EUROPE MIGHT EXIST NO MORE
The Story of Europe’s Apocalypse as Told On-line by the Romanian New Right

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Abstract
The New Right is present in the Romanian cyberspace and has constantly increased its presence since 1999. An analysis of their blog shows that Europe’s apocalypse is to happen in the next 20 to 40 years. The present article explores the apocalyptic narratives and the depictions of extreme threat toward the European identity and entity, as developed on the blog of the Romanian far right organization, the New Right. A compelling discourse of demographic decline, de-Christianization and Islamization of white Europeans denounces a political conspiracy in the European apparatus that supports and encourages heavy immigration that will definitely change the face of Europe. The analysis returns valuable results, useful in understanding minority-majority dynamics in Europe and in acknowledging the expanding uses of the internet.

Keywords: the New Right, extremism, on-line political discourse, identity approach.

A new story of the apocalypse
Mass media channels have begun to suggest and even foresee the end of the world as we know it. Newspaper headlines like “White people in UK's cities 'likely to be a minority in 20 years’”\(^1\), “Minority group numbers set to rise to 20 per cent”\(^2\), “The Bulgarians could be minority in their own country by 2050”\(^3\), “Study: White people will be minority in the US by 2050”\(^4\) – just to name a few – only add to the worrying view over our times.

Information technologies, pervert effects of globalization and fear of group extinction are intertwined in the social and psychological phenomenon of

\(^1\) Daily Mail Online, August 2007
\(^2\) The Independent, July 2010
\(^3\) “Etnicii bulgarii ar putea ajunge minoritari în propria ţară în 2050”, Realitatea, November 2010
\(^4\) “Studiu: Albii vor fi minoritari în SUA până în 2050”, Blog Noua Dreapta, December 2009
cyberhate - violence against, separation of, defamation, disappointment or hostility toward others based on race, religion, ethnicity, gender or sexual orientation on the Internet (Franklin 2010). The following work looks at how threat perceived by majority white people, from migrant minorities, extends to apocalyptic narratives in on-line speech, by studying the New Right in the Romanian cyberspace. After a brief account on prior research on cyberhate, I present the methodological structure of my study and a description of data and of the extreme rightist strategies used on-line to reconstruct a dystopian world. I focus on how images and texts are combined into dystopian stories about Europe, aiming at understanding what this combination tells about the national self and the multicultural horizon (Fortier 2008) in Romania. Fortier uses the multicultural horizon in a similar study in order to understand the anxieties of the national self, related to utopian or dystopian futures, a national self who is witnessing how “we” becomes multicultural, questioning how to resist to assimilation into multiculturalism and imagining how the multicultural future might be. In the final section of this paper, I use Ahmed’s notion of stickiness (Ahmed 2004, intro.) to analyze the visual and textual strategies used on-line in reconstructing the world.

Prior research on cyberhate
Perry and Olsson acknowledge that the internet serves racists and white supremacists to craft and maintain a collective identity which, as a result, determines a strengthening of their local presence in Switzerland, USA or Germany. Their research assessed the ability of the cyberhate phenomenon to transcend even its transnational dimension, by creating a global racist subculture (Back, Keith and Solomos 1998, in Perry and Olsson 2009). As Appadurai suggests that mediascapes can recreate the world (Appadurai 1996, ch. 2), Atton’s study on the British National Party website is very illustrative. His analysis revealed that the BNP website was constructed on a discursive strategy which radically modeled the way readers could understand power, culture and oppression. The website skilfully created a reality in which racism is not practiced by whites, but is created by the

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5 Fortier has undertaken a study on the combinations of digital photography, constantly morphing technologies, population statistics and genetics which operate as technologies of reassurance at a time of deeply transformative changes that threaten to fragment white Britain (Fortier, 2008).

