

## **18 Cybersupremacy: The New Face and Form of White Supremacist Activism**

**R. Sophie Statzel**

In 1994, ex-Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan Don Black foresaw the coming of two revolutions and placed himself firmly in the midst of both. The first revolution he correctly foresaw as the rise of the Internet and its impact on everything from social movements to media transmission. Black's dream and life mission, however, was geared to his second imagined revolution, that of white nationalism and the creation of an international movement successfully rearticulating racial politics on a national and global level. Attempting to harness the power of the cyber-revolution to fulfill the promise of the white nationalist one, Black created stormfront.org, transmitting "White Pride World Wide" and successfully, continually increasing membership and reach.

While the cyber-revolution is in full force, the white nationalist movement has slowly fomented and expanded, though far less publicly. Since its founding as a tiny electronic bulletin board connecting a handful of dedicated, entrenched white supremacists, Stormfront has grown into a global electronic meeting ground and achieved a level of activity placing it in the top 1 per cent of all Internet sites. In January 2007, they boasted over one hundred thousand white nationalist cyberactivist members with an average of more than seventy new members joining daily. Just over half of the membership is located in the United States with the rest spread out over a dozen countries (see figure 18.1). These membership numbers, though striking, actually fail to reflect the real popularity and use of the site; at any given time there are likely a few hundred members and often thousands of guests perusing the bulletin boards. Featuring fifty separate subcategories from "Dating Advice" and "Stormfront South Africa" to "Philosophy and Ideology," tens of thousands of people visit the bulletin boards each day, reading posts and publishing comments to the million-plus threads that explore everything related to white nationalism.

When I first encountered Stormfront I understood it as a highly marginal fringe group, and as an antiracist scholar I became interested in studying the site not out of a fear of any real threats posed by the site itself, but out of an interest in studying the white supremacist fringe as a strategy for better understanding broader white

Stormfront White Nationalist Community - Discussion Board for Activists

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Forum	Last Post	Threads	Posts	Moderator
<b>Announcements</b> (5 Viewing)	<b>Sustaining Member Program</b> by knightedsoldier5000 Yesterday 11:51 PM	45	3,060	
<b>Guidelines for Posting</b> Words have consequences.	<b>Welcome: Guidelines for Posting</b> by Don Black 10-26-2001 01:17 PM	1	1	

<http://www.stormfront.org/forum/> 4/24/2007 6:03:32 PM

Figure 18.1

Stormfront.org main page

supremacy. Yet, as I've seen the site expand in membership numbers and organizing savvy, I've come to understand the Stormfront as posing a serious threat of possible political futures, both in its ability to galvanize and organize a certain type of discontent among white folks as well as what this success reveals about broader political trends on- and off-line.

In this article my intention is to use Stormfront as a case study to better explore the limits and possibilities of democratic practices online, particularly tactical media. As such, this article is not simply a study of a radical group, but an analysis of a particular online nationalist mobilization that also attends to the theoretical questions and challenges this movement poses to democratic theory and our understandings of tactical

media. By exploring the political implications of white nationalist online organizing, my aim is to problematize the common assumption that resistance to dominant modes of power is intrinsically connected with democratic principles and practices or desires for liberation. I argue that Stormfront is an example of tactical media, and therefore the movement frames itself in opposition to dominant modes of power. Yet clearly the oppositional vision mobilized on Stormfront fails to invite democratic possibilities or redress inequalities, attempting instead to affirm a racial hierarchy. This is accomplished through the mobilization of racial sentiments and subjectivities in the protection of a perceived morally superior white identity that is threatened by the current dominant social and cultural order. As a nationalist movement, white nationalism focuses on constructing and policing an imagined community defined by exclusion. It is a community or public that only engages in antagonistic politics. A significant aspect of the white nationalist political project is precisely this creation of a shared, racial, imagined community, tactically constructed and connected through a tapestry of online and off-line practices. While some of the practices are defined as traditionally political, such campaigns and mobilizations targeting specific people, policies, or corporations, we need to expand our understanding of the political to include the imaginative frame from which political practices emerge. Recognizing political praxis as stemming from historically located cultural imaginaries and passions, and not from a precultural rationality, means the inclusion of imaginative frames within our definition of the political. Tactical interventions and pedagogies that influence this imaginative frame are thus part of broader political mobilizations.

The two revolutions imagined by Don Black—white nationalism and the transformation of politics and publics through the new media possibilities in cyberspace—are best understood when analyzed together. The contemporary white nationalist movement is dependent on new media for its success and its existence and can only be understood through an analysis of the movement's engagement with tactical media. On the other hand, I argue that exploring the political passions that steer the white nationalist movement increases our understanding of the limitations and possibilities of new media and political activism. Exploring the relations between these two imagined revolutions is actually productive in attempting to understand both. Though "the 'Internet' revolution may be over,"<sup>1</sup> there is far less consensus as to the nature and impacts of this revolution. Has it provided a rupture with or extension of previous political forms and identities? Does it divert or enhance democratic potential? Are new identities and publics produced through computer-mediated communication or are off-line identities reinforced through online practices? While often seen in binary or potentially oppositional terms, the distinction between "the real world" and "virtual reality" is often actually quite blurred. And, when it comes to questions of "power, politics, and structural relations" it is argued that "cyberspace is as real as it gets."<sup>2</sup>

While tactical media is defined as opposing interventions of power into the intimate realm, there are multiple understandings of what constitutes undesirable interventions of power and simultaneously vast number of forms that such opposition takes. There seems to be a tension in understanding tactical media: does the mobilization of passions, the creation of new social relations, and the nurturance of oppositional subjectivities count as political activity or do these act as diversions away from the real of political engagement? When applied to antilibertarian activism this raises provocative questions. It is important to take heed of Jodi Dean's (chapter 3, this volume) caution about the possibility of allowing a fantasy of political participation obscure a reality of circuitous, self-contained transfers of information which the Web can facilitate. However, Stormfront highlights another reading of the possibilities of tactical engagements of new media. To appreciate these politics requires rethinking how we actually understand the political. Jodi Dean quotes Shirkley, writing on the disparity between Howard Dean's on- and off-line campaign success: "When you're communing with like-minded souls, you *feel* (emphasis in original) like you're accomplishing something by arguing out the smallest details of your perfect future world, while the imperfect and actual world takes no notice, as is its custom" (Dean, chap. 3, this volume). Yet, this emphasis on *feeling* takes on new significance when considering a cyber-supremacist online community as opposed to the online dimension of a political campaign, where the mobilization of sentiments creates imagined worlds as its politics.

