQGLmRP, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 25 March 2017, 00:08:45, No.118155665.

<sup>73</sup> User ID: naUWGK0f, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 17 September 2017, 14:00:42, No.141863627.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 14:04:07, No.141863853

<sup>75 &</sup>quot;4.jpg" and "Agaunaut.jpg", image hash 'q6px/QegXl5wdtQx5AMaww=='. Available to view at: https://archive.4plebs.org/pol/search/image/q6px\_QegXl5wdtQx5AMaww/

<sup>76</sup> User ID: E5V2/i+M, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 27 March 2017, 14:36:06, No.118512971; 14:49:38, No.118514114. The similar filenames for all these images (e.g., "IMG-20150201-WA0000.jpg" and "IMG-20150111-WA0046.jpg") also corroborate their singular authorship.

also corroborate their singular authorship.

User ID:12b6Feh1, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 10 January 2021, 07:59:10, No.301675527.

<sup>78</sup> User ID: I75WVluh, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 26 March 2017, 20:46:42, No.118404402. 79 User ID: zeclXejGm 4plebs /pol/ archive, 20 March 2017, 01:11:23, No.117410749.

User ID: zeclXejGm 4plebs /pol/ archive, 20 March 2017, 01:11:23, No.117410749.
 User ID: MkwEQohl, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 21 March 2017, 16:11:36, No.117638653

<sup>81</sup> User ID: zEde7MEE, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 17 September 2017, 19:21:11, No.141891246.



Image 4: A cropped photo of JStark, uploaded to /pol/ on 16 occasions (Source: 4plebs archive)

Over the 16 threads, he changed how he self-identified. In the 2017 posts, he said he was Kurdish<sup>82</sup> or Kermanji-speaking<sup>83</sup> with parents from Turkey.<sup>84</sup> In 2021, however, he disguised his ethnicity by claiming his parents were "from Armenia/Iran".<sup>85</sup> This deception was likely because he felt his ethnicity could be used to identify him, but he still wanted to distinguish himself as non-white in the thread's discussion (which was about being an ethnic minority incel in Germany). This deception is also an expansion of an earlier comment where JStark wrote that he looks "kinda Armenian".<sup>86</sup>

His 2021 claim can be judged as a falsehood, as it would have involved the remote possibility of there being a German-flagged user with parents from Armenia/Iran who also: downloaded the cropped photo of JStark from /pol/ with the original filename ("Aganaut.jpg") and not the auto-generated filename ("1489968558337.jpg"); reposted it with a capitalised I at the beginning of sentences 100 per cent of the time (5 of 5 instances) and a lowercase i elsewhere in the text 100 per cent of the time (8 of 8 instances); inserted a space before the exclamation/question marks 100 per cent of the time (6 of 6 instances); self-identified as an incel with "zero matches" on dating apps; self-identified as autistic; disclosed their intentions to either leave Germany or commit suicide; and commented within days of JStark leaving near-identical posts.

<sup>82</sup> User ID: zeclXejG, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 20 March 2017, 00:09:18, No.117403801. Elsewhere in the thread, the same I lser ID also says their name is "Jacoh"

same User ID also says their name is "Jacob".

83 User ID: I75WVluh, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 26 March 2017, 20:40:02, No.118403483.

<sup>84</sup> User ID: naUWGK0f, 17 September 2017, 13:43:28, No.141862381.

<sup>85</sup> User ID: TtEsvPfi, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 19 January 2021, 23:06:51, No.303764187. The cropped photo of JStark in military uniform can be seen earlier in the thread, in post No.303762430.

<sup>86</sup> User ID: V8a4tvaD, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 17 January 2021, 21:08:10, No.303324612.

Table 2: Simplified list of JStark's anonymous posts on 4chan's /pol/

		Post Details			L	inguistic Markeı	rs		Self-l	dentifying Com	ments		Relevant Image Hashes <sup>87</sup>
#	Date	User ID <sup>88</sup>	No. of posts	Forum (and thread) <sup>89</sup>	Capitalised I at beginning of sentence	Lowercase i elsewhere in sentence	Space before exclamation or question mark	Incel	Autistic	Non-white/ ethnic	Kurdish	Soldier	
1	18/03/2017	GeZkUw3S	9	/pol/ /sg/	100% (1 of 1 instance)	50% (1 of 2)	100% (4 of 4)						
2	19/03/2017	bfq6e59v	3	/pol/	-	_	100% (2 of 2)						
3	19/03/2017	2UWPckpl	2	/pol/	-	100% (1 of 1)	100% (4 of 4)						
4	19/03/2017	zeclXejG (AND JoLZaNJz)	14	/pol/ /sg/	100% (3 of 3)	100% (13 of 13)	100% (12 of 12)		X	X	Χ	X	'q6px/QegXl5wdtQx5AMaww==' AND 'qztdx/nllWf0VwA8K3WBiA=='
5	20/03/2017	qRj4d0H8	5	/pol/ /sg/	100% (2 of 2)	_	_						'wKgiusCPTExHZHXYmQcTJw=='
6	20/03/2017	3tjlW60o	27	/pol/ /sg/	100% (3 of 3)	100% (5 of 5)	100% (9 of 9)		X	X	Χ	Χ	
7	21/03/2017	MkwEQohl	30	/pol/	100% (9 of 9)	100% (8 of 8)	100% (20 of 20)	Χ	Χ	X		Χ	'qztdx/nllWf0VwA8K3WBiA=='
8	22/03/2017	J5tWzyVI	2	/pol/	100% (1 of 1)	_	_						
9	24/03/2017	FDQGLmRP (AND) P8ZAPPng	16	/pol/	100% (12 of 12)	100% (8 of 8)	100% (8 of 8)	X	X			X	'jjAmOuM+vZYQ5MJ8CEZvAQ==' (image of face)
10	26/03/2017	I75WVluh	4	/pol/ /sg/	100% (6 of 6)	100% (4 of 4)	100% (3 of 3)					X	'q6px/QegXl5wdtQx5AMaww==' AND 'wKgiusCPTExHZHXYmQcTJw=='
11	26/03/2017	IDhROaRL	14	/pol/ /sg/	100% (4 of 4)	100% (7 of 7)	100% (15 of 15)			Χ		Χ	

<sup>87</sup> For the sake of legibility, not all the image hashes from a particular User ID are listed here. For the same reason, themes of his comments are not included here. Details of some image hashes have been withheld at the discretion of the author, as they contain instructions on suicide.

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		Post Details			l	inguistic Marke	rs		Self-l	dentifying Com	nments		Relevant Image Hashes <sup>87</sup>
#	Date	User ID <sup>88</sup>	No. of posts	Forum (and thread) <sup>89</sup>	Capitalised I at beginning of sentence	Lowercase i elsewhere in sentence	Space before exclamation or question mark	Incel	Autistic	Non-white/ ethnic	Kurdish	Soldier	
12	27/03/2017	E5V2/i+M	18	/pol/	100% (10 of 10)	100% (3 of 3)	100% (10 of 10)	Χ					'q6px/QegXl5wdtQx5AMaww==' AND 'Dll1uoWT4Cj+3Mg/+WhTRQ==' AND '79Nil1gEEORqpg5EA8TEbg=='
13	27/03/2017	LlhSj2aZ	37	/pol/ /sg/	100% (2 of 2)	100% (18 of 18)	100% (5 of 5)	Χ	Χ				
14	27/03/2017	XiHqJVhw	13	/pol/ /sg/	100% (6 of 6)	100% (2 of 2)	100% (7 of 7)						
15	29/03/2017	Q1h1pjHB	6	/pol/	100% (3 of 3)	100% (5 of 5)	100% (7 of 7)						'79Nil1gEEORqpg5EA8TEbg=='
16	29/03/2017	s4eQ/cX7	11	/pol/	100% (7 of 7)	100% (8 of 8)	100% (14 of 14)						
17	30/03/2017	cErACcnC	1	/pol/	_	_	_					X	'q6px/QegXl5wdtQx5AMaww=='
18	31/03/2017	RX5bqqKA	3	/pol/	100% (1 of 1)	100% (1 of 1)	100% (1 of 1)						
19	31/03/2017	yAtIO2CN	14	/pol/	50% (1 of 2)	100% (3 of 3)	100% (4 of 4)		Χ	X			'IzQZnzBA4BaY8yXWIpXIHA=='
20	31/03/2017	BaqfkHWy	5	/pol/ /ptg/	100% (7 of 7)	100% (2 of 2)	100% (2 of 2)		Χ				
21	31/03/2017	J62n1vFE	3	/pol/ /ptg/	100% (6 of 6)	100% (1 of 1)	_		Χ				
22	31/03/2017	VcS7EiHX	6	/pol/	100% (1 of 1)	100% (1 of 1)	100% (1 of 1)			Χ			'q6px/QegXl5wdtQx5AMaww==' AND 'qztdx/nllWf0VwA8K3WBiA=='
23	02/04/2017	pj2LRd/l	1	/pol/	_	100% (1 of 1)	_						'q6px/QegXl5wdtQx5AMaww=='
24	02/04/2017	ugkCE8vW	8	/pol/ /sg/	100% (1 of 1)	100% (1 of 1)	100% (3 of 3)						

		Post Details			L	inguistic Marker	rs		Self-lo	dentifying Com	ments		Relevant Image Hashes <sup>87</sup>
#	Date	User ID <sup>88</sup>	No. of posts	Forum (and thread) <sup>89</sup>	Capitalised I at beginning of sentence	Lowercase i elsewhere in sentence	Space before exclamation or question mark	Incel	Autistic	Non-white/ ethnic	Kurdish	Soldier	
25	02/04/2017	+aZaJ+Dh	18	/pol/ /sg/	100% (3 of 3)	100% (5 of 5)	100% (5 of 5)						
26	03/04/2017	xPwf7VR7	1	/pol/	-	100% (1 of 1)	-						'q6px/QegXl5wdtQx5AMaww=='
27	04/04/2017	8Qxv95GT	4	/pol/ /sg/	_	_	83% (5 of 6)						
28	07/04/2017	8NNHCVOU	2	/pol/ /sg/	100% (1 of 1)	100% (1 of 1)	100% (1 of 1)						
29	09/04/2017	WXavQWWC	3	/pol/	_	_	100% (8 of 8)						
30	12/04/2017	M7VzCC1G	12	/pol/	100% (8 of 8)	100% (6 of 6)	100% (5 of 5)		Χ			Χ	'qztdx/nllWf0VwA8K3WBiA=='
31	14/04/2017	hylKMUIS	24	/pol/	100% (5 of 5)	100% (2 of 2)	100% (10 of 10)						'IzQZnzBA4BaY8yXWIpXIHA=='
32	17/04/2017	Jz6tBX2r	2	/pol/	_	-	100% (1 of 1)						
33	27/04/2017	FczhAa8a	4	/pol/ /sg/	100% (1 of 1)	_	100% (6 of 6)						
34	27/04/2017	MELNHFNH	2	/pol/ /sg/	_	_	100% (3 of 3)						'qztdx/nllWf0VwA8K3WBiA=='
35	28/04/2017	a0kbktGi	12	/pol/ /sg/	100% (3 of 3)	86% (6 of 7)	100% (4 of 4)		X			X	
36	28/04/2017	LIgERJNV	3	/pol/ /sg/	_	_	100% (4 of 4)						
37	05/05/2017	xM1IN/x/	5	/pol/	100% (3 of 3)	100% (1 of 1)	100% (1 of 1)						

