

“So Much for Darwin” An Analysis of Stormfront Discussions on Race

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ABSTRACT

Even though people who actively participate in the white nationalist movement appear to be a relatively small percentage of the global population, it appears that racist and anti-Semitic attitudes continue to inform a new generation of white nationalists, many of whom populate discussion forums on Stormfront, online since 1995 and billed as the first Internet site in the hate genre. Membership in extremist groups and support for sites like Stormfront embody specific attitudes about race, the importance of the existence of biological races, intellectual superiority of whites, and justification for these beliefs that is sometimes framed with a religious perspective such as Christian Identity. This project is based on a content analysis of Stormfront discussion forums posted online between the years 2010 and 2017. The findings indicate that some discussants are willing to admit the existence of small percentages of mixed DNA without giving up their white identity. They understand the concept of mass migration and human breeding patterns. Others stand ready to argue these points and discredit DNA testing whenever possible. Hatred of Jews is a recurrent theme throughout Stormfront forums, no matter the topic of discussion and both William Pierce and Wesley Swift are gaining currency with younger discussants on the site. Additionally and maybe most importantly, a mentoring system is in place where more mature and seasoned white racialists share race science anecdotes and articles from J. Philippe Rushton and Arthur Jensen, among others. They also provide information and answer questions about Christian Identity ideology in an effort to build bridges from one generation of racists to the next.

Key words: white nationalism; white racial identity; white supremacy; Christian Identity

INTRODUCTION

The white nationalist movement, also known as the white power movement and the white supremacist movement, is an extreme right wing

social movement that has ties to the United States, Canada, Australia, and countries in Europe that include Germany, France, and England (Dobratz & Waldner, 2016). A characteristic of the movement is a collective sense of superiority based on race and many people who identify with the movement communicate and commiserate online in spaces such as Stormfront, the focus of this study. Billed as a community of white nationalists, Stormfront is home to four divisions of the movement identified by Simi and Futrell (2015) that include the Ku Klux Klan, Christian Identity, neo-Nazis, and racist skinheads along with curiosity seekers, the occasional anti-racist, and others who analyze its content for research purposes (p. 6). Since the site is international in scope it attracts discussants who have hate speech laws in their own countries that prohibit them from engaging in racist rhetoric one finds in discussion forums on Stormfront. In 2017 after the deadly events in Charlottesville, Virginia the *Stormfront.org* name was blocked by web-hosting company Network Solutions following complaints from consumers that it promotes hateful rhetoric and incites violence (Reeves, 2017).

As of this writing, the site is still online although not as active as it once was according to white racial activist and Klansman Billy Roper (personal communication, September 24, 2018). The site's founder, Don Black is in ill health and his son, Derek, has publicly renounced white nationalism altogether (Saslow, 2016). There is also online competition for the white nationalist market from sites such as the Shieldwall Network and regional sites such as League of the South, among others; therefore, long term prospects for Stormfront are open for debate. However, whether Stormfront stays online is not the issue here. The propaganda housed in Stormfront is readily available to anyone with Internet access or direct ties to the white nationalist movement. The work of Wesley Swift, William Pierce, and race scientists J. Philippe Rushton and Arthur Jensen (all deceased) influence people in the movement beyond the Stormfront community and their ideas will be discussed in this paper.

Regardless the controversy surrounding Stormfront, the site is a treasure trove of information that has chronicled the evolution of the white supremacist movement in the United States since the site's founding in 1995. Authors including Bowman-Grieve (2009), Brown (2009), De Koster and Houtman (2008), Meddaugh and Kay (2009), and Weatherby and Scoggins (2005/2006) have mined Stormfront for data and thus contributed to literature about white nationalist rhetoric and ideology over the years. This paper presents an analysis of seven Stormfront discussion forums. Findings reveal that older discussants act as guides for younger white nationalists who interact in blog style discussions and, in some instances, post and participate in non-scientific polls. With indoctrination as a goal, potential recruits are introduced to the writings of Pierce, Swift, Rushton,

and Jensen whose words resonate in white nationalist circles; even from the grave.

CONCERNING THE WHITE RACE

The literature framing this paper is not a review of scholarly work on race and white nationalism, but rather an overview of writings by Swift, Pierce, Rushton, and Jensen. Their racially inflammatory rhetoric, contained in pamphlets, books, and even scholarly articles, continues to resonate with both seasoned veterans of the white nationalist movement and its newest recruits. Within the ideological world of Christian Identity, an extremist religion associated with the white supremacist movement, adherents argue that both traditional and evangelical Christianity overlook fundamental, fixed differences between human groups. They agree with more mainstream fundamentalist Christians that America was founded as a Christian nation and uncontrolled immigration along with declining morals and religious malaise is threatening the original covenant made by the founding fathers with God (Douthat, 2012, p. 42). Much less politically correct than evangelicals Franklin Graham and Pat Buchanan, Christian Identists believe that equality in all its manifestations is a myth that has been propagated by a church that is languishing in denial about the existence of inherited racial differences among human groups. Much of contemporary Christian Identity ideology is indebted to interpretations of the Bible by racist theologian, Wesley A. Swift.