From this perspective it appears that "communicative capitalism," Dean's description of the communicative and political implications of the current economic order, may facilitate easier political mobilizations for antidemocratic aims which are organized specifically around sentiments and subjective attachments. I assert that the politics articulated on Stormfront consist not of specific campaigns or demands for change, but in this tactical stirring of racial sentiments for the purposes of constructing an imagined white public which must band together against racialized and sexualized others who fall outside the purview of the imagined political community. The white nationalist movement is a clear example of a Schmittian politics of the mutual construction of friend and foe. While the racialized public or imagined community of Stormfront is a radical vision for our contemporary moment, the vision is a historically precedented one. Exploring the historical role of race in riving political imaginaries and practices raises important questions about the very possibilities of democratic politics today. Between a Schmittian vision of the antagonistic politics of friend and enemy and a liberal vision which fails to recognize the importance of struggle and disagreement in political practice, Chantal Mouffe articulates the importance for democratic practices to engage in agonism, where difference is seen in the language of opposition and struggle and not enmity and war. Yet, exploring the construction of the nationalist public complicates Mouffe's call for agonistic politics for it shows

that the idea of the public sphere requires a simultaneous construction of an imagined public, constituted through practices and media representation. Race constructs the boundaries of the imagined public sphere not only in white nationalism, but also hauntingly shapes many conservative and liberal understandings of the public. Through this exposition of Stormfront as a site of tactical media I explore several questions about the role of tactical media, race, and political passions in the construction of publics and politics. This exploration of the tactics used and the racial sentiments mobilized within the white nationalist movement provides insights for progressive, prodemocratic activists and scholars to counter their success and better understand the possibility of tactical media and political resistance.

### **Stormfront as Tactical Media**

Don Black contends that Stormfront is not a supremacist Web site, arguing instead that it is focused on racial pride, yet it is solidly the product of a supremacist history. When describing his decision to leave the KKK and start Stormfront, Black admits that the Klan has “a reputation for random and senseless violence that it can never really overcome, and we could never on any large scale attract the kind of people that we wanted.”<sup>3</sup> Along with other ex-KKK leaders such as David Duke, Black has worked to reframe white supremacist activism in a more palatable form. Instead of focusing on explicit white supremacy, movement members use the term “white pride” to describe their politics, as though their movement is simply about pride and not supremacy. When asked if his views on race had changed since being in the KKK, Black responded, “Well, everybody’s views change somewhat, but, no, my basic ideology and philosophy is pretty much the same. My views are essentially the same as they were in the seventies. The tactics, however, are different.”<sup>4</sup> This tactical shift includes changes in message and medium, however the heart of white nationalist organizing remains consistent with the goals of traditional white-supremacist organizing.

Stormfront is itself an established Web site with over a dozen-year history and was created by activists as a strategy for building and expanding the white nationalist movement. Though part of a movement and thus part of a broader political strategy, the site is organized as a tactical space for building an imagined political community. It is thus a constructed space of tactical media, a networked space where discourse circulates and tactical things happen. The site represents tactical media at its finest. It is a space where the medium is perfectly meshed with the possible strategies available to the movement. As a senior moderator of Stormfront writes to a member across the country, “It is the White man’s friend . . . the World Wide Web . . . that makes it possible for me in Louisiana to talk to you in California through a server administered in Florida in order to get Mr. Duke’s works to you and share this experience with our kinsmen all over the world.”<sup>5</sup> As the connectivity of cyberspace

diminishes the significance of physical distance, white nationalists have succeeded in connecting a variety of local disparate groups into the beginnings of an international movement.

A key aspect of the site is its role as an alternative new venue. Black describes the goal of Stormfront as follows: "Our mission is to provide information not available in the controlled news media and to build a community of White activists working for the survival of our people."<sup>6</sup> The white-nationalist strategy is not geared to immediate political campaigns, for leaders know that they currently lack the political base to realistically impact the political process. This has not always been the case. Stormfront traces its origins to a dial-up bulletin board started in 1990 to facilitate David Duke's Louisiana senate campaign coordination (where he won over 60 per cent of the white vote according to exit polls, yet lost the election). As the Internet has expanded, developed, and become more accessible to a larger audience, Black and others have helped to continually reshape the site to maximize its potential to both reach more people and to create a political base.

Stormfront leaders recognize that because of changes in public consciousness in the post-Civil Rights era traditional white-supremacist tactics including the open advocacy of racial violence will likely fail. To create a more viable message, Stormfront is a place for members to coach each other on a reworked approach to white supremacy. Site leaders are well aware of their marginality, unpopularity, and of the continual surveillance they are under from law enforcement agencies and watchdog groups. In Black's "Guidelines for posting," a photo of a business-suit-clad Black accompanies instructions to members on how to professionalize the image of the movement. He coaches members to "avoid racial epithets," to "make an effort to use proper spelling, grammar and capitalization (no ALL-CAPS posts)," and to otherwise keep the conversation as professional as possible. Often using racially coded language and photos attached to stories of violent crime, members play on racist fears of violence by people of color and feelings of racial superiority by whites while often restraining from using racial expletives and calls for violent action. If a member disobeys these rules and posts a comment that either calls for overt violence or illegal activity, the post is deleted by a moderator within a short time.

This strategy of toning down extreme messages and expanding a base through the use of new media is historically preceded in the rise of National Socialism, an ideology prominent on Stormfront. It seems clear that many of the leaders of the movement have studied Hitler's ascent to power and are attempting to apply his strategies. Hitler himself praised the invention of the loudspeaker for its ability to increase one man's audience from hundreds to tens of thousands and stated, "Without the loudspeaker we would never have conquered Germany."<sup>7</sup> He also learned to drastically tone down the anti-Semitism at the core of his ideology and shifted focus to praising and defending the Volk while simultaneously working with others to change public

consciousness to accept anti-Semitism. White nationalists are employing similar strategies, utilizing the most advanced technology to reach the most members while shifting their language and ideas to best match their audience.

In arguing that Stormfront is an example of tactical media I am also arguing, given Renzi's definition, that it is resisting certain modalities of power, particularly power which acts on "people's innermost sense of individuality" (chapter 2, this volume). As a supremacist movement, it seems counterintuitive to make the argument that it is also mobilizing against power, but this indeed is my position. First, central to the white nationalist imaginary is the classic anti-Semitic conspiracy that Jews are in control of the media and the government. White nationalist training begins with an introduction to ZOG, white supremacist shorthand for Zionist Occupation Government, a powerful conspiracy that argues that the government and the mainstream media are under the control of an ideologically cohesive Jewish supremacy. In addition to this conspiracy of marginality, awareness of being under constant surveillance by the FBI and the fact that many of their leaders are currently residing in jail is used as evidence that the movement is fighting a racist power structure which oppresses whites.