		Post Details			L	inguistic Marker	'S		Self-le	dentifying Com	nments		Relevant Image Hashes <sup>87</sup>
#	Date	User ID <sup>88</sup>	No. of posts	Forum (and thread) <sup>89</sup>	Capitalised I at beginning of sentence	Lowercase i elsewhere in sentence	Space before exclamation or question mark	Incel	Autistic	Non-white/ ethnic	Kurdish	Soldier	
38	07/05/2017	EE71LGwF	6	/pol/	100% (2 of 2)	100% (4 of 4)	100% (2 of 2)		X				'1etUtwlWhOguZ7WQUX5VsA=='
39	09/05/2017	ideFfgC7	10	/pol/ /sg/	100% (4 of 4)	100% (7 of 7)	100% (6 of 6)				Χ	X	'Dll1uoWT4Cj+3Mg/+WhTRQ=='
40	13/05/2017	BZI4RFHJ	10	/pol/	100% (5 of 5)	100% (5 of 5)	100% (14 of 14)	Χ	X				
41	15/05/2017	nUar3pFt	6	/pol/	100% (4 of 4)	100% (5 of 5)	100% (9 of 9)		Χ				
42	17/05/2017	6H0wQ7qq	3	/pol/	-	-	100% (7 of 7)						
43	17/05/2017	nFnT1Xy2	2	/pol/ /sg/	100% (1 of 1)	100% (3 of 3)	100% (1 of 1)						
44	23/05/2017	Ta5CtQqN	2	/pol/ /sg/	100% (1 of 1)	-	100% (1 of 1)						'1etUtwlWhOguZ7WQUX5VsA=='
45	19/07/2017	rWLaYsbM	4	/pol/	100% (2 of 2)	100% (1 of 1)	_						
46	03/09/2017	H0tBXIHJ	2	/pol/ /sg/	100% (1 of 1)	-	100% (3 of 3)						
47	05/09/2017	qmM03npl	5	/pol/ /sg/	100% (3 of 3)	-	100% (3 of 3)		Χ				'1etUtwlWhOguZ7WQUX5VsA==' AND 'IzQZnzBA4BaY8yXWIpXIHA=='
48	09/09/2017	vE30Gqz6	3	/pol/	-	-	_						
49	10/09/2017	msvAvoEv	13	/pol/ AfD	100% (4 of 4)	100% (3 of 3)	83% (5 of 5)						'1etUtwIWhOguZ7WQUX5VsA==' AND 'TqLNkIQHpN8BHeqA8MkjVw==' (cropped image of face) AND 'IzQZnzBA4BaY8yXWIpXIHA=='
50	10/09/2017	MfLh+INV	3	/pol/ /sg/	_	_	100% (6 of 6)						

		Post Details			L	inguistic Markei	rs		Self-I	dentifying Con	nments		Relevant Image Hashes <sup>87</sup>
#	Date	User ID <sup>88</sup>	No. of posts	Forum (and thread) <sup>89</sup>	Capitalised I at beginning of sentence	Lowercase i elsewhere in sentence	Space before exclamation or question mark	Incel	Autistic	Non-white/ ethnic	Kurdish	Soldier	
51	10/09/2017	fbD7U+JI	7	/pol/ /sg/	100% (2 of 2)	-	100% (6 of 6)						
52	11/09/2017	vQmFFZ8Z	1	/pol/	_	100% (1 of 1)	_						'q6px/QegXl5wdtQx5AMaww=='
53	12/09/2017	1GnPlqwD	9	/pol/ /sg/	100% (1 of 1)	100% (1 of 1)	100% (8 of 8)						
54	13/09/2017	Cxpyj7rn	14	/pol/ /sg/	100% (2 of 2)	-	100% (12 of 12)						'IzQZnzBA4BaY8yXWIpXIHA=='
55	13/09/2017	0IA1o56J	14	/pol/ /sg/	100% (1 of 1)	100% (2 of 2)	100% (9 of 9)						
56	15/09/2017	4e2qWPNk	19	/pol/	100% (10 of 10)	100% (13 of 13)	100% (13 of 13)	X	X				
57	17/09/2017	naUWGK0f	7	/pol/ AfD	100% (3 of 3)	100% (4 of 4)	100% (6 of 6)		X	X	X	Χ	'q6px/QegXl5wdtQx5AMaww=='
58	17/09/2017	MNiTsoCf	5	/pol/ /sg/	-	-	100% (1 of 1)						
59	17/09/2017	zEde7MEE	2	/pol/ AfD	100% (1 of 1)	100% (4 of 4)	-			X			'q6px/QegXl5wdtQx5AMaww==' AND 'gXRRQaFrQ1E4/NWVQ9qPXA==' (cropped image of face)
60	03/02/2018	uZXThEB0	1	/pol/	100% (1 of 1)	100% (1 of 1)	_					Χ	
61	10/03/2018	+J00/Xf7	9	/pol/	100% (2 of 2)	100% (4 of 4)	100% (8 of 8)						'q6px/QegXl5wdtQx5AMaww=='
62	07/04/2018	czax75QR	2	/pol/	100% (1 of 1)	100% (4 of 4)	_	X					
63	08/04/2018	eCT+5NQ2	5	/pol/ /sg/	100% (1 of 1)	100% (1 of 1)	-						

		Post Details			L	inguistic Markeı	rs		Self-I	dentifying Com	nments		Relevant Image Hashes <sup>87</sup>
#	Date	User ID <sup>88</sup>	No. of posts	Forum (and thread) <sup>89</sup>	Capitalised I at beginning of sentence	Lowercase i elsewhere in sentence	Space before exclamation or question mark	Incel	Autistic	Non-white/ ethnic	Kurdish	Soldier	
64	09/04/2018	AHUvEFBh (AND) +hiffmhQ	5	/pol/	100% (9 of 9)	100% (9 of 9)	100% (1 of 1)	X					
65	03/05/2018	6SkEz+GW	7	/pol/	100% (5 of 5)	100% (7 of 7)	100% (1 of 1)	X					
66	04/05/2018	681L66yi	8	/pol/	100% (6 of 6)	100% (5 of 5)	100% (4 of 4)	X	Χ				
67	07/01/2021	2EM2EC58	2	/pol/ /ptg/	100% (1 of 1)	100% (1 of 1)	100% (5 of 5)					X	'q6px/QegXl5wdtQx5AMaww=='
68	08/01/2021	m8rjiTYq	3	/pol/	-	-	-	Χ					
69	09/01/2021	2Tkw5vOc	1	/pol/	100% (4 of 4)	100% (3 of 3)	-		Χ				
70	09/01/2021	rCHSJy60	1	/pol/	-	-	-						'q6px/QegXl5wdtQx5AMaww=='
71	10/01/2021	UinSjjqs	1	/pol/	-	_	100% (4 of 4)					X	'X6HE1AoAxa36awi0R2FaGg=='
72	10/01/2021	12b6Feh1	7	/pol/	100% (4 of 4)	100% (3 of 3)	100% (5 of 5)					Χ	'q6px/QegXl5wdtQx5AMaww==' AND 'X6HE1AoAxa36awi0R2FaGg=='
73	15/01/2021	ilJ4ZT3h	5	/pol/	-	100% (2 of 2)	100% (5 of 5)	X					
74	17/01/2021	V8a4tvaD	11	/pol/	100% (2 of 2)	100% (7 of 7)	100% (11 of 11)			X			
75	19/01/2021	(User ID withheld)	2	/pol/	100% (2 of 2)	100% (8 of 8)	100% (2 of 2)						(Image of suicide poison)
76	19/01/2021	7yLurVXG	1	/pol/	100% (1 of 1)	-	-						'q6px/QegXl5wdtQx5AMaww=='

		Post Details			L	inguistic Marke	rs		Self-I	dentifying Com	ments		Relevant Image Hashes <sup>87</sup>
#	Date	User ID <sup>88</sup>	No. of posts	Forum (and thread) <sup>89</sup>	Capitalised I at beginning of sentence	Lowercase i elsewhere in sentence	Space before exclamation or question mark	Incel	Autistic	Non-white/ ethnic	Kurdish	Soldier	
77	19/01/2021	EPhXSIWI	19	/pol/	100% (11 of 11)	100% (17 of 17)	100% (7 of 7)	X	X	X			'1EPdwuetmLiGvVKBCUPkqA=='
78	19/01/2021	TtEsvPfi	16	/pol/	100% (5 of 5)	100% (8 of 8)	100% (6 of 6)	Χ	X	X			'q6px/QegXl5wdtQx5AMaww=='
79	19/01/2021	fba64Mno	5	/pol/	_	_	100% (4 of 4)						'1EPdwuetmLiGvVKBCUPkqA=='
80	20/01/2021	dCFdabNS	4	/pol/	100% (2 of 2)	100% (2 of 2)	-						
81	20/01/2021	(User ID withheld)	6	/pol/	100% (1 of 1)	100% (6 of 6)	100% (2 of 2)						(Image of suicide poison)
82	21/01/2021	(User ID withheld)	5	/pol/	100% (2 of 2)	100% (6 of 6)	-						(Image of suicide poison)
83	21/01/2021	(User ID withheld)	38	/pol/	100% (11 of 11)	89% (8 of 9)	83% (5 of 6)	Χ	Χ			X	(Image of suicide poison)
84	10/02/2021	NArKJRTr	4	/pol/	100% (1 of 1)	100% (4 of 4)	100% (1 of 1)						
85	21/04/2021	d41p6Jxp	29	/pol/ /gpg/	100% (16 of 16)	100% (9 of 9)	100% (2 of 2)		Χ	X			
86	16/05/2021	vpTyZEoa	3	/pol/	100% (3 of 3)	100% (2 of 2)	100% (3 of 3)		Χ				
87	09/06/2021	ngUKMDzD	5	/pol/	100% (4 of 4)	100% (3 of 3)	100% (1 of 1)						
88	14/06/2021	(User ID withheld)	18	/pol/	100% (6 of 6)	100% (17 of 17)	76% (25 of 33)	Χ					
89	27/06/2021	(User ID withheld)	5	/pol/	100% (5 of 5)	100% (9 of 9)	100% (4 of 4)	Χ	Χ				

Behind the Mask: Uncovering the Extremist Messages of a 3D-Printed Gun Designer

## Designing a 3D-Printed Gun

"Gun control is dead, and we killed it ... And this is how you get the ability to protect lives or take lives, with the Internet and 3D printing".90

JStark1809

mprovised, homemade firearms are not new. JStark drew inspiration from recent do-it-yourself gun designers who released their blueprints to the world. One such person was Philip Luty, a British man who designed a submachine gun from sheet metal to protest restrictions on gun ownership in the UK.91 He published his instructions in 1998, and they still circulate online today. A more recent inspiration was US designer Cody Wilson, who designed the first ever 3D-printed gun. His "Liberator" single-shot pistol was released free of charge on the internet in 2013, aiming to prove the futility of gun control, as Wilson explained: "Every citizen has the right to bear arms. This is the way to really lower the barrier to access to arms".92

Since then, cheaper printers, open-source software, and more robust plastic filaments have made 3D-printing more accessible. That technological advancement spurred a social movement of gun hobbyists, technology enthusiasts, and ideologues committed to rendering gun control obsolete.93 JStark would emerge from this movement as one of its most influential figures, designing a gun to satisfy his personal circumstances and fulfil his broader ideological ambitions of ensuring unfettered worldwide access to firearms.