A significant American religious and political figure during the 1940s and 1950s, Swift combined British-Israelism, anti-Semitism, and Ku Klux Klan inspired beliefs about race to produce a non-denominational apocalyptic heresy. He founded his own church, the Church of Jesus Christ Christian in Los Angeles, California somewhere around 1945 (Ridgeway, 1990, p. 15). At one point he also had congregations in San Francisco, Oakland, Lancaster, Riverside, Hollywood and San Diego. A combination of hell fire and brimstone sermons peppered with racist epithets and nativist rhetoric became his signature brand of preaching. He warned his followers to beware of mainstream Christian ministers who were nothing more than false prophets, in part, due to their support for religious revivalism and unification following World War II (Milwicki, 2014/2015).

Pre-millennialist Identity preachers count on the final battle between good and evil (in the guise of a race war) to be waged in North America. Additionally, Christian Identists firmly believe that Jesus and his disciples were white skinned Israelites and not Jews (White, 1989, p. 12). Swift's theology is an example of ways in which Christian Identity dogma justifies separation of races based on perceived intractable inherent differences. His

writings and sermons continue to influence contemporary Christian Identity ministers such as Thom Robb of Zinc, Arkansas and Robert G. Millar of Elohim Village, Oklahoma along with followers of the late Mark Downey, a protégé of Robb's. Christian Identity dogma states that the most important human traits are inborn and immutable, justifying the existence of a racial hierarchy with the white race at the top.

The Immanent Consciousness of William Pierce

The late William Pierce, founder of the neo-Nazi group, National Alliance, was born in 1933 in Atlanta, Georgia. According to Zeskind (2009), Pierce became fixated on the preservation of white genes during an era he perceived as one steeped in "racial decay" brought about by integration along with a breakdown in traditional gender roles that, in his opinion, would eventually destroy white families (p. 66). An avid student of Hitler's brand of National Socialism, Pierce believed that genetics explained racial differences (Griffin, 2001). In his condemnation of organized religious institutions, he argued vociferously that they were inadequate in meeting the needs of northern Europeans due, in part, to a lack of racial awareness among both ministers and parishioners.

During the late 1970s and early 1980s when Pierce was at his peak, white racial consciousness was a cornerstone for collective activities organized by Pastor Richard Butler of the Aryan Nations, Henry Beach of Posse Comitatus, and various neo-Nazi and skinhead groups (Ridgeway, 1990). Fully aware of what was happening within the broader movement, Pierce was more interested in attracting racially aware middle class college students than the rough and tumble crowd, who in his opinion, populated other less acceptable extremist groups of his time. His interest in cultivating an intelligent, resurgent white racial community was a focus of recruitment strategies during his years as head of the National Alliance. In reality, middle class recruits were few and many of his members were either skinheads or drifters in search of a temporary home (Billy Roper, personal communication, August 9, 2009).

In an attempt to offer an alternative to both mainstream and Christian Identity religious perspectives, Pierce developed "Cosmotheism". One of his goals with this theory was to formulate a verifiable reason about why humans were created and what their role was to be in the broader cosmic world. His religion rejected all supernatural communications between God and man. An atheist in real life, his scientific education informed his interpretation of evolution. He also realized that many people depend on some sort of religion to anchor their lives and the establishment of a church might help him with his annual tax debt. With that, Pierce founded the Cos-

motheist Community Church based on the tenets of white racial pride, racial separation, and establishing universal understanding and acknowledgement of the superiority of persons of northern European lineage.

Cosmotheism was only one aspect of Pierce's philosophy. He was virulently anti-Semitic and according to Zeskind (2009) no one joined the National Alliance without a full understanding that Jews were the number one enemy to white cultural strength (p. 472). Pierce formulated much of his philosophy based on readings by and about Hitler. According to Pierce's biographer, Robert S. Griffin (2001), Hitler was responsible for five major influences on Pierce's belief system that included: 1) developing a collective ideological identity based on race; 2) establishing genetic reasons for racial differences; 3) identification of Jews as the enemy; 4) legitimization of Jews as the enemy; and 5) aggressive promotion of white culture and historical contributions to future generations (p. 82).

The Whisper of the Genes¹

The work of two controversial psychologists, Arthur Jensen and J. Philippe Rushton, confirm for many people in the white nationalist movement that genes matter and blacks do not achieve at the same level when compared to whites and Asians (Duke, 2000, p. 132). Their work has also elicited criticism from the scientific community for years. With regard to Jensen, critics argue that his model of race is based solely on evolutionary misconceptions (Richardson, 1999). Fancher (1999) suggested that Jensen consistently failed to mention connections between the origins of intelligence testing and eugenics. Jensen also incurred the wrath of anthropologist, C. Loring Brace (1999), who reminded readers that races have no biological coherence. Additionally, French social scientist, Paul J. M. Jorion (1999) argued that Jensen never successfully established his claims regarding the existence of an 18 point lag between the average IQ score for American blacks when compared to American whites.