6 “[...] the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information [...], which are now available to a growing number of private and public interests throughout the world, and [...] the images of the world created by these media” construct the mediascape (Appadurai, 1996, ch. 2).
Other, by non-whites, as they are the ones actively differentiating themselves from the white race (Atton, 2006). In a similar manner, Michel and Honegger show how whiteness is a cultural dimension that is being reproduced on-line, by studying a French and a Swiss blog. As a result, power relations based on race are disseminated in Europe through internet (Michel and Honegger 2010). Adams and Roscigno approach cyberhate in a complex manner, by studying how “nationalism, religion and definitions of responsible citizenship are interwoven with race to create a sense of collective identity” (Adam and Roscigno 2005, 759). Their findings suggest that call to action against threatening social issues is emerging through cyberhate, and the way hate groups and extremists interpret the problem they identify determines how they perceive the causes of the problem and what actions should therefore be undertaken.

To continue, apocalypse is a distinct and yet specific dimensions of hate groups ideology. Chip Berlet has analyzed how apocalyptic and millennialistic themes influence right wing scapegoating and conspiracy. According to him, “right-wing groups […] have fanned apocalyptic fears of evil conspiracies to create a powerful political weapon. The results can be devastating. There have been crusades against sin; waves of government repression justified by claims of subversive conspiracies; and campaigns to purge alien ideas and persons from our shores” (Berlet 1999). As the internet is an alternative environment for the extreme right wing, transgression of apocalyptic themes in cyberhate is consequential. Previous literature on apocalypse in modern times suggested that the emergence of apocalyptic thinking was facilitated by the passage into a new millennium (Hall, Schuyler and Trinh 2000; Berlet 1999) – similar to the eschatological fear of the year 1000 – but the persistence of apocalyptic themes in the mediascape and in the collective imaginary is poorly explained by this assumption, as the transit to the third millennium did not stop the Earth from revolving. As Berlet suggests, researching the apocalyptic imaginary is useful to understanding why it is most often developed and nurtured by extreme, anomic, ultra- or non-included groups, what they try to tell to the rest of the world, and how their imaginary reinterprets the world. Most of all, does this reinterpretation, this alternative image, have any kernel of truth that the rest should pay attention to?

Methodological aspects in the present study

Even though, as Daniels (2009, 195-206) makes it clear, sociologists have avoided the Internet as a research field for a long time, cyberhate is a
consistent social problem that needs to be approached thoroughly and systematically. The research on cyberhate developed here is based on qualitative content analysis on on-line texts and visual items. Up-to-date research software has been highly useful in collecting, storing and analysing the data, and in using qualitative data in a rich and powerful understanding of cyberhate speech and its social imaginary dimension that publicizes the approach of the apocalypse.

Content analysis

Several criteria proved reliable and central in choosing the appropriate method for researching the New Right blog: it is an expositive website; the interaction between internet users is asynchronous; and the study is exploratory. Content analysis is defined as a valid method for making inferences from text to other different conditions or properties of the source of the text (Krippendorff, in Chelcea 2004, ch. 11), which means that by acquiring knowledge on the on-line content, further knowledge on the conveyors of the on-line content could be obtained. As cyberhate content is supported by off-line structures, the content analysis approach to the Romanian cyberhate contributes to understanding and monitoring how extreme nationalist organizations in Romania make use of the new media. Chelcea contends, based on Krippendorff’s definition of content analysis⁷, that the main reason for performing content analysis is the chance to make inferences on manifest, evident traces of the text, as well as on latent, subtle traces of the source of the text and of the text itself (Chelcea 2004, ch. 11). Based on content analysis, the researcher can draw conclusions on the social and psychological dimensions of the source of the content, of its context and its creators.

In the current research, qualitative content analysis is first undertaken on content downloaded from blog.nouadreapta.org, chosen based on the concepts of apocalypse, extreme threat, death, or end. The unit of analysis is the article, the blog post or the entry that the bloggers have created. Sampling is a relative issue that is overcome by the technique of saturation. I stop performing content analysis when the data is saturated and no additional information is brought by new items taken into account.