In this conspiracy, the popular media are operating under an anti-white mission. A prominent article on the site "Who Rules America?" begins: "There is no greater power in the world today than that wielded by the manipulators of public opinion in America. No king or pope of old, no conquering general or high priest ever disposed of a power even remotely approaching that of the few dozen men who control America's mass media of news and entertainment."<sup>8</sup> A persuasive argument is laid out about how the mass media create "our image of the world and then tell us what to think about that image."<sup>9</sup> The article concludes that all of this massive influence is really controlled by a handful of Jews. The most popular section of Stormfront is consistently "Newslinks and Articles" where TV and newspaper stories are circulated and commented upon with a white nationalist spin. The most popularly circulated thread in this section is the "Ethnic Crime Report," where news stories are circulated about violent crimes purportedly committed by people of color against whites. Consistently throughout this thread members post stories and comment on the race of victims and perpetrators, including pictures whenever possible to bolster racial stereotypes. These pictures and stories provide the "evidence" circulated on the site that a race war is already in effect, where people of color are consistently and randomly maiming, murdering, and attacking whites. This thread has been in development for five years and is updated daily. Additional news links cover a broad array of what appears in the popular press, but respun with a white-nationalist flair. In this way members are consistently communing with each other and broader society as they are appropriating images and narratives circulating in the dominant press in ways that bolster their conspiratorial ideas about white racial persecution.

Throughout the site it is argued that the popular media devalue white identity, fostering white guilt and racial shame. In the active participation in constructing white-empowered media, either through discourse with other members or appropriating and commenting on stories from the popular media, members are constantly defending and constructing a newly empowered racial self. Participation on this site, with the construction of their own media commentaries within this broader cyber community, is a way for members to assert a new racial subjectivity. And race in these chat boards means far more than phenotype alone. Members articulate a set vision of the white nation as a moral community in their chat, connecting strict, heterosexual gender roles, a focus on childrearing and the patriarchal family, with a white racial identity. Members comment that feminists and homosexuals are not welcome on the site or in the movement.

### Growing Threats

Although it may be comforting to think of this movement as a marginal, nonsensical group of radical haters, the reality is that they are a group daily *increasing* in numbers. When I first began monitoring Stormfront in July of 2004, the Web site had recently celebrated its achievement of reaching a membership of 34,000. Today the site has almost three times as many members and additional daily readers in the tens of thousands. Two years ago the record for most site observers at one time was 865 users, today that number is 4,500 and it is common to have over fifteen hundred users perusing the site at any given time. The movement is successfully harnessing the power of the Internet not only to share information but also to increase membership. The successful, continual expansion of Stormfront's membership counters early assessments that online recruiting had little potential for extremist groups.<sup>10</sup>

Concomitant to the rise of white nationalist online organizing has been a surprising increase in off-line activism as well. The Ku Klux Klan actually succeeded in making a rebound in 2005, with new chapters forming in almost every region of the United States. It is noteworthy that this new organizing facilitates rapid increases in membership of new groups as well as increasing similarities between the various white supremacist groups, with KKK, neo-Nazi, and racist skinheads sharing ideological orientations, aesthetic styles (music and dress), and cooperating together.<sup>11</sup> The broad circulation of anti-immigrant discourse in the popular press and political debate is certainly fueling this movement, but the increasing collaborations across ideologies and group affiliations off-line seems to correlate with the sharing of information and strategies online. This paper is based solely on monitoring online activity and thus cannot definitively assess this relationship between on- and off-line practices and politics. This relationship, however, remains a question of ongoing concern and calls for further studies.



While several organizations track the activity on white nationalist and white supremacist Web sites, this does little to uncover and challenge the racial stereotypes built up over generations of white supremacy. Particularly when national debates fuel racist sentiments, challenging white supremacy is a difficult task. Since the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the subsequent targeting of Muslims as terrorists or threatening outsiders, racist Web sites and organizations have grown exponentially. A 2005 study by the Southern Poverty Law Center documents more than eight hundred hate groups operating in the United States, a rise of over 30 per cent since 2000.<sup>12</sup> Additionally, national Republican-led anti-immigration debates have done much to blame economic instability on Latino immigrants, inflaming xenophobia. And, when the president of the United States takes over six years to meet with the country's largest civil rights organization, treating people of color as a fringe political group, we are far from a national dialogue on racism that will do anything to make white-supremacist organizing more difficult.









### **Welcome to Stormfront**

Those unfamiliar with this emerging movement will be surprised at the diversity of members and interests represented. Die-hard National Socialists, Christian Identity enthusiasts, Hitler brides, young skinheads, Pagans, housewives, computer nerds, rural farmers, and city dwellers are all united by the feeling that whiteness and white people are imperiled. Across a great divide of ideology, religion/spiritual practices, class positions, ages, and actual locations the bulletin boards of Stormfront house a plethora of arguments and insecurities about the changing nature of racial politics and identity in the contemporary West (see figure 18.2).

The website has numerous simultaneous functions: 1) an international electronic meeting ground for a diverse group of white supremacist/separatist/nationalist activists to discuss philosophy and strategy, 2) an alternative news venue to distribute news of interest, a recruitment, outreach, and educational tool, and 3) a place to vent animosity at those who disagree with the movement (one of the most popular sections of the site is consistently the "Opposing Views" forum, where members argue their cause with those dubbed "antis," a term covering anyone who disagrees with the movement). Members create signature quotes that end their posts with links to all of the major white supremacist organizations and regional white nationalist groups, including: <http://www.sigdrifa.net/>, National Socialist links, and links about Hitler, the white power organization Blood and Honor, various Ku Klux Klan sites, and every other major and most minor white supremacist/separatist sites. Members thus represent a wide variety of racist organizations and ideologies.