When evaluating black and white students, Jensen suggested achievement differentials might be rooted in inherent genetic racial differences. He went on to state that there are two specific types of learning ability; Level I entails the retention of facts and Level II represents general intelligence properties. His published findings revealed, after administration of IQ tests to diverse groups, that Level I ability was fairly consistent across all races. However, Jensen's examination of Level II ability varied across races with whites scoring higher than blacks and Asians scoring higher than both whites and blacks (1969). Labeled a racist by some and a misunderstood genius by others, Jensen's work is widely cited by leaders in the white supremacist movement who believe that whites are inherently superior to

other racial groups (Duke, 2000, pp. 47, 60-61; Robertson, 1981, pp. 18, 23).

The late J. Philippe Rushton also ruffled many academic feathers with his claims that there is a highly consistent pattern of intellectual and behavioral differences among the three major races and that these differences cannot be explained away by environmental factors. Rushton (1994) hypothesized that when modern humans migrated out of Africa, the colder Eurasian climate selected for larger brains and advanced parenting skills among other things. He also tinkered with the idea that there is an evolutionary basis for ethnocentrism since, according to his theory, humans (along with other species) recognize, prefer, invest in, and grieve for others who share similar genes (Rushton, 2005). In other words, altruism toward kin and similar others is what enables a species to survive – through shared genes.

Rushton's theory that racial group differences are influenced primarily by genes added fuel to the fire of racialist interpretations of the Bible in Christian Identity circles and on hate related Internet Web sites such as Stormfront. Using the Eysenck Personality Questionnaire, Rushton (1985) averaged the results across 25 countries in an attempt to compare temperament and personality traits among white, black, and Asian samples. His published findings supported the theory that blacks are more aggressive, impulsive and excitable than either whites or Asians. With regard to sexuality, Rushton and Bogaert (1987) argued that the same patterns can be found with regard to reproductive or sexual restraint. Their study found that blacks had more sexual partners, more permissive attitudes toward sex, and less control over sexual behavior than did whites and Asians. Additionally Rushton (1990) found that from 1983 to 1986, Eastern and European countries reported less incidences of rape, murder, and assault than did African and Caribbean countries with no accounting for ongoing wars and other civil disturbances in comparative statistical analyses. Rushton's and Jensen's work on intelligence and race differences marked both men as contributors to white nationalist racialist rhetoric that exists to this day.

METHODS

Stormfront was initially a private dial-in bulletin board developed by former Klansman Don Black to accommodate supporters and staff of the David Duke for Louisiana Senate Campaign in the early 1990s (Rose, 1992, p. 50). In March 1995, *Stormfront.org* became the first fully online white nationalist Internet website (Zeskind, 2009, p. 451). Users become members at different levels and those who want to gain access to private discussions and start polls, blogs, and/or discussions pay an annual fee to Don

Black, the site administrator. According to archived profiles some users have been members since 1995, the year Stormfront officially came online. Table 1 reflects the demographic profiles of discussants who posted comments cited in this study.

This study consists of an interpretive analysis of discussions based on years of work in the field with people who identify as white nationalist and who represent many different groups in the movement. Posts were selected based on relevance sampling (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 120), whereby discussants state their opinions, ask questions, and argue with each other regarding specific topics such as race, hatred of Jews, and Christian Identity. This type of sampling technique works well for a content analysis of a site such as Stormfront because it is not meant to be totally representative of the whole population of texts. As Krippendorff (2004) proposes, focusing on specific content guided by research questions helps to weed out irrelevant and/or redundant details from the analysis.

TABLE 1: STORMFRONT DEMOGRAPHICS*

	Female	Male	Unknown
Gender	24 (10%)	209 (89%)	2 (.8%)
	US	International	Unknown
Location	144 (61%)	63 (27%)	28 (12%)

N = 235 *Based on analysis of seven discussion forums

Regarding privacy issues, there continues to be debate about whether online posts to sites such as Stormfront are public or private (Eysenbach & Till, 2001; Paccagnella, 1997). However, most, but not all, members of the Stormfront community use pseudonyms rather than their real names. According to Eysenbach and Till (2001) if a discussion contains 10 or fewer posts, the argument can be made that informed consent might be necessary (p. 1104). Thus, in this study no discussion forums were included in the analysis that had fewer than 15 discussants and 30 posts. The Stormfront search engine was used initially to narrow the list to a manageable number that answered one or more of the research questions. It should be noted that analysis of the Stormfront Internet site is limited in its focus due to the nature of convenience sampling. Additionally, it is impossible to verify the identity of discussants that use pseudonyms rather than their real names. It is not always easy to identify where the discussants are from or whether they are male or female. The Community feature of the site pro-

vides a minimum of details regarding gender and physical location of members. Further information can also be gleaned from reading discussant posts in other forums and the author is also familiar with many Stormfront discussants based on years of analyzing forums throughout the site. However, findings cannot be generalized or considered directly representative of the broader population of people who identify in some way with the white nationalist movement. The following research questions form the basis of analysis for this study:

- Why are so many Stormfront users preoccupied with hatred of Jews?
- How do Stormfront users deal with the science of DNA and racial identity?
- Why are racial origins so important to discussants on Stormfront?
- How do Stormfront discussants feel about IQ testing and genetic profiling?
- In what ways, if any, does Christian Identity resonate with young white racists?