Decisions during data collection

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⁷ A valid method for making inferences from text to other different condition or properties of the source of the text.
Exploring apocalyptic discourses and constructions of extreme threat determined my choice of qualitative content analysis. This was a second level decision, as my first approach to the on-line content was a quantitative one. I used the Google search engine and the internal search tool provided by the blog, and searched for key terms like “death”, “apocalypse”, “end”, “end of the world”, “threat”. I analyzed each of the results provided by these searching tools, and they proved to be quite irrelevant for my objectives, as the actual topics of the articles were different from the extreme threat message I was looking for. Also, the resulting sample was quite small and insufficient. This suggested the need and relevance of a qualitative analysis of the discourse on the end of the European identity. My assumption was, at this stage, that extreme threat was an ideological and linguistic construct, which required close attention and thorough follow up.

Procedure
The New Right blog is on-line and active since June 2008. Since then, over 2000 posts have been published. Its aim is to rehabilitate the image of the New Right organization and to acquire supporters and sympathizers. It hosts public debates between readers/internet users and it facilitates a public infusion of more personal ideas of members of the New Right, who frequently write articles and post them on the blog. Among these posts, the blog also features articles from mass media, which are posted with the source being specified and a link provided to the original website. Articles from other blogs and websites that share the views of the New Right are also published. The combination of leaders’ expressions, similar extreme rightist websites and mass media articles defined the New Right blog as illustrative to the Romanian cyberhate phenomenon. As I have shown somewhere else, the New Right blog is a thread in a large, extreme right virtual rhizome (Deleuze and Guattari 1987) that is constantly developed.

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8 Moarte, apocalipsă, sfârșit, sfârșitul lumii, pericol.
9 PhD dissertation in sociology, currently submitted to reviewers, to be publicly defended by November 2011.
10 In botany, a rhizome is a mass of roots that spreads horizontally underground. If a rhizome is broken into parts, each part has the ability to support itself and to continue to grow into a new plant. A virtual rhizome connects the New Right blog with various other websites. The data have shown that the New Right blog is not a solitary on-line diary of a few people, but that it spreads across the cyberspace in intricate ways, being connected to mainstream, alternative, independent media and other rightist blogs. The powerful aspect of this virtual rhizome is that each website that it includes has the potential to lead to other rhizomes and to spread across the internet, into other extremist expressions.
on-line by the combination of mainstream, alternative, and independent on-line media in Romania.

I manually selected articles from January 2010 to March 2011 – half of the blog’s life. A preliminary sample of 450 posts was selected and saved in an electronic archive, in the form of portable documents (*.pdf). When necessary – for practical reasons, e.g. the resolution of the embedded file was too small – I also downloaded and saved images (*.jpg or *.gif). As I browsed the blog, reading the archives of each month, I selected the posts by their title and the first paragraph. If the topic in the title or the first paragraph was not relevant to the issue of extreme threat, the post was eliminated from the preliminary sample.

The practical analysis of data was facilitated by the MaxQDA programme, very useful as a management tool in storing and categorizing files, applying codes, filtering codes and data, and generating graphic descriptions of the analysis. Coding was conducted on a dynamic, on-going basis, as I constantly compared the data before deciding which code to apply or if there was need for a new code. At the end of the coding process, a coding schema emerged; it revolved around the concepts of apocalypse, extreme threat to and death of Europe. Reading and coding each article determined several case-drops based on their level of irrelevance to the research objectives, and the final sample was N=290.

The apocalypse of Europe as told on-line by the Romanian New Right
The graph bellow shows the co-occurrences of codes in the analyzed sample. MaxQDA does not provide relations between codes, but only offers a statistical co-occurrence, which is further analyzed by looking at the specific coded segments that, in the end, describe a code and constitute a discourse about that code. I have created the codes on a dynamic basis, constantly comparing the blog posts and categorizing the discourses that I encountered.
The red squares in the graph show that the biggest threats to the European identity are de-Christianization, followed by the demographic decline of white people and the process of Islamization. It is worth saying that in the qualitative approach, these correlations are not isolated, and codes overlap also in diagonals. So addressing only a correlation between the demographic decline of whites and the failure of the European Union project, for instance, would not be illustrative enough to the on-line apocalyptic discourse. Rather, the graph emphasizes the more frequent themes in the apocalyptic narrative that build a coherent scenario.