Stormfront is also much more than a loosely organized set of bulletin boards. The site is not organized for an anonymous, presumed audience, but carefully calculates

General - Stormfront White Nationalist Community

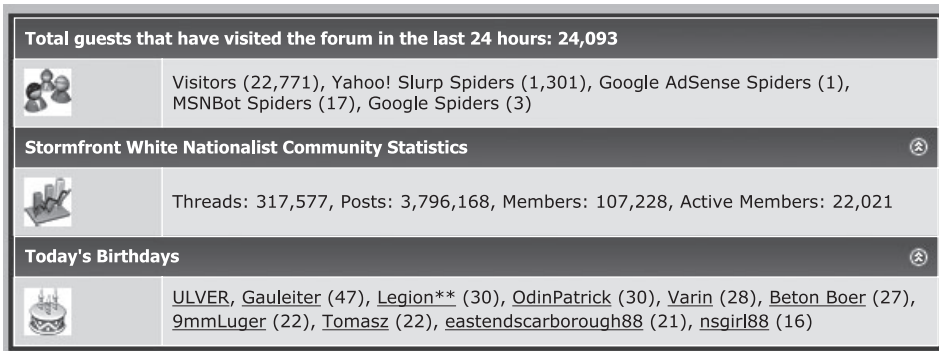
Sub-Forums : General				Search this Forum
Forum	Last Post	Threads	Posts	Moderator
 <b><u>Ideology and Philosophy</u></b> (25 Viewing) Foundations for White Nationalism	 <b><u>Can Homosexuality combine with Racial Nationalism?</u></b> by <a href="#">Dying_Race</a> Today 05:59 PM	2,955	67,587	<a href="#">Grand Inquisitor</a>
 <b><u>Culture and Customs</u></b> (41 Viewing) Music, art, literature.	 <b><u>Norwegian stockings...</u></b> by <a href="#">Dresden</a> Today 04:27 PM	3,171	45,969	<a href="#">Grand Inquisitor</a>
 <b><u>High Fantasy and the Lord of the Rings</u></b> (2 Viewing) Racial archetypes in modern fantasy, particularly Tolkien's epic story.	 <b><u>What does LOTR have to do with race?</u></b> by <a href="#">Pe of Flanders</a> Today 03:21 PM	458	6,205	<a href="#">Theodoric, Grand Inquisitor</a>
 <b><u>Theology</u></b> (31 Viewing) General religious discussion. Posting, including subforums, open to usergroup members only.	 <b><u>Anti-catholic white nationalists</u></b> by <a href="#">Teutonic Prince</a> Today 05:49 PM	5,464	97,570	<a href="#">Grand Inquisitor, Klaliff, Lycia, Katrines Fräulein</a>

<http://www.stormfront.org/forum/forumdisplay.php/general-7.html> 4/24/2007 6:08:02 PM
**Figure 18.2**

Stormfront.org forum threads

and tracks readership and documents exactly what and who is popular, read, and responded to. The entire site is carefully orchestrated for maximum tactical effect for both transmitting information and building community. Through self-selected avatars, signature quotes, and the posting of their location or region of residence, members are able to create cyber-identities which do not feel anonymous even as they retain anonymity. Members can create cyber-identities which convey information about their personalities and interests while not disclosing their actual names or places of residence. The site also incorporates a variety of efforts to create the feeling of a community. It tracks numbers of postings by member, allows members to rank the quality

Stormfront White Nationalist Community - Discussion Board for Activists



<http://www.stormfront.org/forum/> 4/17/2007 4:24:02 PM

**Figure 18.3**

Stormfront.org community statistics


of a thread (noted by a series of stars along the thread), and shows the number of views for each thread. The main page is consistently updated to show total membership numbers, overall page hits, and the number of people currently viewing each section of the site, demonstrating to members and visitors that they are not alone in their searches, readings, and ramblings (see figure 18.3). The main page also includes “Today’s Birthdays” which lists individual members and often the age they are turning. They are connected to an online radio station that airs music as well as five white-nationalist news and talk shows each day, including regular commentaries by David Duke. Members can keep “buddy lists” that display which members on their lists are currently online and also provide instant private messaging between members. The site is thus geared toward constructing an imagined community for its members. The site also serves to connect with off-line practices in a variety of ways, including a thorough “activist” section discussing strategies and tactics, postings of local events, a popular dating section, and announcements of national and regional conferences and gatherings.

Take for instance the exchange between “Zoe” and “fightforwhitey” shown in figure 18.4, which demonstrates many of the tactics used on Stormfront to foster an online community. We can see several things happening here. First, the avatars chosen by each member convey an idealized racial image that also serves to personalize the posts, making their screen presence highly personal. We also see when each became a member, how many posts they have authored, either their physical location or some coded description of their location, and whether or not they are currently online. Within their posts members can easily include a variety of *smilies* and vbcode to add emphasis and set the tone of the text. The signatures further personalize the posts as


Killian was Born! (Pictures, not too graphic) - Page 5 - Stormfront White Nationalist Community

04-06-2007, 04:14 PM
#44

**Zoe**  
A Whiter Shade of Pale  
"Friend of Stormfront"  
Sustaining Member



Join Date: Sep 2001  
Location: Nor Cal  
Posts: 1,714



**Re: Killian was Born! (Pictures, not too graphic)**

He's absolutely beautiful, MrsB. You have a knack for pregnancy & childbirth. Can I borrow you for, say, 9 1/2 months? 😊


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Q&A: EAU & WVWN · European Americans United · Western Voices World News

The Not-So-Russian Revolution · A Call to White Americans


Racial Compact · SNPA

Women for Aryan Unity · Prussian Blue



04-06-2007, 05:29 PM
#45

**fightforwhitey**  
Forum Member



Join Date: Jan 2007  
Location: with the other three horsemen  
Posts: 106

**Re: Killian was Born! (Pictures, not too graphic)**

Congrats Mrs.Badger ! You are a credit to your race. And one tough Moma. A lot of women couldn't have done that the way you did. You are an inspiration. 😊👍😄

😊👍😄

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It's as bad as you think, and they are out to get you!

<http://www.stormfront.org/forum/showthread.php/killian-born-pictures-not-too-376587p5.html> 4/17/2007 4:39:17 PM

**Figure 18.4**

Stormfront.org signatures and avatars

they provide information about the individual's passions or politics with quotes or links to various organizations. This exchange was part of a thread that began with photos of another member's (Mrs. Badger) birth and new baby. In less than one month this thread received over sixty posts which all echo the highly congratulatory tone of these two, praising Mrs. Badger's strength and commenting on how beautiful her family is. This is far from an anonymous exchange.