The Stormfront discussions analyzed in this paper are listed in Appendix A.

FINDINGS

The first sub-forum analyzed for this paper, “Cosmotheist Ideology/Philosophy” (<https://www.stormfront.org/forum/t1086261/>) was started on January 31, 2015 at 8:23 a.m. by discussant *Will Williams*:

This topic is for expression of Dr. William Pierce’s Nietzschean world view. Articles by him will be posted here as well as links to the National Alliance’s American Dissident Voices broadcasts which follow the Founder’s Cosmotheist teachings.

On April 4, 2015, *Williams* posts a transcript of one of Pierce’s broadcasts.

SINCE THE “Who We Are” series began appearing in National Vanguard magazine, the National Office has been receiving complaints from subscribers who are unhappy because the account of man’s origins given there doesn’t jibe with the Jewish account in the Book of Genesis.

Some readers have sent curt notes, such as, “You evidently don’t believe in the Bible. Don’t you know that evolution is the work of Satan? Cancel my subscription immediately!” Others have been more patient, explain-

ing either that (a) the first White people were placed on earth via flying saucer somewhere around 7,000 years ago, or that (b) the Creation occurred as described in Genesis, but Adam and Eve were Whites, not Jews, and that the people of the Old Testament eventually migrated to northern Europe and were the ancestors of the European race.

Complaints were definitely in the minority, with most readers indicating an approval of the race-history article, but there was no intention of offending any of our readers' religious sensibilities with the “Who We Are” series. On the other hand, the National Alliance never hesitates to print the truth — even when the truth conflicts with cherished myths. The racial history and prehistory in “Who We Are” are in accord with the presently known facts, whereas the account in the Old Testament and subsequent migrations from Eden to Scandinavia are not.

But the objections to presenting the facts of biological evolution, and our insistence on doing so, go deeper than a quibble over Jewish mythology. Evolution is not just a scientific concept which helps us understand race history; it is an idea which is absolutely fundamental to our whole way of thinking. The doctrine of the National Alliance is based solidly on the evolutionary concept.

The discussion continues with anecdotes about Dr. Pierce's life, encouragement for newcomers to read the writings of Pierce, watch videos of his speeches, and listen to posted recordings of his radio shows. The second forum analyzed for this study was started by discussant *raven alb j* (2013) who asked the question “How intelligent are the Jews?” (<https://www.stormfront.org/forum/t987183/>). The first response came from *folk abovedogma* (2013):

The jew's intellectual qualities were developed in the course of centuries. today we think him “cunning”, and in a certain sense it was the same at every epoch. But his intellectual capacity is not the result of personal development, but of education by foreigners.

Thus since the jew never possessed a culture of his own, the basis of his intellectual activity have always been supplied by others. His intellect has in all periods been developed by contact with surrounding civilisations. Never the opposite.

Later that morning *VstheModernWorld* (2013) had this to say:

The Jew is a very intelligent being who specializes in understanding the human psyche. He uses and abuses this power he has gained through centuries of observing host civilizations, to drain them dry and ultimately enslave them.

The average Aryan cannot match the cunning-ness of the Jew. So, the task is up to the spiritual elite of our folk (Men like Hitler and dr. Goebels come to mind), to fully comprehend the Jewish nature and to guide the misguided mass against them, ultimately destroying them.

A discussant called *DefiantYoungWhiteMale* (2013) added more to the conversation:

When you listen to some of the Jewiest of Jews speak such as Ben Shalom Bernanke, Ariel Sharon, any Jewish media boss, ect. .you can see they are rather full of s***. I can see right through the deception as they dance around the truth of matters. They aren't anything special intelligence wise. Calculating, deceptive, manipulative, hateful, and so fourth does not equal intelligence. They just focus all their energy toward evil and ugliness.

Discussion number three in this analysis was started by *philojones* (2016) and titled "Who is White? DNA Tests Messing with Peoples Minds" (<https://www.stormfront.org/forum/t1186734/>). It begins with the following anecdote:

I have a friend in North Dakota who is a big nationalist and CI lay preacher. Nothing wrong with him. Great guy. . . .give the shirt off his back. He went and had a DNA test done (I think it is called 23andme) for his whole family: him/wife/parents. So it come back with something like this: 70% Scandinavian; 25% British/Irish; 3.5% Eastern European; 1% East Asian; 0.2% Askenazi; 0.3% Unidentified

This came through his Mom cause she has more of it than him. The Dad shows nothing but European. But no one thinks there has even been any exposure to these other races. Whatever the case, he's all worried about it and downcast. I just told him that he has the law on his heart and now he's all worried about it. So I thought I'd get on here and see if anyone has any advice.

Later that same day, *Ruthless* posted the following response:

Has anyone else noticed something off about all of the people posting DNA test results online? Not necessarily Stormfront, but anywhere. Even in the commercials. It seems as though everyone is mixed with a little of everything under the sun. We can see this as the Jews way to manipulate people into thinking they are something they are not and so therefore can't "hate" the other races.