The demographic death of Europe
The demographic decline of white people has a basic meaning for the New Right: a fertility rate which is below the minimum necessary for a population to be able to reproduce itself, which is directly related to a constantly aging population. This fact is not spontaneous, they say, but it is supported by political maneuvers and stressed by economical crises. The New Right promotes the idea that the European Union project, along with a well thought global order, supports homosexuality and destroys the traditional nuclear family, united by law and by the Christian God. Laws for formal alliances between individuals, disregarding their gender, and replacing the importance of a religious union, unbalance the value of the traditional family and promote a social structure which is not propitious for the birth of children. The remaining traditional families and couples decide not to have children because of economical challenges, which would not allow for their children to be raised with a minimum necessary insured. The feminist trend determines women to value career and success more than family, a husband and children, and they decide to have a child later each year. The blog is tinged with remarks about a global conspiracy which
aims to replace any source of food, nutrients, and medicines valuable in supporting life with artificial chemicals that accumulate in the human organism and poison it. A global bio-politics of demographic control is designed against the white population. As follows, the demographic decline of white people is politically determined, enhanced by economical challenges and by the proliferation of modern values like feminism and affirmative action, and coordinated by a dark malevolent power.

A relevant article in this sense on the New Right blog is “Pay attention to demographics (Atenție la demografie)”. Published on 1 April 2010, in the Editorial and Social categories and written by Ștefan Bolocan from Noua Dreaptă Basarabia, the article is an essay that reports on a documentary entitled “Demographic Winter. The Decline of the Human Family”\textsuperscript{11}. The text is introduced by an image which is the theatrical poster of the film: on a black background, the title is written in white letters, next to a child’s portrait. The child has dark blond hair and blue eyes, and wears a face painting of a very blue planetary ocean and intense brown-orange continents.

\textsuperscript{11} The website is [http://demographicwinter.com/index.html]. Having a religious far right origin in the USA, the film expresses conservative views over population dynamics and especially over their effects on the Western society, and had a great media impact: “What was a conservative drumbeat about Europe’s death has become mainstream media shorthand” (Joyce, 2008). Critics assert that the message in the film uses European demographic facts and figures in a propaganda manner, in order for the right wing American movement to promote their views on the issue of choice.
The simple graphic structure of the image creates a tension between the visual message – the child’s face – and the textual one – the demographic winter. The two elements divide the image in half, while still relating on an affective level. The non-verbal message of the child’s face is loaded with emotional significance. The blue eyes stare insistently and seem to blame the person in the audience for the demographic decline. At the same time, the facial expression suggests disappointment and sadness. Although very young, the person who is still a child does not afford to enjoy childhood, and has to grow up and live knowing that their kin might no longer exist one day.

The body of the article does not relate directly to the picture. Instead, it is a first hand account on the documentary, as it was seen by the author. Straight from the first line, the author informs the audience on his surprised reaction to the film. The author reminds the audience that the
mass media alarms the world on a false need to decrease and live an austere life because the world population is growing too fast and there will definitely be a food crisis. Rather, the article continues, the message of the documentary is the true one: fertility rates all over the world are decreasing at an alarming pace. In Europe, the average fertility rate is 1.38 given that the minimum fertility rate for a generation to insure continuity is 2.1. The first explanation at hand for this phenomenon is the feminist lifestyle that determined women to refuse marriage and children, which also generated a fashionable trend of divorces. An interesting twist in the article construction is the appeal to authority: Gary Becker is extensively cited. The scientist states in the documentary that the population decline can be overcome only by accepting immigrants in the demographically challenged countries, because a small young population, who might as well not work enough, will not be able to support a larger population of retired persons. Even though a high living standard – as in the western countries – is associated with a highly educated population, if those countries cannot support their own people, they should accept migrants, even from very different cultures.