The Web site succeeds in creating a personalized space where members can create actual connections with each other, even while retaining their anonymity if they so desire. This potential anonymity on the Internet provides white-supremacist groups with a significant boon as it lessens the pressure for self-censorship common today for whites around expressions of racist thought. An unintended consequence of the dominant culture of liberal multiculturalism's stigmatization of racism is the foreclosure of honest discussion by whites about their fears and concerns associated with shifts in racial identity and privilege. The lack of broader conversations about race and racism sadly leaves anonymous online spaces such as Stormfront as one of the few spaces where whites can openly grapple with their concerns about race without fear of personal stigma or embarrassment. This leaves Stormfront as a space ideally suited for educating others and gaining new recruits for a cause typically scorned in the broader public. While it is commonly asserted by scholars that most whites espouse some amount of white nationalist sentiment,<sup>13</sup> the dominant "color-blind" discourse on race today ensures that white nationalist activists must often help other whites develop a racial consciousness to gain new recruits. "Racially aware" is Stormfront shorthand for describing the development of a white-nationalist consciousness. Members frequently discuss their "awakening," which also provides the title of David Duke's famous autobiography, *My Awakening*. The site is a space of education, not only through the sharing of information, but also through the mobilization of residual racist sentiments, making participation in a racist community seem desirable. This is a sentimental education that emphasizes feelings and subjective attachments that fuel the site. It must not be seen as a displacement of off-line politics, but a tactical use of online media to build the possibility of achieving off-line political impacts for a community of political interests that currently lacks viability, visibility, and cohesion. Given the difficulty of politically mobilizing a set of ideas as stigmatized as white nationalism, it is significant that a precursor to effective political engagement is validation, education, and consolidation of a political base.

### **The Cyber Revolution: Reality and Virtual Reality**

Numerous utopian visions frame cyberspace as transcending the divisions that structure our "real world" relations, though off-line positionality often frames online activity. Regarding questions of race, the "internet is a place where race happens: even in

the absence of users of color, images of race and racialism proliferate in cyberspace."<sup>14</sup> Much of the cyber-studies literature fails to address this. Mark Hansen argues that the Internet allows for racial passing. He writes, "the suspension of the social category of visibility in online environments transforms the meaning of race in a fundamental way. . . . it also permits a certain play with racial signifiers that, in my opinion, can and does yield something positive."<sup>15</sup> Yet all too often experiments with fluid subjectivity online result in racialized appropriations through the use of racialized avatars in chatrooms and bulletin boards and the playing out of racial fantasies in online gaming.<sup>16</sup> Such dreams of online sociality and identity as divorced from racialized processes only helps to obscure the ways that these inscriptions are constantly carried into cyber-activity. Even in attempts at creating nonracist spaces (McPherson 2000) or at challenging racism (Gonzalez 2000), racist patterns and relations tend to structure the attempts at subverting them. Although the Internet surely provides the possibility of interpellating new identities and subjectivities, we do not lose our real-world histories and identities when we go online. As Tara McPherson writes of white Southerners' investments in neo-Confederate Web sites, they "seem relatively unconcerned with the prosthetic nature of cyber-communication."<sup>17</sup> She writes, "For these cyber-rebels, reconstructing Dixie and its citizens is not about play at all; rather, it is a very serious battle over demands of place, race, and identity."<sup>18</sup> Asserting racial identities online in this case is then an explicitly political act. Similar to Dean's argument that the imaginary of the global serves to dismiss political differences, subsuming race under the banner of a new globalism or "virtual ethnicity" belies the trenchant nature of race and racism. Arguments that cyber-practices create identities no longer tied to the body obscure the way that race and racism continue to structure cyberspace not only in white-supremacist Web sites but often in attempts at creating nonracist and antiracist spaces.

Cyber scholarship is now increasingly recognizing that "the Internet is not growing apart from the world, but to the contrary is increasingly embedded in it."<sup>19</sup> Wilson and Peterson (2002) go so far as to challenge "that the distinction between real and imagined or virtual community is not a useful one," and instead assert that the analysis should focus on "contextualized identities" that recognize contingent and historically situated relations shape online identities.<sup>20</sup> In noting the ways that off-line identities shape their cyber counterparts, they list the continued influence of the state in censoring data and structural inequalities in constraining access. However, when thinking about the relations between on- and off-line political mobilizations it is also important to consider the limitations of real-world constraints on political imaginaries. Specifically regarding race, while the abstracted nature of computer-mediated communication allows for the creation of cyber-communities not demarcated by race, can our political sensibilities be radically transformed when our material reality is still

organized by race? While the civil rights movement has changed the discourse on race and succeeded in stigmatizing racism, segregationary and other racist practices have been scarcely changed and at present the United States has achieved virtually the same levels of de facto residential racial segregation by choice and economics as it once did under Jim Crow laws.<sup>21</sup> With our post racial imaginary we are able to perceive equality as the norm while in real terms the racist system hasn't changed as drastically. Particularly in the construction of cyber-communities, preexisting structures, style communication, and "systematic social meanings . . . enable participants to imagine themselves as a community."<sup>22</sup> Political attachments online are embedded in our off-line contexts. In order to understand the imaginary mobilized on Stormfront we need to delve through the historical debris that shapes the affective ties that frame the movement.

### **Race, Passions, and Public Imaginaries**

Stormfront represents a particular form of passionate politics (Mouffe 2002) that demonstrates the affective terrain shaping imaginaries is not inherently liberatory. This is contrary to optimistic accounts, such as one by Mark Hansen, which argues that affectivity is prepolitical or preindividual, and exists as bodily sensation that can be mobilized in revolutionary resistance to subjectivity and individuation. Engaging with the work of Mark Poster, who argues that the disembodied nature of computer-mediated communication transforms racial and ethnic identity,<sup>23</sup> and the philosophy of Giorgio Agamben, Hansen sees the Internet as providing a space of awareness and disruption between social categories and subjectivation. In this view resistance against racial subjectivation will take the form of "collective individuation rooted in the exposure of the affective basis of life, the excess of bodily life in relation to itself."<sup>24</sup> Assuming that affectivity is not affected by subjectification is problematic in that affective life is clearly shaped by our interpellated subjective attachments. While the rupture provided by the Internet between social categories and our interpellation into them certainly has the potential to lead towards a post-identitarian subject, we must also theorize the limitations that impede this possibility. In the case of white nationalist cyber-activists on Stormfront, they are clearly motivated by their subjective attachments to bolster their social categories for highly emotional ends. This also complicates an understanding of the democratic possibilities of tactical media. While the mobilization of affect may not inherently lead to political action, it is imperative to understand the links that tie affect to political engagement. Regarding white nationalism, movement members are fighting against the possible desubjectifying trends in global capitalism, its challenges to the nation-state and its national imaginaries. The mobilized imaginary of Stormfront utilizes the Internet to reinscribe meanings on bodies that

are no longer conclusively achieved through interpellation by national media and the nation-state, bolstering perceived social divisions that foreclose the possibility of democratic engagement.