#### **Frustration in Germany**

JStark, a self-described "gun nut", had a longstanding fascination with firearms.94 While it is possible to own and shoot guns in Germany, 95 he was not content with obtaining a firearms license; needing permission was anathema to his belief in gun ownership as a human right and necessary for self-defence. That ideological stance combined with his personal preferences: he complained that regulations would mean firing "unspectacular weapons" alongside "old men" at "disgusting and small shooting ranges".96 Instead, he wanted to have a shooting range at his home, shoot "watermelons or other objects", and use guns "to protect my life and limb".97

JStark, Hackers Congress Paralelni Polis 2020 (HCPP20) interview, October 2020, 36m 19s

Chloe Tousignant, "Luty Sub-machine Guns: past, present & future", Armament Research Services (ARES), 17 May 2020. Available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20200518063503/https://armamentresearch.com/ luty-sub-machine-guns-past-present-future/

<sup>92</sup> Andy Greenberg, "Wiki Weapon Project' Aims To Create A Gun Anyone Can 3D-Print At Home", Forbes, 23 August 2012

For more on 3D-printed guns, see G. Hays & Ivan T with N.R. Jenzen-Jones, Desktop Firearms. Emergent Small Arms Craft Production Technologies (Perth: ARES, 2020). Available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20200402193154/https://armamentresearch.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/ ARES-Research-Report-8-Desktop-Firearms.pdf

Guns N' Bitcoin podcast, 11 December 2019, 3m 24s.
Bundesministerium der Justiz & Bundesamt für Justiz, "Waffengesetz vom 11. Oktober 2002 (BGBI. I S. 3970; 4592); 2003 I S. 1957), das zuletzt durch Artikel 228 der Verordnung vom 19. Juni 2020 (BGBl. I S. 1328) geändert worden ist)", Available at: https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/waffg 2002/BJNR397010002.html

User ID: +J00/Xf7, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 10 March 2018, 17:58:34, No.163437913

Ibid., 18:02:55, No.163438289.

This frustration was exacerbated by his time in the Bundeswehr, where he trained to use a Heckler & Koch G36 assault rifle. While he was proud of the experience — and shared a photo of the gun online repeatedly<sup>98</sup> — he lamented how he could not have a "private gun" at home.99 In combination with other personal circumstances (see Chapter 5 about his life as an incel), this contributed to a deep loathing of his life in Germany. Jacob often vented anonymously on 4chan, writing in April 2018: "I hate my life so much you can't imagine".100 He also developed a hatred of his country of birth, which he called a "hellhole" and saw as a cause of his depression. 101

His obsession led him to consider various ways of acquiring a gun. One thought was to buy from the illicit market. Yet he believed it "basically impossible" unless he was "neck deep into the criminal underworld ... selling tonnes of cocaine". 102 Another idea was to emigrate where it would be easier to acquire firearms, with his heart set on the United States: "I will do everything, literally everything i can to get a green card to be able to live in the United States and enjoy the rights given to you by the constitution, especially the second amendment". 103 Yet he acknowledged he could not afford an investor visa, did not have the qualifications for a H-1B (specialist occupations) visa, and was "too ugly and too much of an Incel to marry for a green card".104

Without alternatives, JStark arrived at a simple idea: to make his own gun. The first such mention was in March 2018, when he asked /pol/ where in the European Union he could buy a barrel and bolt – both regulated components – to make an AR-15 rifle. 105 JStark considered smuggling the components in. He entertained hiding a .223 barrel (for use in an AR-15) inside a package from the United States, but feared arrest: "That could easily get me to life behind bars, no way i'm risking that".106 He also discarded the idea of driving to the Balkans to buy a barrel and bolt, especially as he didn't have the necessary connections or speak a local language. 107

#### **Deterrence Dispensed**

The solution was 3D-printing. Jacob had known of its application for do-it-yourself firearms ever since the release of the Liberator in 2013.108 In his quest to make a rifle, Jacob downloaded the AR-15 CAD schematics from Cody Wilson's DEFCAD, the Defense Distributed file-sharing website. 109 Yet he was disappointed with what he saw, and in September 2018 tweeted at Wilson that the designs were "useless". He received a reply: "Cody told me to go fix it myself".110 That inspired Jacob to develop his own designs. 111 He recounted how

User ID: +J00/Xf7, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 10 March 2018, 17:56:20, No.163437708.

- 101 User ID: +hiffmhQ, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 9 April 2018, 02:46:57, No.167300107.
   102 The eMilitia Podcast, 6 May 2020, 4m 58s.
- 103 User ID: +J00/Xf7, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 10 March 2018, 17:54:47, No.163437582
- 104 User ID: +hiffmhQ, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 9 April 2018, 02:46:57, No.167300107.
   105 User ID: +J00/Xf7, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 10 March 2018, 18:08:26, No.163438791.
- 106 User ID: +hiffmhQ, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 9 April 2018, 03:11:02, No.167303473.
   107 Ibid., 02:41:57, No.167299304; User ID: +hiffmhQ, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 9 April 2018, 02:43:06, No.167299487.
- 108 Guns N' Bitcoin podcast, 11 December 2019, 4m 33s.
- 109 The Kommando Blog podcast, 4 August 2019, 3m 30s
- 110 Ibid., 3m 42s; @Radomysisky (Cody R. Wilson) tweet, Twitter, 8 September 2018.
- 111 The Kommando Blog podcast, 4 August 2019, 4m 2s.

He shared an image of his G36 five times on /pol/: (1) User ID: JoLZaNJz, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 20 March 2017, 01:16:13, No.117411312; (2) User ID: MkwEQohl, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 21 March 2017, 16:11:36, No.117638653; (3) User ID: VcS7EIHX, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 31 March 2017, 23:23:26, No.119108042; (4) User ID: M7VzCC1G, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 12 April 2017, 21:06:17, No.120800395; (5) User ID: MELNHFNH, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 27 April 2017, 22:52:04, No.123094790. In the aftermath of his death, online associates of JStark also confirmed that he had military experience: Guns N' Bitcoin podcast, "Celebrating the life of JStark 1809 - Twitter Space Podcast", 17 October 2021, 19m 30s.

<sup>100</sup> User ID: +hiffmhQ, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 9 April 2018, 02:46:57, No.167300107. See also: User ID: avLa05AF, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 2 October 2017, 20:35:31, No.143750070; User ID: AHUvEFBh, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 9 April 2018 02:34:11, No.167298173

Wilson then directly messaged him on Twitter, and the pair discussed 3D-printed gun designs.112

He had planned to meet Wilson in person, potentially for "formal or informal cooperation".113 Yet that same month, Wilson was charged with sexual assault after having sex with an underage 16-year-old girl.<sup>114</sup> The prospect of collaboration was thus halted. JStark was inclined to see his arrest as a conspiracy: "You could say if he doesn't get busted or set up or whatever ... Who knows, maybe I would have actually joined Defense Distributed". 115 With Wilson arrested and the DEFCAD platform subject to prolonged outages, 116 the nascent supporters of 3D-printed guns were left in limbo.117

Around the same time, JStark created an online community for "do-it-yourself" firearms: "I left a few messages under a lot of those firearms on DEFCAD, and then a few people responded".118 He also directly messaged potential joiners on Twitter, such as "Ivan the Troll", a gun enthusiast from Southern Illinois. 119 Those that joined eventually formed Deterrence Dispensed (a play on the name of Wilson's organisation),120 which JStark saw as "picking up where Defense Distributed left" off. 121 It attracted members worldwide, albeit with a strong US influence. As Ivan explained, decentralisation and operation security were vital: "We don't share our real identities or real locations with each other ... We don't have any one location or base of operation. None of the developers are necessarily dependent on one another". 122 Rapid growth followed: by August 2019, its online community had almost 1,000 users.123

The JStark1809 persona also began to emerge. Jacob named himself after General John Stark, who fought for the Continental Army in the American War of Independence,124 and adopted his 1809 slogan of "live free or die". 125 Gone was the fear, expressed just a year earlier, of "life behind bars". 126 Now that he had others to discuss his ideas with, 127 his convictions became more steadfast: bearing arms was a human right,128 with the US Second Amendment as the ideal,129 and Germany was "enemy territory". 130 While anonymously he vented

<sup>112</sup> The Kommando Blog podcast, 15 March 2019, 7m 20s.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 8m 14s

<sup>&</sup>quot;Cody Wilson, 3D-printed gun company owner accused of sex with girl, is arrested in Taiwan", CBS News. 21 September 2018. Wilson met the girl through the SugarDaddyMeet.com website and paid her \$500 after having sex. He later pleaded guilty to "injuring a child" and was sentenced in September 2019 to seven years' probation. He was also required to register as a sex offender, install monitoring software on his Internet-accessible electronic devices, pay restitution to the victim, and complete 475 hours of community service. "3D-printed gun designer Cody Wilson gets probation in child sexual assault case", *The Texas Tribune*, 12 September 2019.

The Kommando Blog podcast, 15 March 2019, 7m 55s.
 "Judge's Order Forces 3D Printing Gun Site To Shut Down—For Now", Popular Mechanics, 1 August 2018.

<sup>117</sup> The Kommando Blog podcast, 15 March 2019, 8m 45s

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 2m 52s.

<sup>119</sup> Ari Schneider, "3D-Printed Guns Are Getting More Capable and Accessible", Slate,  $16\ February\ 2021.\ Available\ at:\ https://web.archive.org/web/20210216192856/https://slate.com/technology/2021/02/3d-printed-semi-automatic-rifle-fgc-9.html.\ The pair recounted the story on:\ and the pair recounted t$ The Kommando Blog podcast, 15 March 2019, 6m 45s; Anarchast podcast, April 2020, 1h 11m 44s.

<sup>120</sup> The group, which made its home on the Discord social media platform, initially used a variety of names such as "Boomstick Consolidated"; Anarchast podcast, April 2020, 1h 13m 0s.

 <sup>121</sup> The Kommando Blog podcast, 4 August 2019, 2m 36s.
 122 Anarchast podcast, April 2020, podcast, 3m 25s and 4m 29s

<sup>123</sup> The term "users" here refers to users who have joined their online community (in August 2019 this was on the Keybase platform, while currently it is on a different platform). Not every user that joins these communities is involved in designing, manufacturing, or using 3D-printed guns. Nonetheless, the number of users can be taken as a general indication of Deterrence Dispensed's growth. The August 2019 figure is taken from The Kommando Blog podcast, 4 August 2019, 1h 54m.