This article is highly illustrative for the demographic decline warning that the New Right adopts in its apocalyptic speech. The most common fear is that white people are no longer having children and, instead, accept migrants. At a symbolic level, the cultural heritage of whites is directly threatened by alien cultures, and the negative paradox is that this threat is accepted inside the white culture and even supported, in an orchestrated manner. The benefits of modernity and development have a very complex drawback in the demographic dynamic. Combining this with the more secular society that constitutes the western world creates an even higher threat to Europe.

The spiritual and religious death of Europe
Europeans are subjected to losing their religion and growing atheist, or converting to various other religions, as a result of a failed European Union project. The MaxQDA graph shows co-occurrences of the de-Christianization code with the failure of the EU, and then with the political conspiracy code. This illustrates a narrative of the de-Christianization as a planned process, entailed by the coordinated action of the institutions of the European Union, which prove to the New Right to be faulty. This results in the loss of the Christian identity, a core element of the European culture and identity that spans centuries of history. Even though Europe has marked cultures and histories with its Christian missionary campaigns
throughout the globe, the old continent faces today a heavy loss of the Christian practice. This proves to be more than the secularization entailed by the modern era, as there is more than the separation of political power and religious power. There is a decrease of faith and a spiritual numbness that Europeans experience.

The New Right publishes an article sourced on the Ortodox Liber website\(^{12}\), which claims that the Council of Europe attests the defamation of the Christian God as a fundamental human right to free speech. The article accuses that the Council of Europe protects individuals that defame the name of God, but punishes those who defame other individuals on the basis of religious differences. In the eyes of the author, this means that the political elites of this world assume the power to make the man the measure of all things, which is against the will and power of God. In a common persuasive language, similar to a preaching in the church, the article explains that “you are free to do anything, to say anything. The Council of Europe gives you freedom to say anything about God, but not anything about people who represent religious confessions.”\(^{13}\) The power assumed by the Council of Europe transforms the apparatus into a pagan idol that replaces God in the faith of Europeans. The article continues with teachings and threats, as to induce fear and desire for change in Christian faith. Although it is not my intent to analyze a religious discourse here, social and political analysts in Romania have several times accused the Romanian Orthodox Church of practicing and spreading a far right ideology, which creates an extremist Orthodoxy (Andrescu, 2003, ch. IV). A very interesting detail in the construction of this article is the image associated with it. The caption bellow shows a resemblance of the Tower of Babel, as imagined and painted by Renaissance artist Pieter Brueghel, and the building of the European Union in Strasbourg, France.


\(^{13}\) „ești liber să faci orice, să spui orice. Consiliul Europei îți dă libertate să spui orice despre Dumnezeu, nu însă orice despre oameni ca reprezentanți ai confesiunilor religioase”

This image uses a visual bridge between two worlds, one that is mythological and one that is real. Since mythologies work with kernels of truth, the efficiency of this bridge rests in the potentiality it signifies. The two buildings host in different dimensions of the imaginary a large cultural variety, which, following the mythological scenario, is only designed to fail. The resemblance between the two buildings is compelling and is empowered as the final argument. If a verbal comparison between the building belonging to the European Union with the Tower of Babel could be countered and debated, the visual bridge between the two allows very little opposition. The visual bridging informs the viewer on the state of affairs, of the current situation in the world. By doing this, it organizes and rearranges the reality in convenient terms that sustain the apocalyptic warning. This image is used in a broader visual strategy as an argument for
the apocalyptic threats. If texts, words, and reports are not enough, images come into play to complete the story. If a picture is worth a thousand words, the viewer could easily not read the text attached to this visual bridge, and still understand the message. The Tower was built in the town of Babel first as a sign of worship of God, but later brought people’s admiration toward the constructors. This, the Bible says, made God angry, and He tangled their tongues. The apocalypse as a decline of speech and knowledge has also been imagined by science-fiction authors. The short story “Speech Sounds” by Octavia E. Butler (Butler, 2008) describes a post-apocalyptic western world, where the civilization was destroyed by a contagious condition that developed out of nowhere. People either forgot to read, either forgot to speak. A devastating break in the vital chain of information travel and communication shattered the world and evolved, sophisticated human beings were declined their civilized lives.