My argument is that the concepts and their associated sentiments mobilized in the white nationalist movement are historical products of modern Western nationalism, now mobilized against the challenges to the nation-state under neoliberalism. While the Internet provides a space for radical rearticulations of political possibilities and subjectivities, Stormfront members instead advocate rearticulations of deeply historical subject positions. While the temptation is great to study such a movement as deviant, in actuality white nationalism draws on significant, dominant Western concepts of race and nation and the subjective identities these concepts create.<sup>25</sup> The type of subjectivation that occurs through participation in the site is not libratory or new, but instead is deeply historical and connected to broader regimes of power.

Such an analysis challenges the simplistic optimism present in certain analyses of new media in an emerging, post national world. Certainly new media create the possibility of new imaginaries given the decline in the nation-state under neoliberal globalization. Yet Stormfront shows us that our contemporary moment is not free of historical debris. If we read our current moment and its possibilities with a more nuanced understanding of historical epochal change, such as that articulated by Raymond Williams (1977), we have a clearer understanding of the possibilities afforded our current moment. Williams argues that epochal change does not occur through ruptures, but any given time contains emergent, residual, and dominant cultural elements, signaling possibilities of the present and thus of the future. While Arjun Appadurai's (1996) claim that movement towards postnationalism can free the imagination to construct communities no longer bound by national borders and exclusive imaginaries, this will not always be the case. The diasporic public spheres imagined by Appadurai are certainly proliferating, but so are other public spheres that bolster various regimes of power. Residual elements of the national era exist as structures of feeling of our previous time and can be mobilized in new, antidemocratic ways. The movement to postnationalism certainly does not come with a clean sociopolitical or cultural slate.

Appadurai's analysis of the movement to postnationalism is based on Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, where Anderson argues that nations are imagined political communities whose emergence is related to the development of print capitalism. I think it useful to engage another study of nationalism, that of Etienne Balibar.<sup>26</sup> Balibar argues that national imaginaries serve to construct the "people." Given that "(n)o modern nation possesses a given 'ethnic' basis," then "(t)he fundamental problem . . . is to produce the people. More exactly, it is to make the people produce itself continually as national community."<sup>27</sup> The "people" of the modern nation-state can also be described as the "public," a construct which, like the people, requires elabora-



tion. This took a very consistent form in the modern nation. Through their interpellation as subjects, simultaneous groups are constructed through the subordination and relativization of differences between the “citizens” “in such a way that it is the symbolic difference between ‘ourselves’ and ‘foreigners’ which wins out and which is lived as irreducible.”<sup>28</sup> Implicit within this production of the people or the public is the reproduction of its form, with the enemy or outsider consistently serving to consolidate the people within a “fictive ethnicity” of language and race.

Balibar’s writing provides two significant cautions to this current analysis on white-nationalism and tactical media. The first is that the “public” is historically constructed not simply as a space of exchange of discourse and political engagement, but also on a false shared assumption of similarities in relation to external others outside the bounds of political engagement. Key to my analysis is that the historical and institutional practices of racializing private spaces have helped to secure a racially segregated imagined public sphere. In the United States, the securing of segregation under Jim Crow laws and the national implementation of redlining practices through the Federal Housing Act and through countless antimiscegenation laws helped to construct a national polity that could be imagined by whites as a white polity. The private segregation of people of color by whites correlated with a fantasy of the nation as white, or at least controlled by whites. This racially privileged citizenship was only expanded after significant antiracist struggle. Given the centrality of race in historically shaping the imagined public sphere, it is interesting that much political theory treats race as a nonissue regarding political practice. Carl Schmitt articulated this tension when he stated that the political is sensible “only in the context of ever present possibility of the friend-and-enemy groupings,” a conceptualization that liberalism fails to observe or understand in its inability to grapple with collective identities.<sup>29</sup> Chantal Mouffe (2002) argues that to challenge this antagonistic opposition that forecloses the possibility of democratic engagement, we must keep political divisions in the realm of the political, and not slip into moral condemnation or perceptions of enmity. Instead she calls for the fostering of agonistic relationships based on recognizing different positions that are capable of struggling with and against each other. For Mouffe, this requires maintaining an oppositional politics of left and right and not collapsing political beliefs into moral oppositions. If we include in this challenge the recognition of the structuring role of race in dividing political identities and imaginaries, agonistic politics requires building multiracial, antiracist political identities that disrupt the relationship between whiteness and an exclusive public, creating the possibility of antiracist political identification.

The second caution Balibar provides us with is that the production of the public involves creating the conditions for its internal reproduction. While Anderson highlights the role of the national media in constructing the imagined national community, Balibar argues that the production of “the people” includes their instruction to

reproduce themselves and the idea of their unification as a national community. While old media work to produce the public, the participatory nature of new media does not ensure the end of exclusive national imaginaries. Even as new media and changes in the geopolitical order are creating the possibilities of new interpellations and breaks with the bodily inscriptions of race, nation, and gender, the people can continue to reproduce themselves. This can occur through the continued embrace of a particular ideology, but more so through the interpellation as citizen-subjects that involves a sentimental education to invest in the national imaginary. As this interpellation functions at the sentimental and subjective levels, it makes sense that these restrictive national imaginaries continue to find articulation online, the people tend to reproduce themselves even as they face the possibility of imagining themselves anew.

As Balibar elaborates, this internal reproduction of solidarity is facilitated by the mutual production of external enmity. The people, or public, prove their solidarity through the continual emphasis on the division between “us” and “them.” This raises a provocative question, virtually ignored in liberal political theory: Does the public need an enemy? This indeed has traditionally been the case and race has consistently served this function of marking insiders from outsiders or citizens from subjects or enemies.<sup>30</sup> While this logic is clearly evident on Stormfront, this analysis raises questions about how widespread racial citizenship actually is. While Stormfront articulates an explicitly racialized understanding of citizenship, we should ask: In which other movements and mobilizations is the public imagined (though likely unacknowledged) as racialized and exclusionary? The discourse of the citizen almost exclusively fails to acknowledge its reliance on the imagined community of the nation as the context for constricting and constructing the public sphere and its multiple exclusions.