<sup>124</sup> Guns N' Bitcoin podcast, 11 December 2019, 2m 6s.

<sup>125</sup> When the General John Stark was invited to a US veterans' reunion in 1809, he wrote a toast to be read to attendees: "Live free or die. Death is not the greatest of evils". For more on the history of the slogan, see Joe Bills, "'Live Free or Die': The Story of the New Hampshire Motto", New England, 11 November 2021.

 <sup>126</sup> User ID: +hiffmhQ, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 9 April 2018, 03:11:02, No.167303473.
 127 Anarchast podcast, April 2020, 1h 21m 9s.

<sup>128</sup> The eMilitia Podcast, 6 May 2020, 2m 45s.

<sup>129</sup> The Second Amendment to the United States Constitution states: "A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed 130 Free Man Beyond The Wall podcast, August 2019, 3m 25s and 33m 53s.



Image 5: The FGC-9 Mk I (Source: JStark1809)

his frustration at being unable to move to the US, pseudonymously, he became an embodiment of the American Revolution. With this transformation also came a change in ambition. Rather than wanting a gun just for himself, JStark1809's aim became universal:

The ideal goal, the thing we are striving to do is, to enable everyone around the world to manufacture firearms and ammo, to be able to have the right to bear arms, everywhere. Regardless of what the government says.131

#### The FGC-9

This culminated in the FGC-9 ("Fuck Gun Control 9mm"), a semi-automatic pistol calibre carbine designed by JStark. The design was over a year in the making.<sup>132</sup> When the digital blueprints were freely released online in March 2020, it marked a watershed moment in 3D-printed and do-it-yourself firearms. An updated version, the FGC-9 Mk II, was released in April 2021.133 The gun has been described as "broadly comparable to a commercial 9mm semi-automatic pistol or carbine in terms of firepower and, potentially, in terms of durability".134

Its design was based on an earlier 3D-printed gun – the Shuty AP-9 designed by "Derwood" 135 – and heralded three major developments. 136 First, none of its components were – or are – regulated in Europe. Approximately 20 per cent of the design is made of metal (comprising the pressure-bearing parts such as the bolt and barrel), which can

<sup>131</sup> The Kommando Blog podcast, 4 August 2019, 5m 2s.

Plans for the FGC-9 were first announced in March 2019: The Kommando Blog podcast, 15 March 2019.
 The Mk II featured contributions from fellow Deterrence Dispensed members Ivan the Troll and 3socksandcrocs.

<sup>134</sup> G. Hayes & Ivan T., with N.R. Jenzen-Jones, Desktop Firearms: Emergent Small Arms Craft Production Technologies, (Perth: Armament Research Services (ARES), 2020), p. 45.

<sup>135</sup> The degree to which the FGC-9 is based on the Shuty AP-9 – and the extent to which JStark gave credit to Derwood for the design – is a point of contention in the 3D-printed gun community. JStark acknowledged the influence of the Shuty AP-9 in various interviews, such as: The eMilitia Podcast, 6 May 2020, 6m 12s; Anarchast podcast, April 2020, 37m 40s. On 4chan's /k/ (weapons) board, he also stated that "[t]he Shuty AP9 is the progenitor of the FGC-9": JStark1809, /k/ archive, 21 April 2020 22:15:45, No.44729872. For more on the differences between the two designs, see the following, written by a member of Deterrence Dispensed: Vin Nguyen, "Derwood's AP9 vs JStark1809's FGC9", self-published, 2 May 2020. Available at: https://web.archive. org/web/20230408155608/https://blog.itske.vin/post/616976731436367872/derwoods-ap9-vs-jstark1809s-fgc9

<sup>136</sup> The eMilitia Podcast, 6 May 2020, 6m 12s.



Image 6: The FGC-9 Mk II (Source: JStark1809)

be fashioned from readily-available steel tubes. The remainder is 3D-printed. Second, the step-by-step instructional guide was meticulous, unlike earlier 3D-printed gun releases, making the gun more accessible to novices.<sup>137</sup> Third, it was possible to insert rifling grooves into the FGC-9's barrel; these add spin to the fired bullet, dramatically increasing its accuracy and range.138

The release of the FGC-9 was a moment of triumph for JStark. He realised his personal ambition of having a firearm on his terms, as well as his broader ideological mission "of giving people the means to make their own firearms in places where they are basically forbidden by authoritarian governments". 139 He saw the gun as a "modern version" of Philip Luty's submachine gun140 and was emphatic that he had rendered gun control obsolete: "We fucked gun control for good ... Gun control is dead, and we killed it".141

With the designs freely available to download, anyone could make and use the FGC-9, regardless of their intention. That was a deliberate feature, as JStark maintained the design was ideologically agnostic and purpose-blind. He saw it as a tool which someone could "use for self-defence", "nefarious purposes", or to "strike fear in the hearts of tyrants". 142 Regardless of the result, JStark professed his indifference:

So, the things about firearms and gun rights is, it is always a trade-off of safety and liberty. And for me personally, liberty is much more important in my life ... [E]ven if there is a criminal, who knows, that builds an FGC-9 and does something with it, I don't care. You know why? Maybe there's some other guy, who liberates his hometown from invaders or something. It's all about ... what the people out there do. If they have bad intentions, my design won't stop them.143

Anarchast podcast, April 2020, 19m 47s

<sup>138</sup> The rifling process involves electro-chemical machining (ECM), which was publicised by JeffRod from the Fosscad community and incorporated by Ivan the Troll for the FGC-9: Ivan the Troll comment, The Kommando

Blog podcast, 15 March 2019, 1h 4m 45s. 139 Anarchast podcast, April 2020, 1h 21m 40s.

 <sup>140</sup> JStark1809, /k/ archive, 18 March 2019, 18:57:01, No.40909312.
 141 JStark, Hackers Congress Paralelni Polis 2020 (HCPP20), October 2020, 36m 19s.

Anarchast podcast, April 2020, 16m 7s

<sup>143</sup> The Kommando Blog podcast, 15 March 2019, 1h 40m 5s.

### **Reception and Adoption**

JStark knew that the FGC-9 – and the broader 3D-printed gun movement – was not just about technical innovation in firearms. It was also about spreading a message. When publicising videos about Deterrence Dispensed, he acknowledged that "[g]etting good propaganda out there is half the battle". 144 The idea was not to retreat to the dark web but to spread content on the open internet and generate as large an audience as possible. That content would then signpost viewers to where the designs or more information could be found. He encouraged supporters to share the videos to "your Facebook groups, YouTube, send it to journos, go wild".145

4chan nonetheless remained a place of interest, and he posted the FGC-9 designs on its weapons board (known as /k/). However, his forceful and uncompromising manner alienated some other users. A change of approach was needed:

Yes i kinda agree that my post there came across kinda high ego like. I make mistakes sometimes. I need to win hearts and minds like a guy said in the last [thread]. I'll try to tone down my tirades.146

Yet his absolutist views also won him many fans within the pro-Second Amendment and right to bear arms movement. He became the face of the 3D-printed gun cause following the Popular Front documentary "Plastic Defence", released in November 2020, which quickly generated hundreds of thousands of views.147 JStark's distinctive image and quotes were memeified,148 his ideas were introduced to a broader audience, and membership of Deterrence Dispensed ballooned. 149

The FGC-9 has been seen across five continents. Most notably, it has been used by the Karenni Nationalities Defence Force (KNDF) and People's Defence Forces (PDF) in Myanmar, who are fighting an insurgency against the country's military junta. 150 The gun has been used in "hit and run" ambushes, allowing the insurgents to seize conventionally manufactured firearms. 151 The FGC-9 has also been manufactured and sold by organised criminals in Europe. 152 Furthermore, the gun has emerged as an option for violent extremists: it has featured in at least seven cases of extremists attempting to make, acquire, share or brandish the gun (or its digital blueprints and variants) since 2020.153

<sup>144</sup> u/JStark1809, Reddit, 14 March 2019, 01:14:31 AM GMT.

<sup>145</sup> u/JStark1809, Reveddit, 15 March 2019, 00:24:56 AM GMT. Note: this was a deleted post.

<sup>146</sup> JStark1809 !Jdu2OWcfupR, /k/ archive, 29 April 2020, 13:52:33, No.44830606. He also wrote that he "understood" the need to educate others, rather than insult them, regarding 3D-printed guns: JStark1809 !!Jdu2OWcfupR, /k/ archive, 29 April 2020, 00:19:05, No.44824494.

<sup>147</sup> Popular Front, "Plastic Defence: Secret 3D Printed Guns in Europe", November 2020, Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jlB2QV5wVxg. The video currently has over three million views on YouTube.

148 These include "live free or fucking die", "fuck this dystopia", and "I am extremely peaceful".

149 There are currently over 18,000 users in its online community.

<sup>150 &</sup>quot;How rebel fighters are using 3D-printed arms to fight the Myanmar junta", France24, 7 January 2022; Daphne Wesdorp, "The Rebel Drone Maker of Myanmar", WIRED, 29 September 2023.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.
152 "Men convicted of building viable 3D printed sub-machine guns", BBC News, 9 March 2023; "KRP: Suomessa otettu kiinni sata ANOM-operaatioon liittyen", Ilta Sanomat, 8 June 2021

<sup>153</sup> Those cases involved: (1) Matthew Cronjager (arrested in the UK in December 2020, convicted in September 2021); (2) Joachim Thome (arrested in Germany in July 2021, convicted in January 2022); (3) Name withheld due to non-publication order (arrested in New South Wales, Australia in September 2021, convicted in October 2021); (4) Jim Holmgren (arrested in Sweden in November 2021, sentenced in September 2022); (5) Óglaigh na hÉireann (ÓNH), a Dissident Republican paramilitary group (brandished two FGC-22s, which are variations of the FGC-9, in Northern Ireland in April 2022); (6) Pavol Beňadik (arrested in Slovakia in May 2022, convicted in November 2022); (7) Daniel Harris (arrested in the UK in May 2022, convicted in November 2022). Additional cases are making their way through various criminal justice systems.

JStark1809's anonymity allowed others to project their political ideologies onto his face. His message, much like his gun design, was accessible to all. What JStark did not disclose, however, were his broader personal and political views, which feature xenophobia, racism, and antisemitism, as well as his eventual endorsement of anti-state terrorism.

Behind the Mask: Uncovering the Extremist Messages of a 3D-Printed Gun Designer

# Political Views

"You all know if enough of us organized, wed easily be able to get wps+ äm-o to start real shit and cause mayhem ... (sic)"154

JStark, writing anonymously on 4chan

hen using the "JStark1809" moniker, Jacob presented a universal message designed to have broad appeal. He regularly spoke of opposing tyranny and authoritarianism by giving people the means to defend themselves. Speaking about his motivations and ideology, JStark stated:

Our group stands for two things: Freedom of speech and the right to bear arms. People who try to infringe these rights, from a certain group, from a certain ethnic group or from a certain political group - these people we do not like. We kind of don't like extremists because they usually start a fierce conversation or debate ... But in general, we do not like racists. We do not like xenophobes. 155

JStark did not speak publicly about his broader political views and personal attitudes toward different religions, ethnicities, and races. Anonymously, however, he repeatedly made xenophobic, racist, and antisemitic comments. He also made threats of violence and endorsed right-wing terrorism. However, there is no indication that he attempted to follow through on these words.