Even though the secular character of the modern civilization has already been acknowledged, the persuasion techniques that this blog post uses extrapolate on powerful emotions as fear and shame. God has gone angry on humans before, and all Christians know how that ended each time. Seeing signs that the wrath of God might happen again determines an eschatological state of mind. It might be that the easiest defense mechanism, for the audience to cope with the apocalyptic messages of the de-Christianization, is blaming political elites for turning themselves into pagan idols, for manipulating the masses and for making decisions against the average person, and for their own sake.

The cultural transformation of Europe: Eurabia
In the views of the New Right, a political conspiracy at the European level has programmed the Islamization of Europe, which is an immense offense to the European identity, culturally and historically defined as different from and contrasting to the Islamic Orient (Said, 1978). A virtual new state, Eurabia, is announced as the death of the formerly strong and central culture of the Europeans. This future state is determined by several factors: the de-Cristianization of Europeans, the permissive political setting, the demographic dynamics of Muslims in Europe and the Jihadist ideology. As the Europeans experience a spiritual void, the Muslim philosophy and religion could easily answer to the lack of spirituality, be it by gaining converts, be it by expanding through its own numbers and practice. A politically planned expansion of mosques will take over former Christian towns and cities across Europe, and the landscape will definitely change
under the different cultural symbols. European politicians subscribe to this process, as they expect supporters and sympathizers among the Muslim migrants to whom they approve the exercise of their own culture and religion on European grounds. The Christian and European identity is betrayed by the search and avarice for votes and political power. Europe is extremely feeble in the face of the Jihadist ideology, against which it has no spiritual or political power. Muslims have the discipline and structure of practicing their own culture even on foreign (in this case, European) grounds, while Europeans slowly forget their own cultural and religious practices. The orchestrated effort of Islamization is completed by the demographics of the Muslim population. The birth rates of Muslim women are twice or thrice higher than the birth rate of white women, which is consistent with the first topic of the apocalyptic narrative, the demographic decline of whites.

Two blog posts prove especially significant on this topic: “Eurabia: the planned Islamization of Europe (Eurabia: islamizarea planificată a Europei)”, and “The European Crisis (Criza europeană)”. 

The planned Islamization of Europe, which would be converted to Eurabia, is foreseen by a publicist, Michael Mannheimer, and the article on the New Right blog is sourced back to the Eurosceptic blog.14

The article warns that the Islamization process is already happening, but Europeans are not aware of it. Politicians and political regimes support the spread of Islam in Europe through indirect means. They constantly search for voters, supporters and sympathizers, disregarding their cultural background. Germany is given as a relevant example, where the rush for electorate determined the politicians to accept heavy flows of Turkish migration into the country. Thus, Muslim minorities around Europe have gained symbolical power. If numeric minorities are aware of their symbolic power in sustaining political structures, they are even more determined to preserve their cultural attributes, suggests the article. More importantly, the warning is that “Muslims did not come to Europe to integrate in the European societies; their goal is to transform Europe into an Islamic state.
ruled by the principles of the Islamic law, Sharia!”\(^{15}\). A political support and a cultural norm of preserving their identity work toward the numerical growth and symbolical development of Islam in Europe.