When I read something online by a former Black Panther who hated Jews because he knew they brought the slaves here. Then he takes a DNA test

and is conveniently 2% Jewish so now he is no longer a Black Panther and doesn't hate the Jews because he is “part Jewish”. It's so obvious it's a scam. Maybe not to a low IQ black, but to intelligent whites out there it should be obvious this is bull.

On November 20, 2016 *denki* had this to say:

Honestly, if you're caught up on being .1% ashkenazi you need to stop. What is he going to do now? “Oh no I'm a full blown Jew, I have to wear a prayer shawl and never breed again lest I poison someone else with my mixed race!” What the hell kind of garbage is that. If you judge whites by the 2% of east asian blood that slipped in ten generations ago, then none of us are white and the WN movement should cease to exist.

On April 13, 2017 *Defender1512* started the fourth discussion in this analysis titled “Origins of the White race?” (<https://www.stormfront.org/forum/t1207524/>). A female discussant called *Londinstan* (2017) posted the following response:

I think if anything, the original whites (maybe proto-european groups) were the ‘Elohim’ that taught the ‘modern’ white tribes how to live after they were kicked out of ‘Eden’ and fell. The Bible reads to me as a very old history book and a lesson against race-mixing and how it led to the downfall of our kind. The earlier white groups were wiped out in the flood (perhaps the end of the ice age era that they had adapted to live in) and we were the remaining genetic remnants of that original white race (now known as the 12 tribes of Israel). There are various descriptions of the Elohim in the cannon and non-cannon Bible books (and ancient writings/myths from elsewhere) that describe giant, white skinned (also red head) advanced people that lived in the world.

Following a long series of snarky comments back and forth about the origin of white people, *Crusader2008* (2017) stated:

I am more concerned with the muslim invasion of Europe and other white nations. More so than I am with where someones 1,500th Great Grandfather came from.

As this discussion came to an end, *Ascension* (2017) summed things up:

In my understanding whites originated in west and northern Europe which whites then evolved into pagan tribes until it reached Saxon and Viking era which settled in around Europe. Then Christianity came from the east and hindered a lot of ancient white religion and culture such as paganism

which was prosecuted as witchcraft and sorcery. Christianity brought a fair amount of ideals, morals, conservatism and contribution to European civilization but is not the true heritage and beliefs of ancient ethnic whites. It is also possible that whites may have descended from some sort of advanced human civilization along the lines of Atlantis or lost Nordic Civilizations.

The fifth discussion, "IQ Based Breeding" (<https://www.stormfront.org/forumt1212040/>), was started by *AmericaFree* (2017) and begins with the following statement:

I've always felt that for this planet to reach a more Utopian like state it's important to raise the average IQ. These Jew Supremacists seem to be trying to do the opposite in order to create a low IQ slave planet that they rule over.

People with IQ's below 85 should be sterilized- This was once considered retarded. People with these low IQ's are mainly just capable to simple manual labor tasks and many of these jobs have been replaced by machines. The majority of negros, people living on social programs, and people in prison have these low IQ's. They're more prone to violence and typically make very poor parents.

People with IQ's 85-90 should be limited to one kid. Unless they have a history of violence then they should be sterilized- This would be our manual labor class. You need an average IQ of 90 to have a civilized nation so its important to limit the reproduction of low IQ people.

People with IQs 90-100 should be limited to 2 kids- Unless they have an exception beneficial talent; mechanical, inventive, constructive, artist, etc or exceptional beauty then they should be allowed to have unlimited kids.

People with IQ's 100-130 should be allowed to have as many kids as they wish- Societies with average IQ's above 100 tend to be very civilized, productive, and safe. Like Scandinavian countries before mass 3rd world immigration.

People with genius level IQ's 130+ should be incentivised to have a lot of kids- People who are great inventors and highly beneficial to the progress of society should be paid and receive free housing to have lots of kids (opposite of our current welfare system). Just imagine if men like Nikola Tesla had 10 kids. These geniuses could benefit society in so many ways.

The following day discussant, *I am Ireland* (2017), responded:

Yeah so much for Darwin.

Procreation in the natural world seems to be determined by availability of resources specifically food and shelter when abundant the species multiplies if the resources dwindle the surplus dies off. . . .that’s the way it’s supposed to work.

In the western human world we have artificially stimulated the resource end of the equation leading to an overabundance of inferior species. The superior species must work twice as hard at acquisition of resources in order to support the substandard and are less inclined at procreating themselves.

In other words white people don’t want to expend the resources necessary to have multiple children. . . . The more educated and higher IQ the more prevalent this thought is and since we are no longer an agricultural society it seems less necessary.

“What Are The Strongest Scientific Arguments That Race Is More Than A Social Construct” (<https://www.stormfrnt.org/forum/f72/>) is the sixth discussion included in this analysis. A discussant called *Timberwulf* (2013) asked the following questions:

. . . So here are my questions: What is the strongest scientific evidence (not just, “use your eyes” arguments) available supporting the idea of biological races? If you were in a debate with a modern day PC biologist, anthropologist, or geneticist, what would your best empirical arguments be in favor of race? Also, can you tell me the names of the scientists from the past whose work contributed the most to the concept of race, and the names of the scientists still alive today who support the idea of race contrary to popular opinion. . . .