## Xenophobia, Racism, and Antisemitism

Many of JStark's anonymous posts on 4chan are xenophobic and racist, ranging from using negative racial stereotypes to explicitly dehumanising other ethnicities and races. His greatest anger was directed towards Turks, whom he likened to cockroaches and used images suggesting they should be killed; he routinely directed malicious comments to Turkish-flagged users who would comment in a thread after him.156 Despite being the child of Muslim Kurdish refugees who had arrived in Germany from Turkey in the 1990s,157 he often labelled refugees as "rapefugees".158 He also used slurs against Muslims, writing that Islam needs "to be exterminated from the face of this earth".159

<sup>154</sup> User ID: TtEsvPfi, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 19 January 2021, 22:35:06, No.303757534

 <sup>155</sup> Popular Front, "Plastic Defence", November 2020, 12m 56s.
 156 See, for example: User ID: FczhAa8a, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 28 April 2017, 00:23:12, No.123108435;

User ID: IDhROaRL, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 26 March 2017, 20:43:12, No.118403927.

157 User ID: naUWGK0f, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 17 September 2017, 13:43:28, No.141862381; User ID: zEde7MEE, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 17 September 2017, 19:13:48, No.141890549.

<sup>158</sup> See, for example: User ID: zEde7MEE, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 17 September 2017, 19:13:48, No.141890549; User ID: TtEsvPfi, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 19 January 2021, 22:35:06, No.3037575

Some comments also include tacit support for, as well as outright endorsements of, Nazism. He responded positively to users with Nazi or far-right beliefs, writing, for instance: "Based Finn i would gladly fight by your side" in reply to a Finnish-flagged user who supported Nazis. 160 He also invoked Nazi methods of murder by calling for another user to be gassed. 161 When a /pol/ user criticised him, he replied: "Cringe all you want while you get raped by Niggers, i'm doing my part wiping out Islamist subhumans. So fuck off, you are not even worthy of having [Joseph] Göbbels (sic) as your pic".162

Jacob was also antisemitic.<sup>163</sup> He replied to an Israeli-flagged /pol/ user stating: "We should have killed your grandparents too", a reference to the genocide of European Jews in the Holocaust,164 and called another a "dirty Jew pig".165 Jacob posted antisemitic memes, including the "Happy Merchant" caricature. 166 Other comments are more ambiguous. For example, he wrote to another /pol/ user: "Let me guess you are the kind of guy who denies the jewish holocaust...", but it's unclear from the context whether this was critical or supportive of Holocaust denial.<sup>167</sup> His antisemitism appears to have been longstanding: in March 2011, when Jacob was either 17 or 18 years old, he listed his occupation as "Jew Hunter" on YouTube. 168

Hateful posts, slurs, and racist insults are commonplace on 4chan's /pol/.169 It is no surprise that JStark was himself subject to a racial slur after posting a photo of his face, when another /pol/ user - presumably seeing Jacob's brown skin - said, "1 kebab with hot sauce pls". In response, Jacob referred to himself as a "kebab remover" rather than a "kebab maker". 170 The phrase "remove kebab" is used in far-right circles to refer to the murder of Muslims or Middle Eastern immigrants in Western countries. Most infamously, it was written on the gun used by white nationalist Brenton Tarrant when he murdered 51 worshippers at two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, in March 2019.171

### Making Threats and Calls for Violence

Jacob, writing anonymously on /pol/, also threatened violence. He presented himself as a German nationalist who despaired at the country's status, and routinely labelled politicians and leftist or liberal opponents as "traitors".172 Threats were directed to German-flagged users who accused him of being a Nazi or Nazi

<sup>160</sup> User ID: xPwf7VR7, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 3 April 2017, 18:07:03, No.119350546.

<sup>161 &</sup>quot;Vergasen sollte man dich!", which translates to: "You should be gassed!". User ID: MELNHFNH, 4plebs /pol/archive, 27 April 2017, 22:52:04, No.123094790.

<sup>162</sup> User ID: zeclXejG, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 19 March 2017, 23:47:29, No.117401432.

<sup>163</sup> This is ironic given that the name he adopted, Jacob, originates from a Jewish prophet. 164 User ID: Ta5CtQqN, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 23 May 2017, 14:27:46, No.126740406

<sup>165</sup> The full comment was: "The fuck are you cringing about du dreckiger Judenschwein!". User ID: zeclXejG, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 19 March 2017, 23:32:05, No.117399791.

 <sup>166</sup> User ID: fbD7U+JI, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 10 September 2017, 23:09:48, No.141066250.
 167 User ID: a0kbktGi, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 28 April 2017, 22:33:47, No.123248937.

<sup>168 @</sup>chabi3000, YouTube profile, 5 March 2011. Available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20110305015950/ Youtube.com/user/chabi3000. It is possible that "Jew Hunter" is a reference to the character of Hans Landa, an SS Colonel, from the 2009 film Inglourious Bastards.

<sup>169</sup> Hine et al., 2017, p. 7. Their study of 8.2 million posts on /pol/ found that 12 per cent contained hateful terms. The authors used a crowdsourced list, with some modifications, of 1,000 hateful terms found on https://hatebase.org/; a comparison with 60 million Twitter posts found that 2.2% contained a hateful word.

170 User ID: FDQGLmRP, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 25 March 2017, 00:31:22, No.118158524.

<sup>171</sup> Various other far-right slogans and names were also written by Tarrant on his gun. Brenton Tarrant, Facebook livestream, 15 March 2019.

<sup>172</sup> User ID: E5V2/i+M, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 27 March 2017, 14:14:35, No.118511229; User ID: VcS7EiHX, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 31 March 2017, 22:54:48, No.119105135.

sympathiser. For instance, in 2017, he wrote: "I'd love to shoot traitors like you when the day comes when enough unbrainwashed (sic) patriots dare take control of their own country". 173 In a separate thread, he declared: "Just know this, when the shit goes down i will gladily (sic) join the so called Nazis as you call them and slaughter you during the military coup that will erupt one day". 174 On a third occasion, he uploaded a photo titled "open fire on traitors of the people" in response to anti-Nazi comments.<sup>175</sup> These threats were accompanied by photos of either his G36 service rifle or himself in military, implying that he would be the one participating in a military coup or shooting "traitors".

He also instigated anonymously on /pol/, writing in January 2021: "[g]uys like you have 0 balls, who won't even buy illegal guns to plan the day of the rope".176 This referenced the 1978 novel The Turner Diaries, when white nationalists hang so-called "race traitors" on the "Day of the Rope".177 He instigated further: "You all know if enough of us organized, wed (sic) easily be able to get wps+ äm-o to start real shit and cause mayhem so we can install a system that at least give (sic) us a chance to right the wrongs of the past decade and salvage what can be salvaged".178 Disguising the words "weapons and ammo" in this way was likely an attempt to avoid detection through keyword scrapers or searches, and is consistent with his earlier concerns that German authorities were monitoring /pol/ and his comments.<sup>179</sup>

His desired targets were the authorities, be that the German State, politicians, or law enforcement. Anonymously, he wrote how he wanted to see a "right wing" version of the Red Army Faction (RAF), a left-wing terrorist group primarily active in Germany in the 1970s.<sup>180</sup> Referring to Covid restrictions in 2021, he lamented on /pol/ that "[s]ince the RAF there have been no proper anti-gov[ernment] movements that actually had a body count".181 Instead, he wanted to see "real change" by "wasting [i.e., killing] some politicians and pigs", referring to police officers. 182 JStark directed much of his hatred to Angela Merkel, then Chancellor of Germany: "... i would sacrifice my whole life to get a chance of killing her".183

When questioned if he had done anything to support the cause, he responded cryptically: "If i told you, i'd be fucking myself big time. Just know i've contributed big league". 184 That was likely a reference to him creating the FGC-9, and such a comment suggests he hoped that right-wing, anti-system, or anti-government groups in Germany would use his weapon in some way.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., 23:23:26, No.119108042,

<sup>174</sup> User ID: zEde7MEE, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 17 September 2017, 19:13:48, No.141890549.

 <sup>175</sup> User ID: msvAvoEv, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 10 September 2017, 15:31:33, No.141018316.
 176 User ID: 7yLurVXG, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 19 January 2021, 20:45:17, No.303731304.

<sup>177</sup> J.M. Berger, "The Turner Legacy: The Storied Origins and Enduring Impact of White Nationalism's Deadly Bible", The International Centre for Counter-Terrorism - The Hague, ICCT research paper, 2016. 178 User ID: TtEsvPfi, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 19 January 2021, 22:35:06, No.303757534.

<sup>179</sup> User ID: naUWGK0f, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 17 September 2017, 14:04:07, No.141863853. 180 User ID: TtEsvPfi, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 19 January 2021, 22:43:31, No.303759371.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., 22:48:52, No.303760443.

<sup>182</sup> User ID: TtEsvPfi, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 19 January 2021, 22:48:52, No.303760443,

User ID: LlhSj2aZ, 27 March 2017, 23:19:04, No.11857065

<sup>184</sup> User ID: TtEsvPfi, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 19 January 2021, 22:51:56, No.303761049.

#### **Action or Inaction?**

Despite Jacob's threats and desire for violence, it is unclear if he ever intended to follow through on his words. When questioned by a fellow /pol/ user, he insisted he was "for real" and could not disclose more details online as Germany is a "surveillance nightmare". 185 Jacob did, nonetheless, later criticise other right-wing /pol/ users for not following up on their words and "conspir[ing] with buddies".186

JStark was in the Bundeswehr in 2015,187 though it is unknown if he plotted a military coup with his fellow soldiers or planned for anti-state or anti-government violence. He may not have been in the military when those threats were made in 2017.188 Far-right supporters are known to operate in the Bundeswehr: in December 2022, several members of the Patriotic Union group – including serving soldiers - were arrested for allegedly plotting a coup d'état. 189 There is no indication that JStark was associated with that group.

On another occasion it appears he was on the verge of taking action, albeit related to the Syrian Civil War. Writing anonymously on /pol/ in 2017, he considered joining the fight: "I want to give something back to the people in Rojava<sup>190</sup> and i think my skills would come in useful, since i'm fluent in Kurmanji". 191 He thought of joining the People's Protection Units (Yekîneyên Parastina Gel, or YPG), a mainly Kurdish militia that formed part of the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF). He shared his "crazy idea of joining the fight" to liberate Ragga, then controlled by Islamic State, 192 and asked /pol/ users when the SDF might encircle the city. 193 In May 2017, he wrote he was "in the process" of joining the YPG, 194 but was in two minds as "there is a big question in my life right now and i will get the answer probly (sic) late June". 195 It is unclear if he eventually went to Syria; he made no further references to those travel plans or of having travelled. 196

In any case, by 2021 he had other concerns: after becoming so disillusioned with Germany and his life there, he considered leaving the country or committing suicide (see Chapter Five about his life as an incel). In January, just six months before his death, he wrote: "I myself am gonna escape or rope [i.e., commit suicide] in the upcoming months. Not sure yet". 197 Had he not been considering those two options, he explained, he would otherwise be "arming and coordinating" in a decentralised military unit.198

<sup>185</sup> User ID: zEde7MEE, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 17 September 2017, 19:21:11, No.141891246 186 User ID: 7yLurVXG, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 19 January 2021, 20:45:17, No.303731304.