White-nationalist online organizing provides a clear example of how well cyber-activism can serve in the production of an enemy, giving further credence to Dean’s argument that the imaginaries produced online can avoid democratic forms of engagement, instead creating segmentary bubbles of likemindedness against which enemies must be imagined and constructed. Stormfront is tactically and ideologically organized to limit the possibility of any opposition to white-nationalism. As mentioned above, one of the most consistently popular forums is “Opposing Views,” the section of the site dedicated to white-nationalist critics to voice their opinions. A posting to the site by one of its opponents includes the following statement: “The world doesn’t need a bunch of clinically insane paranoids spreading the word of hate. Enjoy your site while it lasts because some day this hate site will be shut down for good and hopefully all WN members end up where they belong . . . in jail.”<sup>31</sup> Although the responses vary, they tend to follow two themes. One theme focuses on the First Amendment’s protection of free speech. However, the majority of the responses tend to discount this comment by racializing the writers, whether or not the authors gave indication of

their own racial identification. Members respond through explicitly labeling the opponent as racialized ("I'll see you when I get there negro")<sup>32</sup> or through racially coded insults ("Why are you posting here? Did you lose your basketball?").<sup>33</sup> This theme is echoed throughout the site in a racial tautology where any criticism of white nationalism will be assumed to come from a Jew or person of color and is systematically discounted.

In my study of this nationalist community I have had to grapple with the relationship among politics and publics, morality and imagined communities. At least in my reading of U.S. political history, the polity has always been organized and riven by race, which complicates an understanding of the possibility of democratic politics. How does this challenge our conceptions of political antagonism and the possibilities of democracy? As nationalism and democracy are both products of the modern era, has democratic practice not always been defined by and limited to the national imaginary, originally overtly excluding those dubbed racially other and inferior?

### **Concluding Thoughts and Democratic Possibilities**

Currently, the white nationalist movement remains peripheral. Its impact on the majority of citizens in the West is miniscule, its rampant anti-Semitism and thinly veiled racism are marginalized, and its membership is comparatively small. However, the movement's current insignificance should not be taken as a sign of comfort. One only has to look back to Germany in 1920 and the way that an ambitious, young anti-Semite began to work steadfastly to bring his radical ideology to mainstream Germany to understand the potential threat of even a highly marginal group. Perhaps it seems extreme and overwrought to compare the potential of radical racist movements to Hitler and the Nazi party and I hope this is indeed an extreme comparison, but I don't think it is unwarranted. As Carol Swain writes, "Mass movements . . . often begin with small fringe groups, but grow and eventually become part of the mainstream."<sup>34</sup> In 1920, the Nazi party was a peripheral political group with only 6 percent public support. With the synergistic mix of Hitler's charismatic ability to speak to crowds, the successful tapping into German fears and insecurities posed by the post-World War I economic downturn and loss of international political power, and the strategic accumulation of political, educational, and organizational reach, the Nazi party slowly worked its way into political power. While the imagined community being built on Stormfront is not currently focused on creating immediate political change, it is providing the resources, imagination, information, and relationships which can easily be tapped into for more overt political projects in the future. They are reconstructing a racial public imaginary which can serve as the basis for a variety of types of political engagements. Therefore, although it is hard to imagine the white-nationalist movement gaining a national political presence, the increasing

membership numbers on Stormfront promises the continued presence of dispersed racial conflict and potential violence.

The tactical mobilization of racial sentiments on Stormfront gives us caution about the continued existence of nationalist imaginaries even through new media communications that provide the possibility for liberatory politics and imaginaries. This continuation of nationalist sentiments and subjectivities should challenge our thinking about political agency as it is expressed through various political engagements, including tactical media. Political agency shapes our civic engagements; agency and the subjective attachments that spur agency are thus a site, *the* site, of the protection or destabilization of power, even if it is machinations of power which structure our subjective identities. Democratic potential depends on “constructing new locations of struggle, vocabularies, and subject positions that allow people in a wide variety of public spheres to become more than they are now.”<sup>35</sup> Racism and its nationalist practices have historically functioned to construct publics that rest on exclusionary imagined communities that preclude the possibility of political engagement with other publics. Successful democratic politics rests on our ability to construct nonexclusionary publics. This can only be accomplished by addressing the political passions that move people and by thinking through tactical interventions that allow people to question and subvert power.

Such questions about race, passions, agency, and media mobilizations rarely emerge in new media theory. While the trend in cyber-studies literature is to theorize the Internet as a postracial space, the Internet itself seems to be employed to do the opposite. There is also an incredible lack of applied tactical interventions on the Internet countering the messages of Stormfront and the hundreds of other racist and neo-Nazi Web sites currently in operation. This lack of antiracist theory and practice, in contradistinction to the organizing savvy of the white-nationalist movement, leave the playingfield of cyberspace tilted toward the success of conservative and white-supremacist organizing. To counter this tendency we must ground our political analysis with an understanding of how people are making sense of their identities and positions and the political possibilities which stem from them.

The Internet holds huge sway over how future politics and race relations will unfold. In our increasingly globalized, interconnected, and diverse world, the hope is that cyberspace will be a place where the centuries-old prejudices that have kept communities apart can finally be breached. The reality, sadly, is that currently the supremacists are winning this race for the future, although my hope is that we can reverse this trend.

Beyond the specific fears of increased white nationalist organizing, this analysis provides two cautions to theorizing tactical media and political mobilizations more generally. The first is on the role of passions in motivating political engagements and the historical-cultural influences or interpellations which can be understood as entrenched in affective life. Tied to this is the need to link studies of political mobili-

zations to imaginaries that are drawn on, changed, and constituted through political practice. While the imagination can function ideologically, creating an illusion of political participation while sustaining practices that fail to impact the political realm, we should not discount the workings of the imagination in political life. While it is tactical practices that create political change, practices themselves are spurred by a combination of affect, imagination, and relations, to political ideologies, movements, organizations, or the like. Part of the work of the imagination is in constructing the public or political realm that one's practices seek to change and to which *one belongs*. The construction of an imagined community not only provides the basis and frame for political action but simultaneously provides the needed sense of belonging to a social collective or community. Imagined communities thus provide both political and social purposes. They also inspire great significant emotional attachments. One Stormfront member's signature quote demonstrates the significance of affect in white nationalism in a quote attributed to Hitler: "The doom of a nation can be averted only by a storm of flowing passion, but only those who are passionate themselves can arouse passion in others."<sup>36</sup> This desire for and valorization of imagined communities is a political act in defining who belongs within and who remains outside.