Later in the discussion he² clarifies the original question:

How would you define a White person in scientific terms? What are the exact genetic markers (genes) one must have to be a “White person”?

If we can’t answer this then we’re in big trouble, because the scientific community, while recognizing differences in an individuals phenotype (outward appearance), treat it as a superficial difference, and that in terms of personality, mental abilities, and physicality, we’re all the same. Our people are responsible for modern civilization as we know it. There has to be a specific genetic factor that explains how we were able to accomplish this.

As the discussion came to an end, *quaere* posted a lengthy response on February 7, 2013. A pared down version, minus many outside links, follows:

Silly Utopians are always taking “snapshots” to define something. For instance, I just read an article by a black harvard professor, who believes [race] is a social construct. One of the reasons is that we are supposedly 99.9% the same genetically. They often cite- “We’re all african underneath the skin,” as an explanation. It’s easy to see, that even with their entire background being in science, that they’ve just decided to willfully ignore the larger perspective, to take a “snapshot” in time.

Basically the proof in genetics, is the very small demonstrations that align themselves with completely understood divergent branching. The masses and self validating negress professors, however, don’t want to look at the “album,” they just want to photoshop a picture here, or picture there.

The final discussion, “Thinking of becoming CI” (<https://www.stormfront.org/forum/f84/>), began with a post by *Define Normal* (2010) who had questions about Christian Identity. During the course of the discussion, Christian Identity is touted as superior to other religions because of its focus on the racial superiority of whites. Some discussants warned that he may have trouble convincing his wife to leave her mainstream church if he decides to become a Christian Identist. There were also posts in the forum from people inquiring about where to find Christian Identity congregations where they live. *Sam Reeves*³ (2010) clarified the links between CI and white supremacy:

I don’t believe a person can be CI and not also be a White Supremest. Now supposedly that label means a White person that intends to enslave non-Whites. I’ve seen folks here at Stormfront run with that definition. In all reality “White Supremest” is an oxymoron. It should be obvious that Whites are at the top of the food chain. The reason a White Christian should be a White Supremest is because a White Christian, especially a Cler is because White folks were created in God’s own image. Therefore we are superior to all and are honor bound to hold that position like a jealous house wife.

Unfortunately you will always run into the “Jesus loves everybody” crowd but the Jewish question is always solved by a White Supremest by who did God model Adam after. Judaism and Christianity are not compatible and proof of this is in their own book the Talmud. The Talmud is a playbook on how the rip everybody else off. A CI church will only be a gathering of Adamites. Jew need not apply anymore than a negro should.

Cheimon (2010) shared the following comment in his community profile, “Christian Identity is the belief that the Jews have usurped the identity and heritage of the white race. We believe that Europeans, not the Jews, are the true Chosen of the one and only God, and that Jesus came only for our

people." Another discussant, *Fenric* (2010) cites Wesley Swift: "The man with greater spiritual guidance, greater intellectual ability and adaptivity to the universe (created by God) is the individual destined to survive."

DISCUSSION

Gender is a factor when it comes to analyzing posts in Stormfront forums. Of 235 discussants in this analysis, only 24 or 10% were female. Dentice and Bugg (2014/2015) also found that most people who actively participate in discussions on Stormfront are young, with an average age of 32. Even though many of the discussions on the site turn into verbal brawls and deteriorate into name calling, some Stormfront users appear to have exposure to higher education. For that reason they are able to articulate arguments about race and politics with some basic skill. Those of us who use the Stormfront site to gather data also realize that in addition to actively engaged members, there are others who are labeled trolls and enter or even start discussions meant to result in confrontation. There is a lot of noise on Stormfront. With that said, social researchers who have the stomach for it can glean important information about who makes up the online community in terms of demographics. The site also has value for tracking extremist attitudes about topics on race, immigration, and politics.

In trying to tease out an answer to the first question regarding hatred of Jews, it appears that anti-Semitic attitudes crop up in Stormfront forums time and time again. Even though not all Stormfronters who participated in the first discussion about Cosmotheism were familiar with its creator, William Pierce, it could be argued that they are, in fact, influenced by his ideological legacy without being aware of it. It has been 14 years since Pierce died and his group, National Alliance, foundered. *Will Williams* (2015), the man who started the discussion appears to be trying to revive interest in Pierce, an avowed anti-Semite who considered Jews to be the greatest single threat to white culture globally. Many discussants were receptive to learning more about William Pierce and his contributions to white nationalism. One must assume that many of these discussants are young and perhaps born after Pierce died. One must also remember that sites such as Stormfront are places where individuals can go to learn more about the movement, exchange ideas and learn from older members who are trying to recruit, sell books and other items, and spread the word to a new generation of white racial activists.