\(^{15}\) “Musulmanii nu au venit in Europa pentru a se integra in societatile europene, scopul lor il reprezinta transformarea Europei intr-un stat islamic condus dupa principiile legii islamice, Sharia!”
homosexuality is rising, and Muslims and African migrants are welcome. Multiculturalism erases centuries of history and culture, as national identities are threatened by a super-ordinate identity, the European one. Citizens of the European states are discriminated against in policies that support the dictatorship of minorities. In this setting, Muslims gain symbolical power and have sufficient conditions to develop and spread their culture. The image associated with the text speaks no differently. A group of Muslim women use British flags as hijab to cover themselves. All the women smile and look friendly toward the viewer, but the context that frames the image alters the non-verbal message. The smile could be interpreted as a chortle or an evil satisfied laughter of the Muslim who conquered the identity of one of the most important nations in Europe. The author reacts to these threats and symbols by appealing to national sentiments. In her view, the only solution to the European crisis and to the Islamization of Europe is nationalism and strengthening the cultural identity on European grounds. Nevertheless, the New Right blog describes the apocalypse of Europe as a certain phenomenon, that is already happening, and that might be completed in a matter of a few tens of years.

By 2050, Europe will be no more

The apocalyptic threats to Europe, as told above, are loaded with symbolism and affective content. Emotional reactions to the scenarios are intensely negative, and expressions of hatred are frequently associated with the discourse of Islamization and discrimination against Christians, while expressions of concern occur in relation to the issue of demographic decline. The somehow soft discourse on these two issues is shadowed by a strong acknowledgment that the apocalypse will happen, and approximations of the chronological end are made, along with models of extinction. Approximations vary around 2030, 2040 or 2050 for the demographic decline to end in either the disappearance of white peoples, either in turning them into minorities.

The article below is re-published by the New Right from a website that monitors the Romanian written press, Ziare.com16, and comprises a series of statistics which show that by 2030 the Muslim population around the globe will double. The Muslim population today is approximately 1.6 billion. The article claims this number will double to 2.2 billion, but most

probably – or arithmetically – this is a typing error, and the cited Pew centre foresees a total Muslim population of 3.2 billion.

A group of Muslims protest with banners saying “Slay those who insult Islam” and “Butcher those who mock Islam”. The current image is most probably out of its original context, and its association to a certain message of demographic growth of the Muslim population over the globe constructs a powerful foresight of the white and European apocalypse. Through persuasive techniques, an
informative message is loaded with negative emotions and stereotypes of the Muslim other, and a cultural apocalypse is constructed on-line.

Previously, I have described the data that narrates the apocalypse of Europe. In the following sections, I rest on the discursive strategies employed on the New Right blog, with an analytical view.

Discussion
A powerful visual strategy in constructing the Islamization apocalypse is the apocalyptic geography. If Appadurai discusses geographies of anger and how angry feelings toward the Other coagulate and circulate in the world (Appadurai 2006), the New Right constructs a geographical representation of the present and the near future. Territorial reorganization is equaled both to change and to end. The Islamization of Europe is visually constructed through the aid of geographical maps. Islamization is an overtaking of Europe from below or from behind, and the ground of the old continent is literally shattered and broken. The Islamic element that comes from below is represented as an angry Muslim terrorist. The drawing in picture 5 resembles very much Osama bin Laden, as the character is wearing a beard, a white turban and is carrying a rifle on his back. The angry expression on his face suggests the intentionality that incited to attacking Europe. This intentionality is loaded with emotional content which transforms the ground of the continent into a body that is violated. The Muslim rises out of a wound at the core of the body of Europe, which is subjugated and defeated. The pierce at the core of the continent suggests the fatal harm that has been done to the continent. Islamization thus becomes a painful phenomenon that violates the genuine kernel of the European identity, without any possibility of negotiation. Since the body is already pierced in this apocalyptic geography, the process is irreversible. The wound has little chances to heal, since the dynamic stance of the Muslim character suggests the will of continuation.
The threat is, as follows, constructed through visual cues that symbolize anger, pain, violence, loss and irreversible change. The image itself is very intense on an affective level. Europe is represented as a void land, while Islam is a powerful human being. Even if Europe is inhabited, Europeans are insignificantly small, while Islam is a Goliath that cannot be defeated this time.