<sup>187</sup> From the filename format of the photos uploaded on /pol (such as "IMG-20150326-WA0025.jpg", image hash 'PWPayAWjNChxVViGyeLYBg==') it can be deduced he was in the Bundeswehr in March 2015. This also matches his stated plans, as disclosed on his Couchsurfing profile in 2014, to soon join the Bundeswehr.

<sup>188</sup> In April 2017, JStark wrote anonymously on /pol/ that: "I personally only served for a short amount of time in the Bundeswehr". This implies he was no longer a soldier in 2017: User ID: M7VzCC1G, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 12 April 2017, 21:06:17, No.120800395. In September 2017, however, he wrote: "guess where i'm working", alongside a cropped photo of him wearing military uniform: User ID: zEde7MEE, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 17 September 2017, 19:13:48, No.141890549. In a March 2018 comment he also implied he was a serving soldier: User ID: +J00/Xf7, 4plebs /pol/ archive, Sat 10 March 2018 17:56:20, No.163437708

<sup>189</sup> Maik Baumgärtner, Jörg Diehl, Matthias Gebauer, Sven Röbel, and Wolf Wiedmann-Schmidt, "Das Innenleben

der »Reichsbürger«-Truppe", *Der Spiegel*, 15 December 2022. 190 Rojava refers to the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria (AANES), a de-facto autonomous area of Northeast Syria under the control of majority-Kurdish militias.

191 User ID: IDhROaRL, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 26 March 2017, 20:59:32, No.118406102

 <sup>192</sup> User ID: ideFfgC7, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 9 May 2017, 20:44:59, No.124825533.
 193 Ibid., 20:39:23, No.124824899. He had also asked the same question in March 2017: User ID: I75WVluh, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 26 March 2017, 20:35:35, No.118402908.

 <sup>194</sup> Üser ID: nFnT1Xy2, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 17 May 2017, 22:04:06, No.125919467.
 195 Üser ID: ideFfgC7, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 9 May 2017, 20:50:51, No.124826222.

<sup>196</sup> The Battle of Raqqa lasted from June to October 2017; JStark regularly posted on /pol/ in September. In September, he wrote that the YPG should not let "anarchist tourists" join the group and "start their freak

show". User ID: Cxpyj7rn, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 13 September 2017, 02:43:16, No.141323017. 197 User ID: 7yLurVXG, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 19 January 2021, 20:45:17, No.303731304. 198 Jacob used the German term "Kompaniestärke dezentralisiert". User ID: TtEsvPfi, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 19 January 2021, 22:50:10, No.303760696.

## **Pseudonymous vs. Anonymous Comments**

Jacob's anonymous and pseudonymous words contrast dramatically. Speaking as JStark1809, he did not incite violence against the German State, make threats, or say racist insults. Instead, he vehemently spoke on how firearms can help resist authoritarianism. He even invoked the genocide of European Jews as an argument in favour of the right to bear arms: "Look at Nazi Germany. Do you want to get carted off in railcars and get gassed and killed, because one year ago you said 'no, I don't want these criminals or my neighbour to have a firearm'?". 199 He similarly referenced the ongoing genocide of Uyghurs in Xinjiang: "Just look at the Uyghurs in China ... Nobody is helping them. Nobody does shit. You know what would help them? If they were armed".200

This raises a crucial question: what are more revealing of his true beliefs - his pseudonymous, or anonymous, comments?

His anonymous comments must be taken in context. Hateful posts, slurs, and racist insults are commonplace on 4chan's /pol/: a study of 8.2 million posts found that 12 per cent contained hateful terms.<sup>201</sup> However, such terms may not always be malicious; in some contexts, slurs can be terms of endearment. Some comments may be satirical, exaggerations, or attempts at trolling. Memes are also "malleable" depending on context,202 and there exists a "self-consciously offensive culture".203 Underlying this is the site's lack of user feedback (i.e., the absence of "likes" or "upvotes"), which may encourage inflammatory posts to "entice" validation or interaction.<sup>204</sup> The perceived anonymity may also stimulate honesty, with users sharing their innermost thoughts however offensive they may be. In short, it can be difficult to gauge a user's sincerity.<sup>205</sup>

As such, some of his comments may be open for interpretation. At times, he was histrionic and appears to have been hoping to elicit a reaction,206 while elsewhere he criticised others for "insultposting".207 The most benign interpretation would be that JStark's use of the n-word does not necessarily represent his feelings towards black people, and his threats of (and calls for) violence are not literal. Him writing "I love Hitler" 208 or signing off comments with "Heil Hitler", 209 according to this view, is not an actual endorsement of Nazism.

However, Jacob's comments – when taken as a whole – defy such a charitable reading. They are coherent and consistent across the three general periods (2017, 2018, and 2021) he posted, and he was an enthusiastic participant. Moreover, they appear to conform to comments he made elsewhere. When speaking on a podcast - using

<sup>199</sup> Anarchast podcast, April 2020, 1h 23m 20s

 <sup>200</sup> Popular Front, "Plastic Defence", November 2020, 21m 27s.
 201 Hine et al., 2017, p. 7. The authors used a crowdsourced list, with some modifications, of 1,000 hateful terms found on https://hatebase.org/. By comparison, their analysis of 60 million Twitter posts found that 2.29 contained a hateful term.

 <sup>202</sup> Blyth Crawford, Florence Keen & Guillermo Suarez-Tangil, "Memetic Irony and the Promotion of Violence within Chan Cultures", Centre for Research and Evidence on Security Threats (CREST), 2020.
 203 Thomas Colley & Martin Moore, "The challenges of studying 4chan and the Alt-Right: 'Come on in the water's

fine'", New Media & Society, 2022, Vol 24, Issue 1, p. 8.

<sup>204</sup> Hine et al., 2017, p. 96.

<sup>205</sup> For a discussion of these issues, see Colley & Moore, 2022, pp. 12-13.
206 See, for example, User ID: MkwEQohl, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 21 March 2017, 15:00:00, No.117631611.

<sup>207</sup> User ID: fbD7U+JI, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 10 September 2017, 22:37:18, No.141062666. 208 User ID: hylKMUIS, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 14 April 2017, 16:10:45, No. 121070598.

<sup>209</sup> User ID: TtEsvPfi, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 19 January 2021, 22:39:57, No.303758591; User ID:7yLurVXG, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 19 January 2021, 20:45:17, No.303731304.

the JStark1809 pseudonym – he used the racial slur "chink website" to refer to Ali Express.<sup>210</sup> On his YouTube channel he listed "Jew Hunter" as his occupation.<sup>211</sup> He also disclosed how he "almost got kicked out" of the Bundeswehr for singing a racist anti-Turkish song.<sup>212</sup>

Rather than suggesting insincerity, his /pol/ comments show a desire to prove authenticity. That is why he posted several photos from his offline life, almost all related to his time in the military. It also likely why he continued to post on 4chan even after the release of the FGC-9 – when he would have felt there was greater "risk" involved – as it afforded him a place to vent his thoughts and feelings, while also experiencing a sense of camaraderie and social support. His sincerity is further confirmed by dozens of revealing comments where he discusses his life as an incel.

<sup>210</sup> The eMilitia podcast, 6 May 2020, 27m 8s. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/

watch?v=yofeyVgiDK0&t=1628s.
211 @chabi3000, YouTube profile, 5 March 2011. Available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20110305015950/Youtube.com/user/chabi3000.

<sup>212</sup> User ID: naUWGK0f4plebs /pol/ archive, 17 September 2017, 13:47:15, No.141862610.

# Life as an Incel

"I hope you make it, i hope you all here make it. I'll kill myself soon if i can't. I'm a ticking timebomb".213

JStark, writing anonymously on 4chan

ver since the first modern community for involuntary celibates ■ (known as incels) emerged in 1997, they have sought various ■ explanations for – and solutions to – their loneliness. An incel subculture has emerged with two core beliefs: that there is a social hierarchy based on looks and that women are hypergamous, desiring sexual or romantic relationships with men of a higher social status. In turn, this leaves incels – at the bottom of the hierarchy – rejected and alone, unable to find fulfilling sexual or romantic relationships. At its most extreme, the incel subculture can endorse violence against women, who they blame for depriving incels of sex and affection. The incelosphere is heterogeneous, however. There are competing explanations for (and solutions to) their predicament, and not all incels endorse violence.214

Anonymously, JStark wrote extensively about his life as an incel. He adopted this general worldview and saw himself as a victim of hypergamy, believing that women are only interested in the "top 20%" of men.<sup>215</sup> In turn, he despaired about his autism, height, looks, and race, believing they would inevitably leave him rejected by women. He displayed misogynistic beliefs and sometimes wrote of his support for misogynist incel violence. Depressed and alone, he eventually saw three solutions: committing an act of violence, leaving Germany in search of intimacy elsewhere or suicide.

#### **Early Manifestations**

The earliest manifestations of misogyny appeared during Jacob's teenage years. In November 2010, when he was 17 or 18, his YouTube channel was innocuous, filled with comments about video games.<sup>216</sup> By March 2011, however, there was a notable shift. His profile picture changed to a depiction of sexual assault, showing men surrounding a naked woman with one man's hand covering her mouth and another pulling her hair.<sup>217</sup> The background wallpaper of his profile featured the slogan "404 Error, Girlfriend Not Found", which later changed to a motif of the male gender symbol (o<sup>r</sup>).<sup>218</sup>

<sup>213</sup> User ID: dCFdabNS, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 20 January 2021, 01:48:37, No.303796821.

See Inc. Gordabins, Apieds / poir activity, 20 adriabity 2021, 01.48.31, No.30379021.
 The author is grateful to Florence Keen for her guidance here. For more on incels, see: Debbie Ging, "Alphas, Betas, and Incels: Theorizing the Masculinities of the Manosphere", *Men and Masculinities*, 2019, Vol 22, No 4, pp. 638-657; Sarah E. Daly & Shon M. Reed, "I Think Most of Society Hates Us': A Qualitative Thematic Analysis of Interviews with Incels", *Sex Roles*, 2022, Vol 86, pp. 14-33; Florence Keen, "Incels: Alienated Men and Violence in the Digital Age", *Fantt*, 7 July 2020; "Unpacking the Incelosphere: In-group Categorisation, lead Purity and Competition." Clobal Meturetae Streepings & Technology (CMST), 16 March 2023.

and violentice in the Digital Age , Natit, 7 oilty 2220, Orlipacking the incelosphere. In group categorisation, Incel Purity, and Competition", *Global Network on Extremism & Technology (GNET)*, 16 March 2023.