Again, senior members of the site often take the lead in starting anti-Jewish threads. For instance, the individual who started the second forum in this analysis is an author and Romanian immigrant, *raven alb j* (2013). His question about how intelligent are the Jews resulted in long drawn out

discussions about IQ testing and its validity. A discussant called *Hume Laws* (2013) suggested that most whites will never oppose Jewish supremacy because Jesus was a Jew. Eventually *vikingcelt* (2013), another long term Stormfront supporter with 37,271 total posts, reminded everyone that Jesus was a Galilean, not a Jew. *Vingthor* (2013), also weighed in on the Jesus question stating that Jesus preached against the Jews so he could not possibly have been one. Many posts follow with speculations as to which group has the higher IQ, Jews or whites. The most frequent response was that Jews are not necessarily smarter but they are well organized and they control financial holdings and even more importantly, the media.

The second research question in this study asks how Stormfronters deal with the science of DNA and racial identity. A female discussant called *EmmaOberheuser* (2016) dismissed DNA testing as left wing propaganda aimed at peddling anti-white ideas to the general public. *European Traveler* (2016) commented that even if one or two percent Asian or black DNA shows up in his family line, he is still white. Among other forum participants was a member from Great Britain, *lord flints volunteer* (2016), who has logged over 10,000 posts. He warned fellow discussants not to waste money on DNA tests because they are marketed by companies whose goal is to discredit white identity.

Another factor in Stormfront culture is the importance of racial origins, especially for white people. Stormfront discussants appear to be active stewards of their own white genes. Discussant *ColdFire* (2017) believes that Aryans are the highest evolved of all humans and other races have never gotten past the animal stage. Based on exposure to Christian Identity ideology, he supports the theory that Aryans descended directly from Adam. Various discussants threw around words such as ‘Semite’, ‘Armenoid’, and ‘haplogroups’ to make points about their knowledge of race evolution. *Anfield* (2017) ends the discussion with a link to a book by William Pierce which documents the evolutionary origins of the white race and ends with a highly critical appraisal of Jewish influence in Europe.

As a general rule, Stormfronters are fans of eugenics and they feel that IQ test scores reveal the superiority of European genetic heritage. A newcomer to the Stormfront community, *USNavySherwin* (2017) claims he has a 150 IQ and attributes that number to his Nordic roots and exposure to classical piano as a child. He believes that people with a low IQ should be sterilized and people with a high IQ should be encouraged to have children. He never gives a number for low IQ and one must assume that if he indeed has an IQ of 150 that he falls into the privileged group. Another discussant in this forum, *AmericaFree* (2017) blames “Jew Supremacists” for efforts to create a low IQ slave nation that they can more easily control. This discussion contains comments from one of four female Stormfronters identified in

this study, *Bellatrix* (2017), who does not support sterilization based on IQ alone even though she does believe that whites with high IQs who are of good moral character should be given incentives to have at least four children.

All of the forums analyzed in this study reveal the Stormfront preoccupation with the importance of biological races. A participant in discussion six on scientific arguments about race was *LionAxe* (2015) who joined Stormfront in 2005 and has logged a total of 8,858 posts. Based on his long term association with the site and his personal profile, has identified as male, Swedish, and makes his living as a steelworker. He encourages novice users by posting links to other sites in order to help them build a portfolio of racial discourse. He also appears to have read much of what he recommends to his comrades in arms. Some of his favorite books include: 1) Madison Grant's (2012) *The Passing of the Great Race*; 2) *Race, Genetics and Society* by Glayde Whitney (Lamb, 2002); and 3) *Race, Evolution, and Behavior* by J. Philippe Rushton (2000). In many other discussion forums throughout the site, it is easy to spot potential mentors for the next generation who have profiles similar to that of *LionAxe*. Senior members, some of whom are moderators, are versed in aspects of race science and consistently refer to the work of J. Philippe Rushton and Arthur Jensen, among others.

The final research question concerned the ways in which Christian Identity might resonate with young white racists. First of all, not all white nationalists are Christian Identists but they tend to be collectively racist and anti-Semitic. Discussants who posted in the “Thinking of becoming CI” forum either wanted to know more about the perspective, others wanted to critique it, and a few of the more seasoned members of the forum clarified its tenets for potential converts. Mark Downey, the late Christian Identity minister, once had a presence online in Stormfront as *kludd*. His church web site, Kinsman Redeemer Ministries, is still active and suggests that accusations of racism are perpetrated by liberals and anti-racist activists in their war against the white race. Much of this same rhetoric is found in Stormfront forums that have nothing to do with religion or Christian Identity. It is difficult to know how much of an influence Christian Identity dogma will have on future generations but many of the posts revealed that a religious perspective so linked to white racial superiority will probably remain an intrinsic part of the broader white nationalist movement.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The category of “other” is positioned within Stormfront discussions as a conspiratorial alliance between Jews and persons of color in their collec-

tive efforts to malign and destroy Anglo-Saxon culture (Meddaugh & Kay, 2009, p. 259). With that said, the subject of race continues to be a difficult and polarizing topic of discussion in contemporary American society and not just on online sites such as Stormfront. Christian Identists and rank and file members of the broader white supremacist movement stubbornly refuse to acknowledge the unity of humankind regardless of race. They reframe biblical texts to suit their own racist purposes and buttress their beliefs with scientific data that non-racist supporters of both Jensen and Rushton argue was not meant to ignite fears and reproduce negative attitudes about non-white groups.