The apocalypse of Europe is a complex process which combines population demographics and irreversible cultural change, both determined by the Muslim influence over the old continent. On the New Right blog, the quality of being white (or whiteness) is constructed as contrasting everything that the Other is. A religious dimension lies in the Christianity of Europe, a cultural attribute is given by the pan-Europeaness of whiteness, and emotionally, whiteness is narrated and felt with passion. Indeed, the most pervasive characteristic of whiteness as constructed in cyberhate is its death. Whiteness is feared to disappear. The imaginative exercise that takes place in cyberhate creates dystopian futures that at times seem to belong to the science-fiction genre, but their realistic dimension lies in the emotional efficiency and the emotional impact they in fact have. The on-line apocalyptic narratives are highly reflexive, and a central aspect that needs to guide our understanding of these narratives is that combining textual, visual and emotional strategies in on-line discourses tells that the
The fantasy of the European self is anxious and experiences powerful social
uncertainties (Appadurai 2006). The mere content of the narratives on the
New Right blog is relevant and important to the present politics, and even
more so when these narratives are observed across the media rhizome,
since, as Fortier formulates, “the multicultural question of the [...] future
defines the urgencies of the present” (Fortier 2008).

Ahmed analyzes the cultural politics of emotion as working with what she
calls sticky words and metonyms (Ahmed 2004, intro.). Cultural politics
work through the repetition of words that gain power and intense
significance, as they become increasingly associated with chosen items
from the social reality. The combination that is created between a sticky
word and a signified object becomes a tool of cultural politics in
stimulating emotions, agency, change, scapegoating, understandings,
explanations, representations of the world. Ahmed illustrates her assertion
with the case of the Muslim terrorist. “Terrorist” is the sticky word that has
been politically and, thus, publicly attached to the notion of Muslim after
9/11. The stickiness has then created a two way generalization: all terrorists
are Muslim. And all Muslims are terrorists. The more dangerous
generalization is the second one, as it has created a cultural and political
wave of Islamophobia, well nourished by the “war on terror”. This artificial
construction of the reality works with word twists that create mind twists.

Metonymy is a figure of speech through which a word replaces another
related word. The stickiness of “Muslim” and “terrorist” creates a
metonymy in the collective imaginary of the West, since Muslim is a
terrorist, and a terrorist is a Muslim. In the apocalyptic geography of
Islamization, the Muslim character is represented as a violent, greedy and
angry terrorist. The Muslim giant that pierces the body of old Europe
brings, by all means, terror upon the peoples of Europe. The two sentences
“a terrorist attacks Europe” and “a Muslim attacks Europe” have the same
meaning, as a result of the metonymy.

Conclusion
Europe and Europeanness are feared to disappear due to increasing social
uncertainties. These are tensions created through number or census
uncertainties – when “we” do not know how many of “them” there are -
and through unclear definitions of identities – when individuals can easily
belong to several cultural, ethnic, racial groups, at the same time
(Appadurai, 2006). If the juxtaposition African-American is an intelligible
and relatively easy to identify category, identity in Europe is challenged to
imagine the possibility of ethnic and racial juxtapositions across its territories. The identity uncertainties in Europe create dystopian narratives and fears of what would be, since multiculturalism is an irreversible process. Once culturally diversified, the social world would not be able to return to its primary, “clean” cultural categorical state. The questions and the exclamation marks that the far right virtual rhizome uses signal that social and cultural change will be, once more, drastic in the human history. In other words, “we are going to be a global village eventually, and who knows in another hundred years’ time what sort of a mix there’ll be” (Bodmer, in Fortier 2008). A keen eye on the extremist apocalyptic and dystopian discourses is necessary at this point, as globalization has created a geography of anger and of fear where majorities live anxiously next to minorities.

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