215 User ID: 6SkEz-4GW, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 3 May 2018, 22:14:51, No.170340307.

216 @chabi3000 profile, YouTube, 30 November 2010. Available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20101130215331/http://www.youtube.com//user//chabi3000

<sup>217 @</sup>chabi3000 profile, YouTube, 5 March 2011. Available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20110305015950/ Youtube.com/user/chabi3000

<sup>218</sup> Ibid.; @chabi3000 profile, YouTube, 21 February 2012. Available at: https://web.archive.org/web/ 20120221213833/http://www.youtube.com/user/chabi3000

JStark first self-identified as an incel on 4chan in March 2017.219 Incel discussions were relatively rare then on 4chan, so, likely, he was also frequenting other sites or chat groups in the incelosphere.<sup>220</sup> Anonymously, he wrote disparagingly about himself, saying he was "ugly" and socially awkward.<sup>221</sup> He routinely despaired about his situation: "Real women are no option for me ... Bruh, i have Asperger and ADHD, look like a 4/10 and can't even manage to attract 2/10 girls".222 The advent of dating apps was of no use: "Tinder made it even more hopeless, even when i use images of my prime and try literally thousands of girls, even the fat and ugly ones i get no matches at all".223 Similarly, traditional approaches were also not working: "I tried actually hitting [on] girls on the streets for months and years, nothing worked".224

Yet his status as an incel was not just about personal shortcomings, as JStark also blamed societal changes: "Look, females in the western world wanna only date and marry the 20% of the top males nowadays, because it's fucking easy for them to get their hands on willing males, which was caused by feminism, online dating and sexual liberation".225 In turn, it was a question of power, as he said to one female /pol/ user: "You are female. You have a vagina. You have the power. You are the one with the leverage. You have no real world experience of how it is not being able to fulfill your romantic and sexual desires".226 This sense of emasculation likely reinforced his support for German nationalism, antifeminism, and right-wing extremism.

His frustrations would also manifest in misogyny, whether casually expressed or extreme in intensity. For instance, JStark shared a meme in September 2017 of a man saying, "Good afternoon, I hate women".<sup>227</sup> On another occasion, he shared a violent, misogynistic meme of "Pepe the frog" holding the decapitated head of a naked woman, with blood covering himself and his erect penis.<sup>228</sup> JStark also posted a violent meme featuring a woman stabbed through the throat.<sup>229</sup> His feelings were thus contradictory: while he craved intimacy and love from women, his feelings of rejection and loneliness resulted in a loathing and antipathy toward them.

### **Searching for Solutions**

To solve his incel dilemma, JStark tried various solutions. The first was paying for sex. Anonymously on /pol/, he shared a recommended location for escorts in Hannover, which he presumably used.<sup>230</sup> However, the transactions lacked the intimacy he craved: "I for some reason long for the touch, the hug of a female, and i dream every night about it ... Going to the prostitutes makes

<sup>219</sup> User ID: MkwEQohl, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 21 March 2017, 15:11:15, No.117632655.

<sup>220</sup> Prior to January 2017, only 1,591 posts in the 4plebs.org /pol/ archive contained the word "incel".

<sup>221</sup> User ID: 681L66yi, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 4 May 2018, 21:37:46, No.170457434. 222 User ID: 4e2qWPNk, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 15 September 2017, 03:29:02, No.141574858.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid., 03:29:02, No.141574858. See also: User ID: 681L66yi, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 4 May 2018, 22:05:21, No.170460084; Ibid., 22:26:03, No.170462000,

<sup>224</sup> User ID: 4e2qWPNk, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 15 September 2017, 03:29:02, No.141574858.

 <sup>225</sup> User ID: 6SkEz+GW, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 3 May 2018, 22:14:51, No.170340307.
 226 User ID: 4e2qWPNk, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 15 September 2017, 03:36:01, No.141575501.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid., 03:41:46, No.141576058.

<sup>228</sup> User ID: 681L66vi, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 4 May 2018 22:26:03, No.170462000,

<sup>230</sup> User ID: vE30Gqz6, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 9 September 2017, 17:59:32, No.140903488.

this even worse, after you come you get forced to get your clothes on and can't even cuddle".231 As such, he was only left feeling "lonelier afterwards", 232 and he stopped using escorts. 233 His issue, therefore, was not a lack of sex, but a lack of intimacy: "Escorts will never solve this problem. What most incels seek is not only sex but intimacy, emotional investment and love".234

Another potential solution was to travel abroad. JStark needed to escape Western Europe, where "competition is high" and "women have higher and higher standards here". 235 One option was Southeast Asia, where he believed women "are way easier to actually date and mingle with". 236 Jacob spoofed his dating app locations to see where he had the most success. While in Germany he had "[zero] matches for months", he found that in Manila, Philippines, he had "a 100 in a few weeks".237 The destination was set, and the draw was obvious: "Better weather, actually possible to get a gf there whereas in europe i'm an incel, (sic) also like you i would love the access to guns".238

There was also a racial dimension to this decision. As an ethnic minority in Germany, JStark saw himself as near the bottom of the sexual market: white men were at the "top of the foodchain", and on dating apps, women "crave white dick the most".239 The result was an internalised sense of white supremacy. Jacob saw his ethnicity, alongside his ever-present autism, as a permanent shortcoming. He wished he was white: "I wish i could have non-autistic, non brown, (sic) white, blue eyes, blonde hair genes. But no im autistic, brown, not compatible in Germany and not where my parents are from".240

JStark began asking for travel advice to the Philippines in spring 2018,<sup>241</sup> and his anticipation for the trip was high: "I can't wait going there and finally escape inceldom". 242 He was even open to moving permanently.<sup>243</sup> He likely travelled there in 2018, and seemingly started a relationship. Years later, he uploaded a photo titled "SexEastAsia.jpg" - of himself embracing a woman, although both faces are blacked out (see Image 7). It can be geolocated to White Beach by Puerto Galera, on the island of Mindoro in the Philippines.<sup>244</sup> The trip left a profound impression on him; in one 2021 comment on /pol/, he replied to a Filipino-flagged user saying: "Bless your country my dude. It literally savesd (sic) my life".245

<sup>231</sup> User ID: 4e2qWPNk, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 15 September 2017, 03:41:46, No.141576058.

<sup>232</sup> User ID: BZI4RFHJ, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 13 May 2017, 20:08:42, No.125379891.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid., 20:08:42, No.125379891.

<sup>234</sup> User ID: 681L66yi, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 4 May 2018, 21:52:57, No.170458896. 235 User ID: 6SkEz+GW, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 3 May 2018, 22:14:51, No.170340307.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid., 21:18:15, No.170334516.

<sup>237</sup> User ID: 681L66yi, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 4 May 2018, 22:26:03, No.170462000

<sup>238</sup> User ID: czax/5QR, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 7 April 2018, 13:40:07, No.167081935. 239 User ID: V8a4tvaD, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 17 January 2021, 20:44:21, No.303320737. 240 User ID: yAtlO2CN, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 31 March 2017, 16:45:26, No.119067239.

 <sup>241</sup> User ID: +J00/Xf7, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 10 March 2018, 18:20:34, No.163439916.
 242 User ID: 6SkEz+GW, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 3 May 2018, 21:18:15, No.170334516.

<sup>243</sup> User ID: czax75QR, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 7 April 2018, 13:40:07, No.167081935.

<sup>244</sup> GPS coordinates: 13.504287497387168, 120.90097307066874. Viewable at: https://maps.app.goo.gl/

<sup>245</sup> Exact reference withheld at the discretion of the author, as it contains instructions on suicide

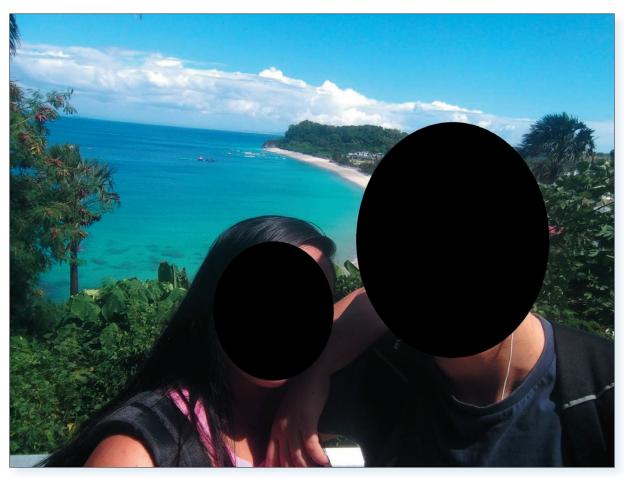


Image 7: JStark at White Beach, Mindoro, Philippines, unknown date (Source: 4plebs archive)

#### **Attitudes Towards Incel Violence**

JStark's misogyny included revelling in female suffering. In response to a news article about a missing female student in Germany, he wrote: "Let's hope she suffered for a long time before she went ded (sic)".<sup>246</sup> He also recalled the 2014 Isla Vista shooting in California, carried out by the incel Elliot Rodger: "I fucking hate women. They just can find a horny lonely guy and get hooked up. Fuck this shit. Elliot Rodger was right".<sup>247</sup> On another occasion, he posted a meme approving of Rodger.<sup>248</sup>

At times his misogyny also involved endorsing incel-motivated violence. In March 2017, for instance, he wrote: "Stacies [an incel term for attractive women] deserve a painful death. Women have too much power and us men have become more and more powerless. Incel revenge is near".<sup>249</sup> Alongside this was a meme of Pepe the Frog, holding a pistol, with the word "ENOUGH" above. He also wrote: "Every rape, every beating, every murder, the young women in western europe deserve nowadays. They overpower us in every way, except when challenged physically".<sup>250</sup>

<sup>246</sup> User ID: MkwEQohl, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 21 March 2017, 14:31:56, No.117629036.

 <sup>247</sup> User ID: FDQGLmRP, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 25 March 2017, 00:38:34, No.118159402.
 248 User ID: MkwEQohl, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 21 March 2017, 14:34:15, No.117629267.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid., 14:03:43, No.117626464.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid., 14:15:15, No.117627494.