Evolutionary psychologist, Edward O. Wilson (2012) believes that much of the basis of human nature derives from our evolution as a social species. He does not appear to be blindly optimistic about the human condition due, in part, to turmoil consistent with evolutionary processes. After having spent many years researching white supremacy and interviewing people who are strong supporters of the movement, I am inclined to agree with Wilson's assessment that the worst in our collective human nature coexists with the best. According to Beirich (2014) Stormfront is a breeding ground for psychopathology, murder, and social chaos. Citing several perpetrators of documented violent acts that include Norwegian mass murderer Anders Breivik and Americans Buford Furrow and J. T. Ready, among others, Beirich (2014) links them directly to Stormfront. She also writes that site administrator and founder, Don Black, publicly acknowledged that Stormfront attracts too many sociopaths. I do not think that anyone who is familiar with the conversations that take place in this particular online community would argue that point.

The broader question becomes what, if anything, can be done to eradicate racism and anti-Semitism before it manifests itself in ugly rhetoric on Stormfront and other online sites that cater to avowed racists? According to Nelson (2015), strong families are critical for controlling racist attitudes since socialization processes are so important to child development. Parents, as exemplified by their own behavior and speech, maintain a huge influence over their children's lives. For some, prejudice may be a family value especially when parents participate in ethnic and racial stereotyping and name calling. Children may form their own negative attitudes if these are the same attitudes that even one parent conveys (Nelson, 2015, p. 495). One can hope that racism in families might be challenged effectively if someone is willing to reject racist language and attitudes outright and point out the fallacy of racial difference.

One of the most important ways to change things in American society is through organized protests that affect public opinion about issues such as civil rights, women's rights, and LGBTQ rights. Collectives of likeminded

people have engaged in boycotts and other forms of economic pressure for decades. In today's world, young people are using video, the Internet, and other forms of social media to speak truth to power. Contemporary examples are the Black Lives Matter and Antifa (anti-fascist) movements. In a democracy, the primary sources of people-power are membership organizations, mass movements, and unorganized individuals acting in concert for a common cause. Both Antifa and Black Lives Matter are mobilizing to combat hate in all its manifestations. Organizers of both groups have similar objectives that include bringing awareness to the problem of racial and ethnic hatred that continues to plague our country. Hopefully the work they are doing will make a difference. Butler (1997) argues that reappropriation of ethnic and racial slurs might become a mechanism for empowerment such as occurred when LGBTQ folks embraced the term 'queer' as their own. Will alternative discourse eventually replace entrenched discourses of power? Musicians Missy Elliott, Jay Z and other hip-hop and rap artists have reclaimed the N-word to make various political statements. Only time will tell if this approach comes to serve a higher purpose.

Analysis of Stormfront forums is one way to monitor attitudes and opinions of people who want to do away with social policies that benefit Americans of all races, ethnicities, and sexual orientations. Will this particular forum be a lasting legacy for white supremacy in all its ugliness? I think, at least for now, no one really knows the answer to this question. Will the site remain viable and online? Again, there are some significant variables at play such as the health of Stormfront's founder, Don Black, the viability of the Stormfront domain name in the online world, and the amount of resources available to counter potential law suits aimed at the site. What we do know is that the white supremacist movement has ebbed and flowed since the early days of the Ku Klux Klan without ever completely going away. Stormfront just happens to be one of the oldest and best established hate related Internet web sites but that could all be changing. Individuals who want to continue advocating for white rights and resisting racial and ethnic inclusion policies have plenty of other places to align such as Jared Taylor's American Renaissance which has had a web presence since 1994 and is touted as the Internet's premier race-realist site. Because the white nationalist movement does not appear to be in imminent decline as of this writing, it is the responsibility of those of us who research white supremacy to guard our stewardship of what is happening within the movement with the same vigor that white supremacists guard their white genes.

NOTES

1. A heading in Rushton's article titled "Ethnic nationalism, evolutionary psychology, and genetic similarity theory."
2. After examining *Timberwulf's* profile in the Community Section of Stormfront, I assigned a male pronoun.
3. I am assuming this is his real name. He appears to be known by several of the other discussants in this forum.

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APPENDIX A: STORMFRONT DISCUSSION FORUMS

Ideology and Philosophy (<https://www.stormfront.org/forum/f9/>)

- 1) “Cosmotheist Ideology/Philosophy” (<https://www.stormfront.org/forum/t1086271/>)
- 2) “How intelligent are the Jews?” (<https://www.stormfront.org/forum/t987183/>)
- 3) “Who is White? DNA Tests Messing w/People’s Minds” (<https://www.stormfront.org/forum/t1186734/>)
- 4) “Origins of the White race?” (<https://www.stormfront.org/forum/t1207524/>)
- 5) “IQ Based Breeding” (<https://www.stormfront.org/forum/t1212040/>)
- 6) Science and Technology (<https://www.stormfront.org/forum/f72/>)
- 7) “What Are The Strongest Scientific Arguments That Race Is More Than A Social Construct” (<https://www.stormfront.org/forum/t944879/>)
- 8) Christian Identity (<https://www.stormfront.org/forum/f84/>)
- 9) “Thinking of becoming CI” (<https://www.stormfront.org/forum/t752639/>)