New and tactical media, in tandem and often in opposition to old media, work not only to engage in official political processes, but also to create the illusion of a community of belonging. It is my argument that such shaping of the imagination is a political project. Stemming from this is a challenge to our understanding of the goals of prodemocratic, liberatory, tactical, and political interventions. While the difficult political work is to tactically interject and work to change political processes (the United States will not simply end its Iraq war because enough people desire it, but when they demand it), tactical interventions that change, free, or expand the imagination should be seen as part of the political realm. While stirring residual sentimental attachments has proven so successful for conservative movements, can we progressives learn to broaden our political tactics through a recognition that political identities are based as much on passion and affect as on rational intent? What would progressive political tactics look like that focused on mobilizing affect and responding to our needs for group identity and community? Our ability to mobilize emergent identities and imaginaries of inclusion will certainly determine the possibilities of our political futures. To move beyond exclusive imaginaries of race we have to challenge racism and its structuring role in our on- and off-line identities, communities, and political affinities.

## Notes

1. Lisa Nakamura, *Cybertypes: Race, Ethnicity, and Identity on the Internet* (Routledge: New York and London, 2002), xi.

2. Kolko, B., L. Nakamura, and G. Rodman, "Race in Cyberspace: An Introduction," in *Race in Cyberspace*, ed. B. Kolko, L. Nakamura, and G. Rodman (New York and London: Routledge, 2000), 4.
3. Quoted in Carol M. Swain and Russ Nieli, *Contemporary Voices of White Nationalism in America* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), 161.
4. Ibid.
5. Charles A. Lindbergh, "How Did It Start for You?" 20 July 2004, <http://www.stormfront.org/forum/showthread.php/did-start-you-127184p5.html?highlight=How+did+it+start+for+you>.
6. Don Black, "Guidelines for Posting," 26 October 2001, <http://www.stormfront.org/forum/showthread.php/welcome-guidelines-posting-4359.html>.
7. Hitler quoted in Claudia Koonz, *The Nazi Conscience* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 18. Koonz traces how, although violent anti-Semitism remained central to Hitler's ideology throughout his political career, as a strategist he understood that to gain public credibility he must veil the core of this belief until the opportune moment. While his speeches remained focused on saving the *Volk* and were only occasionally peppered with the use of "Jew" as an epithet, he worked, through academics, scientists, propagandists, and educational programs, to successfully mainstream his radical views.
8. Research staff of *National Vanguard* magazine, "The Alien Grip on Our News and Entertainment Media Must Be Broken: Who Rules America?" 1 July 2001, <http://www.stormfront.org/jewish/whorules.html>.
9. Ibid.
10. Beverly Ray and George E. Marsh II, "Recruitment by Extremist Groups on the Internet," *First Monday*, February 2001, [http://firstmonday.org/issues/issue6\\_2/ray/index.html](http://firstmonday.org/issues/issue6_2/ray/index.html).
11. "Ku Klux Klan Rebounds," Anti-Defamation League reports, 06 February 2007, [http://www.adl.org/learn/ext\\_us/kkk/intro.asp?LEARN\\_Cat=Extremism&LEARN\\_SubCat=Extremism\\_in\\_America&xpicked=4&item=kkk](http://www.adl.org/learn/ext_us/kkk/intro.asp?LEARN_Cat=Extremism&LEARN_SubCat=Extremism_in_America&xpicked=4&item=kkk).
12. "Hate group numbers top 800," *SPLC Report*, March 2006, <http://www.splcenter.org/center/splcreport/article.jsp?aid=187>.
13. See Carol M. Swain, *The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenges to Integration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), and Jessie Daniels, *White Lies: Race, Class, Gender, and Sexuality in White Supremacist Discourse* (New York and London: Routledge, 1997).
14. Nakamura, *Cybertypes*, xii.
15. Mark B. N. Hansen, "Digitizing the Racialized Body or the Politics of Universal Address," *Substance* 104 (vol. 33, no. 2, 2004), 108.
16. Nakamura, *Cybertypes*, xv.

17. T. McPherson, "I'll Take My Stand in Dixieland," in *Race in Cyberspace*, ed. B. Kolko, L. Nakamura, and G. Rodman (New York and London: Routledge, 2000), 119.
18. Ibid.
19. P. Agre, quoted in Wilson and Peterson 2002, p. 451.
20. Wilson and Peterson 2002, p. 456.
21. Jeff R. Crump, "Producing and Enforcing the Geography of Hate: Race, Housing Segregation, and Housing-Related Hate Crimes in the United States," in *Spaces of Hate: Geographies of Discrimination and Intolerance in the U.S.A.*, ed. Colin Flint (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 227.
22. Nancy K. Baym, "The Emergence of On-Line Community," in *Cybersociety 2.0*, ed. Steven Jones (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications), 38.
23. Mark Poster, "Virtual Ethnicity," in *What's the Matter with the Internet?* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 148–170.
24. Mark B. N. Hansen, "Digitizing the Racialized Body or The Politics of Universal Address," *Substance* 104 (vol. 33, no. 2, 2004), 107–133.
25. See G. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe* (Madison and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988).
26. Etienne Balibar, "The Nation Form: History and Ideology," in *Race Critical Theories*, ed. Philomena Essed and David Theo Goldberg (London: Blackwell, 2002), 220–230.
27. Ibid, 221.
28. Ibid, 222.
29. Schmitt, quoted in Mouffe 2002, p. 6.
30. Though talking about "society" and not the public, Michele Foucault makes a similar point in his lectures published in *Society Must be Defended*. There he articulates the role of race as traditionally serving to secure the notion of the society through its protections from the imagined threats of racial outsiders. See, "*Society Must be Defended*": *Lectures at the College de France, 1975–76* (New York: Picador, 1997).
31. Wildcat01, "Stormfront should be shutdown for good," 5 April 2007, <http://www.stormfront.org/forum/showthread.php/stormfront-should-shutdown-good-378009.html?t=378009&highlight=stormfront+should+be+shutdown+for+good>.
32. WhiteEnglishRocker, "Re: stormfront should be shutdown for good," 5 April 2007, <http://www.stormfront.org/forum/showthread.php/stormfront-should-shutdown-good-378009.html?t=378009&highlight=stormfront+should+be+shutdown+for+good>.
33. Canadian Caucasian, "Re: stormfront should be shutdown for good," 5 April 2007, <http://www.stormfront.org/forum/showthread.php/stormfront-should-shutdown-good-378009.html?t=378009&highlight=stormfront+should+be+shutdown+for+good>.

34. Carol M. Swain, *The New White Nationalism in America: Its Challenges to Integration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 338.

35. Ibid, 132.

36. Nailedn2place, "Re: Tales of the Holocaust," 19 January 2007, <http://www.stormfront.org/forum/showthread.php/tales-holocaust-354283.html?p=3811779>.

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