His later posts were less inflammatory, instead seeing incel violence as inevitable. A few weeks after the incel-inspired 2018 Toronto van attack, he wrote of incels' desperation: "I am no sociopath or psychopath but if this shit goes on and on it will lead to more Toronto type incidents".<sup>251</sup> In January 2021, he emphasised the need to distinguish between incels who "simply realize ... harsh realities" and those who "are butthurt and go all edgy 'kill all womenz'".252 He distinguished himself from the "edgy Incels on [Reddit]", calling their rants "low IQ drivel".253

Yet he appeared unstable and unpredictable. He saw suicide as a solution for those who "truly have nothing to live for", such as "ugly/ autistic/short incels who already exhausted all options to overcome their misfortune with the genetic lottery".254 By not allowing that option, he said, society was "risk[ing] people going ER", referring to Elliot Rodger.<sup>255</sup> This escalated in June 2021 with a threat of violence: "I will literally kill, (sic) or kill myself soon if i can't sleep in a bed with a girl again ...".256 Shortly after, he was arrested.257 JStark may have been on a trajectory towards engaging in incel-related violence. However, that is not what he ultimately decided to do. While the threat of such attacks has been the subject of recent attention<sup>258</sup> – and remains a dangerous possibility – it appears more common for incels to commit suicide.259

#### Suicidal Ideation

JStark had recurrent suicidal thoughts. In 2017, he wrote that it was "becoming more and more attractive" to kill himself because of his inability to move to the USA.260 The loneliness from his life as an incel led to depressive thoughts: "Normies and general society just doesn't get how much involuntary celibacy and simply loneliness among men contributes (sic) to suicide rates". 261 His time in the Philippines only gave JStark temporary relief; at some point, he returned to Germany and his life as a frustrated incel.

Those longstanding thoughts become more intense in the final six months of his life. In January 2021, he wrote: "I am going insane, every day and week that goes by drives my desire to rope higher". 262 He repeatedly shared detailed plans of his intended method of killing himself by ingesting poison.<sup>263</sup> JStark posted this method in a supposed act of solidarity with his fellow posters, with an eye on

- 251 User ID: 681L66vi, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 4 May 2018, 21:49:44, No.170458587
- 252 User ID: EPhXSIWI, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 19 January 2021, 21:12:50, No.303736872
- 253 Ibid.
- 254 Exact reference withheld at the discretion of the author, as it contains instructions on suicide.
- 255 Ibid. He repeated that sentiment later in the thread.
   256 Exact reference withheld at the discretion of the author, as it contains instructions on suicide.
- 257 This threat and the timing of his arrest were likely a coincidence, as the German police were made aware of JStark's gun-making activities via a report filed by an electronic payment company, and not because of his
- 258 See, for instance: "The Incel Phenomenon: Exploring Internal and External Issues Around Involuntary Celibates", Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN), RAN Communications and Narratives Working Group Conclusion Paper, 28 July 2021; Bruce Hoffman, Jacob Ware & Ezra Shapiro, "Assessing the Threat of Incel Violence", Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 2020, Vol 43, No 7, pp. 565-587.
- 259 One study of incel suicide notes found that 80 incels appear to have killed themselves between 2019 and 2021. That number is more than twice the number of people killed in attacks commonly understood to be incel-related: 2014 Isla Vista shootings (6 killed); 2015 Umpqua Community College shooting (9); 2017 Aztec High School shooting (2); 2018 Toronto vehicle ramming (10); 2018 Tallahassee Hot Yoga shooting (2); 2020 Toronto machete attack (1); and the 2021 Plymouth shootings (5). Sarah E. Daly & Albina Laskovtsov, "'Goodbye, My Friendcels': An Analysis of Incel Suicide Posts", Journal of Qualitative Criminal Justice & Criminology, 2021, Vol 11, Issue 1, pp. 1-33.
- 260 User ID: MkwEQohl, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 21 March 2017, 15:11:15, No.117632655.
   261 User ID: 4e2qWPNk, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 15 September 2017, 04:32:27, No.141581166.
- 262 Exact reference withheld at the discretion of the author, as it contains instructions on suicide
- 263 The poison is not named in this report, and links to those posts have been redacted.

autistic incels: "Godspeed anons, i hope you won't need to resort to this, i love yall autismcels, know that you aren't alone being in pain".264 That included sharing a photo – which he appears to have taken – of the poison and a link to an academic article demonstrating its efficacy.<sup>265</sup>

However, he was undecided. JStark also considered moving to Southeast Asia and living off the "passive income" from investments.<sup>266</sup> When recommending countries, he stated: "I myself prefer PH [the Philippines], for various reasons". 267 It was to be a rehash of his 2018 trip, for the same reasons: "Yes, i'm an Incel, one of the biggest reasons, why i'm moving. Lost the genetic lottery. It is what it is".268 But that was not an absolute: "yes i will leave, as soon as i can Jürgen, might also rope".269 His comments appeared highly volatile, a point JStark acknowledged when discussing plans to move to Southeast Asia: "I hope you make it, i hope you all here make it. I'll kill myself soon if i can't. I'm a ticking timebomb".270

The poison JStark wrote about has recently been discovered in "suicide kits" sold online.<sup>271</sup> It causes asphyxia by impairing oxygen transport, and can result in postmortem hypostasis (the accumulation of blood in the vessels due to poor circulation, leading to skin discolouration) and cyanosis of the digits.<sup>272</sup> However, those symptoms are dose-dependent,273 and routine toxicological analysis may fail to detect the poison's presence, resulting in "false negatives".274 It is possible that after his arrest in late June 2021, JStark – already suicidal - decided to take his life. His postmortem did not establish a definite cause of death; the use of this poison may have gone undetected, though presumably the containers holding the poison would have been noticed by investigators.

<sup>264</sup> Exact reference withheld at the discretion of the author, as it contains instructions on suicide.

<sup>265</sup> Ibid.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid.

<sup>268</sup> User ID: TtEsvPfi, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 19 January 2021, 22:55:16, No.303761793.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid., 22:35:06, No.303757534.

User ID: dCFdabNS, 4plebs /pol/ archive, 20 January 2021, 01:48:37, No.303796821.
 James Beal, "Revealed: the chef selling poison to suicidal youngsters", The Times, 25 April 2023. The article does not name the poison; however, it is the same poison JStark possessed.

<sup>272</sup> Exact reference withheld at the discretion of the author, as it contains details on the suicide method.

# 6 Conclusion

acob "JStark1809" Duygu has been memorialised as a martyr for the right to bear arms. Central to this has been his pseudonymous, faceless persona, allowing individuals to project their motivations, beliefs, and hopes onto him as an icon. His seemingly anonymous comments, however, reveal a different picture. Jacob held extremist ideas, whether they related to anti-State violence in Germany or his misogynistic incel views.<sup>275</sup> At times, he endorsed and threatened violence. Yet he also lived a personal tragedy; his loneliness and lack of intimacy led to depression and thoughts of killing himself. Following his arrest in June 2021, it is possible that he ultimately acted upon his suicidal ideation.

In the penultimate message identified as authored by JStark, he wrote: "I'll either finally have a woman in my arms soon, or will be embraced by the void of nothingness after i ingest [the poison]. Peace".<sup>276</sup> His final message on /pol/ was a reply to a misogynistic meme: "Based beyond belief".<sup>277</sup>

This picture of JStark may contradict the impression he left on his friends and family. It is possible that he only disclosed certain ideas and feelings when posting anonymously online. Shortly before this report's publication, a friend of JStark – who knew him online and offline – contacted the author. He wrote about Jacob's character:

JStark was a man of high integrity and had an exceptionally strong moral compass ... I'm someone who knew him somewhat intimately, and spent countless hours talking to him, and I can tell you that JStark did not have one cell in him that wanted to hurt other people.<sup>278</sup>

#### The 3D-Printed Gun Movement

It remains to be seen whether other members of Deterrence Dispensed and the 3D-printed gun movement share JStark's extreme right-wing and misogynist incel ideas or were even aware of them. It is possible that, despite his close collaboration with other designers on the FGC-9 Mk I and Mk II projects, JStark did not disclose his extremist beliefs to others. At least one Deterrence Dispensed member has, nonetheless, spoken of his knowledge of JStark's political views: "I've seen far-right people talking about how much they liked Stark. I'm pretty aware of Stark's politics, I talked with him a bit about it".279

<sup>275</sup> This report adopts J.M. Berger's definition of extremism as "the belief that an in-group's success or survival can never be separated from the need for hostile action against an out-group". J.M. Berger, Extremism (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2018), p. 155.

<sup>276</sup> Exact reference withheld at the discretion of the author, as it contains details on the suicide method.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid

<sup>278</sup> Correspondence with a friend of JStark, October 2023. Ethical approval was obtained to include this in the report (project MRA-2324-39995).

<sup>279</sup> Guns N' Bitcoin, "Celebrating the life of JStark1809 - Twitter Space Podcast", Twitter, 18 October 2021, 52m 40s.

The issue of Deterrence Dispensed's political leanings has been raised before. In September 2021, a member of another group of 3D-printed gun designers accused JStark and Ivan the Troll of being "part of some European white nationalist movement", and that they were "hating on minorities". 280 However, no evidence to corroborate that claim was presented. Ivan denied the accusation: "I am not, nor are my friends, in any way remotely interested in hate groups, especially not European ones".281 He continued:

I would also like to point out that the administrators of the groups I am involved with [i.e., Deterrence Dispensed] consist in no small part of American minorities, and thus us being involved with racial extremist groups in Europe would be more than a little awkward.282

Vinh Nguyen, another Deterrence Dispensed member, also stated his doubt: "I don't see how anyone who has guided/cultivated this diverse community can reconcile having any kind of affiliation with a racial supremacy group".283 The group is also conscious of how it is perceived, as a leading member explained:

Because propaganda we release affects the reputation of the group. Have your own personal opinions, but one of the very few rules we have is that we must stay apolitical (and not broadcast hate to any particular demographic based on race, religion, lgbtq+, etc).284

However, there are signs the group has been exploited by far-right extremists. For instance, Jim Holmgren, a Swedish white nationalist, sourced gun designs from Deterrence Dispensed and was active in its online community before his arrest in November 2021.285 Similarly, the group's "beta manager", who goes by the alias "Dr Death", guided a Twitter user with a Nazi flag as his profile picture on how to get involved in 3D-printed firearms.<sup>286</sup> It remains to be seen if other extremists will interact with the group.

<sup>280 @</sup>NaviGoBoom (Navi of Boomhandia) tweet, Twitter, 9 September 2021. Available at: https://web.archive.org/ web/20210909203718/https://twitter.com/NaviGoBoom/status/1436018274152636417

<sup>281 @</sup>NaviGoBoom (Navi of Boomhandia) tweet, Twitter, 9 September 2021. Available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20210909204359/https://twitter.com/NaviGoBoom/status/1436018284172808195

<sup>282 @</sup>NaviGoBoom (Navi of Boomhandia) tweet, Twitter, 9 September 2021. Available at: https://web.archive.org/ web/20210909203318/https://twitter.com/NaviGoBoom/status/1436018289726181379

<sup>283 @</sup>nguyenkvvn (Vinh Nyugen) tweet, Twitter, 9 September 2021. Available at: https://web.archive.org/ web/20210909230005/https://twitter.com/nguyenkvvn/status/1436060623004213250 284 Deterrence Dispensed member, Deterrence Dispensed chat, 13 March 2023.

<sup>285</sup> Rajan Basra, "The Future Is Now: The Use of 3D-Printed Guns by Extremists and Terrorists", Global Network on Extremism & Technology (GNET), 23 June 2022. Available at: https://gnet-research.org/2022/06/23/ he-future-is-now-the-use-of-3d-printed-guns-by-extremists-and-terrorists/

<sup>286</sup> Twitter interaction between @DrDeath1776 (Dr Death) and @glockluver, Twitter, 28 March 2023.





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